

INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL HISTORY

Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska (ed.)

MIGRATION, KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE AND ACADEMIC CULTURES

**IN EUROPE AND THE BLACK SEA REGION
UNTIL WORLD WAR I**



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Skopje

2021



Funded by the Horizon 2020
Research and innovation
Programme of the European Union



This publication is a result of the project “Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities: Europe and the Black Sea Region, late 18th – 21st Centuries.” This project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 734645.

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INTRODUCTION. KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE THROUGH MIGRATION UNTIL WORLD WAR I

Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska

The historical period until World War I (further: WWI), its eve and especially its aftermaths, was a military whirlwind in which empires collapsed, social systems were rethought and the geostrategic positions of the great powers took a new direction. While some nations were helped and favoured to form nation-states, other nations were neglected and politically wiped out by territorial division or annexation to another state. The reasons for WWI originated in the pre-war period. The aspiration of peoples to liberate from one of the empires and to create one's own state were common features. As for the Balkan peoples – Macedonian and Albanian, their strivings to liberate from the Ottoman Empire were resolved in different ways. While Albania was declared a state after the First Balkan War (1912), Macedonia was divided among the neighboring states (Rossos 2008, 131–53), and even a small part was assigned to the new Albanian state. The division was confirmed by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, after the Second Balkan War (cf. Stojčev, A. and V. Stojčev 2013, 113–237, 355–777). Accordingly, the Balkan Wars were just a prelude to the WWI – the Great War (cf. Progonati 2014, 97–116), which many see as their continuation, i.e. a Third Balkan War: “The war in the Balkans, 1914–1918 turns out to be only the next phase of political, national and economic rivalry in this important part of European continent” (Mikietyński 2009, 126).

The course of the WWI and its primary objectives changed with the change of opponents. They influenced the course of the military actions, and the geography of the active battlefields, which, from a local perspective, had an impact on the overall cultural, national and political development of various peoples and their historical interrelationships. Thus, the opening of the Macedonian Front (1916) and the Caucasus Front (1918) continued the old conflicts, the outcome of which led to new conflicts with disastrous consequences. The interests of the warring parties were often the deciding factors in the course of the history of small nations at the battlegrounds. At the same time, the national interests of the peoples

who fought for statehood became a tool for manipulation and abuse in favor of the interests of the great powers. In that whirlwind, national success and defeat alternated over and over again. The decisive role in the Balkans was played by the Entente armies in cooperation with the Balkan states at the Macedonian Front (Stojčev 2000, 609–20). As regards the Caucasian Front, among nations aspiring to a nation-state, the actions and participation in the wars of Russia and Turkey were decisive. Thus, the destinies of the nations were exemplified by the different national memories and interpretations of the peoples on the Caucasus related to WWI and its aftermath (cf. Svazlian 2011, 21–70; Alieva 2014, 209–15; Kultyshev 2016, 155–62). The tendency of the Caucasian peoples (primarily Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan) to gain independence from the Russian Empire led to the creation of the Transcaucasian Democratic Federal Republic (1918). However, political events with the changes after the October Revolution and the clash of the Russian and Ottoman Empires, led to different directions of national development: from the proclamation of separate short-lived nation-states (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia) to a national disintegration.

War and Science

The phenomenon of war affects every pore of society, and in that sense science too. Unfortunately, politics and the authorities always appear as mediators in human activities, and also in relation to science. Writing about the pattern of interaction between science and authority, which are essentially opposite, Baturin, among other things, wrote:

The Authority, when giving a command, order, expects only submission. Such is the nature of Authority. Scientists in this respect have invariably aroused and are arousing suspicion by the Authority. The reason is that, attached to academic freedoms, scientists place truth above ideological and political views, given to society as axioms, scientists try to either prove or disprove them – that is the nature of Science. That is, scientists do not follow the rule ‘orders are not discussed’ (Baturin 2019, 12).

In fact, with the outbreak of WWI, the ‘mobilization of science’ began everywhere, putting science at the service of military needs. The course of events, and especially the interaction between the military situation and the scientific policies, went through a series of paradoxes: from denying and repressing scientists and scientific institutions, up to putting

them into operation for military-political purposes (cf. Kolchinsky 2016, 124–39). During this period, great changes took place in the field of science. As a result of the political and social changes that occurred in some countries, there was not only a change in the formal renaming and informal rethinking of the goals of academic institutions, but also a change in staff potential as a result of repression and migration of intelligence (for example the October Revolution and the changes in the Academy of Sciences during the Civil War in Russia) (Kolchinsky 2019, 102–69). Also, it is interesting to follow the varying changes of the view and the inclination of scientists towards German science. At the beginning of the war, hostility was noticed in a part of the academic community with calls for the severance of ties with them. With the advance of the Bolsheviks, another part began to sympathise, but after the war – distanced itself (Kolchinskii 2007, 184–208). While in some countries in the Balkans and the Caucasus, the national education, academic culture and science can not even be discussed given the circumstances in which they lived: foreign domination and subordination.

When it comes to specific research of the historical relations between Europe and the Black Sea Region (further: BSR), it involves a history of various communications and exchange. Research of the BSR necessarily presupposes its study in the context of the surrounding regions too. In terms of our analysis, it is impossible not to consider the Balkan-Black Sea-Caucasus region¹ as a historical whole (cf. Troebst 2019, 12–15). Located between Europe and Asia, the BSR has been a site of confrontation for centuries. At that crossroad, the Balkans and the Caucasus have been the two regions where the diversity of peoples and the strategic position for the great powers have always been a source of potential conflict and contested borders.

The geographic extension of this research covers the above-mentioned neuralgic points – the Balkans and the Caucasus, as active war zones during WWI. The mutual relations of the peoples of these regions have turned into national pogroms, genocidal acts and mass migrations, leaving lasting traces in the history of the regions. And, again in accordance exclusively with the interests of the victors and the great powers, their fate was decided at international conferences and by acts regulating the adjustments and confirmation of the borders within the ‘Versailles security system’ – so-called after the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, at which the web of territorial bargaining was at the expense of the small nations (Gaber

¹ On region and regionalism, cf. Roth 2007, 17–41.

2009, 55–77). At the same time, a new system was created, not based on justice or concern for national demands, but the losers were ruthlessly punished on the one hand, and on the other hand the winners took full freedom to design the map according to their own political needs. However, in the next period, this way of conducting politics would prove to be deadly in the new phenomena of totalitarianism, as well as encouraging the intensification of liberation movements. The outcome of the war had various effects on different peoples, continuing their historical development in independent or semi-independent societies, and some of them even being completely deleted from the map. The processes related to the WWI and its aftermaths were contradictory – on the one hand the emergence of totalitarian regimes and national repression, while on the other hand the development of techniques and scientific disciplines.

The historical time that we are addressing was a fragile period in terms of human suffering, political games and decisions, and characterized by mass migrations both during the wars and its aftermaths: deportation, refuge, soldier displacement, mobility, and especially the exoduses of population, sometimes hidden behind the name ‘voluntary exchange’ (Kiselinovski 2000, 93–95). Given all this, it seems impossible to find a reflection in knowledge and science. But in fact the movement of academic elites at the same time was producing a huge flow of knowledge transfer and exchange. While insecurity, pressure, and war were the cause of migrations of the intelligentsia from the early 20th century to the end of the WWI, the need for education, work or career advancement led to the creation of academic migration as well. The spread of ideas produced cultural, social and national changes. Inspired and pressured by political events and military action, dynamic migration processes took place, which intensified especially around the Balkan Wars and the WWI.

The achievements in the field of visual media were significant too, as a separate phenomenon of knowledge transfer and exchange. The settlers, travelers, and journalists documented the news related to ideas, science and technology. Thus, the technological development changed the role and function of photography, so it was no longer a privilege or a rarity, and the photographed situations could be unadjusted and spontaneous. As we know it today, it begins in the early 19th century, and in the early 20th century it was put into various functions: from traveling anthropology (cf. Kaser 2012, 60–72; Gutmeyr 2018, 155–81) to visual presentation and weapons in war time². In the period of the Balkan Wars and the World

² On the role of photography in the Russo-Ottoman War (1877–1878), cf. Baleva 2012, 273–93.

War I, the visual documentation and presentation of the military actions and the life on the front appeared as a new phenomenon. The practice of visualizing war through press photography and documentary films (cf. Kaser 2015, 16–21) was made possible through technical and scientific knowledge transfer and exchange.

Black Sea Region Academic Cultures through Migration

Academic culture is usually associated with universities and refers to the attitudes, values and behaviors shared by people who work or study there (lecturers, researchers and students). However, academic culture also refers to a much wider range, as a system of values and results arising from the interaction of the academic elite in education, science and culture, as well as educational, scientific and cultural institutions. Thereby, some of the values and ways of behavior in different areas are equal, but others are different depending on the specifics of the individual area. Academic cultures differ from each other according to a number of influencing factors: historical development, political position (dependent, semi-independent and independent academic cultures), social system, cultural and social values, position of scientists in society, gender and age, degree of interaction in international knowledge exchange etc. At the same time as the changes they undergo, academic cultures reflect the social changes in which they develop. According to Kaser and Gutmeyr: “Academic cultures are not universal but framed by political systems, cultural and social values, the position of scholars in a given society, the sex and age of the latter as well as the degree to which they are networking in the international arena. In addition, academic cultures are not static in time but reflect general societal developments” (Kaser and Gutmeyr 2018, 18–19).

Given that migration is a basic phenomenon of human civilization, it has always been present in human life, as the result of historical circumstances and at the same time their driving force, determining the historical development and culture of the nations (cf. Ristovska-Josifovska 2020, 35–50). Migration affects all aspects of the life of an individual. Accordingly, through all this congestion, the common man becomes an indicator of dramatic change in every sense, and the migration of people, objects and practices (cf. Ash 2006, 184–88) builds new communities, material goods and knowledge. In that context, academic migration is part of the academic culture as its creator and driver, a relocation of students, professors and scientists from one environment to another for the purpose of acquiring or transferring knowledge and scientific work. In that context, the process of acquiring education and qualifications by migrating,

teaching in an educational center outside the home environment, as well as scientific exchange are equally important. Academic migration may be driven by a desire for education or career development in education or science, but in times of war and political crisis as a cause of intelligence migration the need for education or career advancement leads to academic migration in exile. But, whatever the migrations were, judging by the number (individual and mass), by the nature of the coercion (forced: escapes, exile, or self-initiated: economic, educational, family), by the directions (single emigration or continuous movement), they all have contributed to the exchange of knowledge, especially when it comes to intellectual elites. In this sense, the role of emigrant communities is very important, which, in exile from their home countries, formed intellectual nuclei in the host countries: associations, institutions and publications, creating centers for the dissemination of knowledge and ideas. They tried to act within the acquired knowledge and ideas due to which they primarily emigrated.

The connection between migration flows and knowledge exchange between and within Europe and the BSR is part of the objectives of the research project “Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities: Europe and the Black Sea Region, Late 18th – 21st Centuries”³ (cf. Kaser, Gutmeyr 2018, 9–30). More specifically, the first two decades of the 20th century, including the pre-war period, WWI and its aftermath was the topic of the **International Conference “Knowledge Exchange in Academic Cultures through Migration Between and within Europe and the Black Sea Region (Until World War I and Its Aftermaths)”**⁴. A selection of the presented papers from the conference are part of this book, titled *Migration, Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in Europe and the Black Sea Region Until World War I*, edited by Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, and published by the Institute of National History in Skopje. Austrian, Russian, Georgian, Macedonian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, and Azerbaijani scholars from various disciplines in the humanities present and oppose the scientific views related to the issue. Coming from various geographically, politically and culturally distant academic elites, the authors investigate the complex modes of interaction at macro level and micro level through various disciplines, methodologies and approaches.

³ This project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 734645.

⁴ It was held in the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Skopje (11–12 January 2019), and organized by the Institute of National History, as a partner-institution within the project.

This publication addresses a number of related issues on moving and circulating as a base of knowledge exchange, shedding new light on knowledge policies and the establishment of national training facilities, with specific emphasis on the humanities. The topic actually aims to investigate the exchange of knowledge and science in correlation with the population movements across borders, scientific advancements conveyed through the transfer of objects and the exchange of knowledge in practical contexts between the BSR and Western Europe. The comparative approaches addressed many issues with regard to emerging independent and semi-independent academic cultures, as well as those under foreign domination in the early 20th century until WWI and its aftermaths. The book is designed to proceed the analysis of knowledge exchange in regards to the migration by three sections. Each of them intends to position a distinguished problematic related to the main topic: the Balkans and the Caucasus at the crossroads of migration and knowledge exchange; the exiled academic elite in the national educational institutional building; academic migration and the introduction of scientific achievements; the movement of the intelligentsia in pre-war times; women's roles and figures in the BSR's scientific world.

Crossroads of migration and knowledge exchange is the title of the first section, dealing with the question on which the construction and the idea of this book are based. Karl Kaser in his article "Migration, Knowledge Exchange, and Academic Cultures: Europe and the Black Sea Region" gives the main direction, investigating the mutual interdependencies of migration, knowledge exchange and academic cultures in West Central Europe and the BSR related to periods before, during, and shortly after WWI. In his analysis Kaser first addresses the massive migration processes caused by wars and violence on the Balkans and the Caucasus, aiming to give an impression of the massiveness of these population shifts. Further elaboration refers more specifically the interrelation between the migration of groups or individual intellectuals and knowledge exchange. Contrary to the already researched negative effects of expulsion, the author focuses on the positive experiences and achievements of individual migrants, based on three case studies, in which migration stimulated various kinds of knowledge exchange. In that context, he analyses the continuities and discontinuities of academic exchange cultures as a consequence. As he says, "the decade of wars and violence contributed indirectly to changes in academic cultures in the humanities". In the context of the aftermaths of WWI, he follows the emergence of professional researchers, studies in various scientific fields, as well as the positioning of women in the

academic sphere. International cooperation is also considered as one of the goals through different forms, such as the establishment of international scientific congresses and organisations. Kaser's opinion on the link between migration, knowledge exchange, and academic cultures is clear: "These population displacements prompted the formation of new scientific disciplines in the humanities, especially ethnographic and folklore studies, as well as physical anthropology".

The process of cultural, scientific and educational transfer through academic migration is the focus of the contribution "Female Academic Migration of Students of the Russian Empire to European Universities: Gender, Historical and Cultural Aspects (mid-19th to early 20th centuries)" by Alla Kondrasheva and Stavris Parastatov. Exploring the academic female migration from the Russian Empire to leading universities in Europe, the analysis is based on various aspects of the internal and external socio-political and economic situation, considering the motivation, social and national composition of the female migrants, as well as problems of adaptation. The desire for higher female education, arisen during the reign of Alexander II, encouraged the Russian women to fight for the right to higher education in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. As the authors claim: "Contrary to state policy and the opinion of conservative parts of society, women independently chose higher educational institutions capable of providing them with the necessary knowledge to access their chosen specialization or to study science". The focal point of this study is the foreign experience involved in the process of obtaining knowledge by the female academic migration to the leading European universities. It led to the expansion of women's intellectual capabilities, becoming an integral part of the Russian professional intelligentsia, and having an impact to the system of higher education.

When speaking of the exchange of knowledge between Europe and the BSR, Ketevan Phutkaradze and Tamaz Phutkaradze draw attention to "Kartvelian Studies Abroad and Georgian Researcher Immigrants in the Context of Academic Knowledge Exchange". Italians were the first Europeans to have interest in Georgian culture, so they write on the promotion and activation of Kartvelian activities in Italy, as well as Germany, Austria, Switzerland and other European countries, encouraged by developing Kartvelology Centers, researchers, translations from Georgian language, Kartvelian Schools, publishing journals etc. The focus of this study is to the development of Kartvelian studies in foreign countries, important in terms of an exchange of academic knowledge, and the Georgian scholars who have left abroad trying to spur European interest in Georgia

and Georgian culture. The work is an attempt to show the influence of knowledge exchange and the merit of Kartvelology in the development of European science as well.

Role of emigration communities in the exchange of knowledge and ideas is the topic of the second chapter of the book, which explores several case studies from the history of the Balkans and the Caucasus. It is interesting to see in a comparative aspect the Macedonian, Georgian and Azerbaijani cases of the development of ideas for creating national cultures, seen through the role of emigrant communities. To this end Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska explores the education in the period prior to the establishment of national professional Macedonian academic institutions under the topic “Macedonian Intelligentsia through Migration towards the Black Sea Region until World War I”. Education in Macedonia as well as the non-institutional forms of establishing academic culture in emigration are analysed through the prism of the movement of the intelligentsia towards the BSR (with a focus on the Russian Empire). The main point is the role of emigration in the revival processes: affirmation of national identity, language and culture – both among the emigrant traps of the Russian Empire, or in Macedonia itself.

Marine Aroshidze and Nino Aroshidze discuss the same issues within the topic “Linguistic Situation and Linguistic Policy in the Migration Process in the Caucasus at the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Centuries”. Based on the reference to the social, economic, and geopolitical situation in the Caucasus region, the authors analyze the Russian colonial policy and mass migration of Caucasian peoples, as well as European settlers, causing great ethno-demographic changes. But, the study focuses on the language issue, in correlation with the policies of the Caucasus, as a region where imperial interests collided. They analyse the Georgian case of nation building, faced with a policy of linguistic Russification and the elimination of the Georgian Orthodox Church. In the context of impact of migration to knowledge exchange, the role of the academic migration in the development of academic culture in Georgia were defined, and the national identity was supported and developed by the Georgian youth studying abroad.

In the same context, the following two texts are dedicated to the movements of people and ideas in Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijani intelligentsia. Nargiz F. Akhundova writes on “The Stages of Development of Turkic Ideas in Azerbaijan from the End of 19th Century until the End of World War I”, as a historical process reflected in the ideas of enlighteners. Special attention is given to the development of Panturamism, Panislamism

and Turkism in the scientific thought, the use of language and print that have emerged as important points in the national development. In the struggle with tsarist Russia for ethnic and religious rights, the idea of uniting all Turkic peoples enslaved by the tsarist regime into a single political and state union was born. It was also a result of the contacts and knowledge exchange between the Turkists of Crimean Tatars, Azerbaijan, Turkey and Russia. Irada Baghirova's text, "Azerbaijani Intelligentsia and the National Movement in the Pre-War Period", referred to the activities of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia in the pre-war period in the direction of the struggle for the rights of the Muslim population in the Russian Empire in the fields of education, state, military service and clergy. The author focused her interest to the petitions addressed to the authorities of the Russian Empire (written by graduates of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and the Sorbonne), as the first national program for the reconstruction of the Caucasus, and in particular, Azerbaijan, addressing the legislation on high education institutions, and introduction of accessible primary education in their native language.

Visualization between art and introduction of scientific achievements is an important part of the overall research on knowledge exchange. In the context of the main theme of the book, this section summarizes the movements and results, primarily through photography and film, on the one hand seen in the function of art, but on the other hand as a part and in the function of documenting and anthropological researching. Atanas Čuposki's contribution on the topic "The Manaki Brothers and the Great War" considers the life and work of Janaki and Milton Manaki – the first Balkan cinematographers, who were the first to bring and use the new technical achievements for filming and photographing people, customs and events. Their life and work were mostly related to Macedonia and especially the city of Bitola. However, one can follow their movements from the village of Avdella in Epirus to the city of Ioannina, and later to Bitola; the education; the stay in Bucharest, where they were appointed royal photographers by king Karol I; the journeys of Janaki to Budapest, Vienna, Paris and London, where he purchased a camera; their photographic work before, and up to the WWI in the atelier in Bitola. The two brothers became the first Balkan filmmakers, and their audiovisual legacy represents a world heritage.

In the same context, and geographically located in the BSR, is the theme "Ethnographic Sketches in Georgian Photo and Cinema Art (the First Quarter of the 20th Century)" by Manuchar Loria. He addresses the period of the beginning of photo art in Georgia, characterized by presence

of non-Georgian origin pioneers. The work of the first Georgian photographer Aleksandre Roinashvili had a great geographical and ethnographic significance. The first Georgian cinematographers appeared in this period too, which marked the beginning of the film era. Georgian cinematography originated in 1908–1910, when the pioneers began documenting the Georgian lifestyle. This article offers an interesting look at the interrelationship between film as a new medium and national literature and ethnography, providing an important source of visual anthropology.

In the study “*‘I Am a Nansen Artist’ Archavir Chakatouny (1882–1957)*”, Mariyana Piskova has presented a biographical narrative on one Armenian artist. She follows Chakatouny’s artistic development from the Armenian drama troupe in Baku, through the Moscow Art Theatre, and film roles up to the WWI. Afterwards, he participated in the administration of the Republic of Armenia, he was Commandant of Yerevan, and was in charge of mobilization and the fight against deserters. When Armenia became a Soviet Republic, he moved to Constantinople, worked in Bulgaria, and then in Paris, where he became one of the most famous actors in the last years of silent film. Through his biography, the author captured the characteristics of the historical period between war, national movement and political change, migration and the two-way influence of technological achievements in visual arts.

The movement of people and the exchange of knowledge in the context of modernization between Europe and the Caucasus is the research framework of Dominik Gutmeyr’s chapter “The Oil Boom and the Beginnings of Photography in Imperial Baku. Co-Constructing Knowledge in an Industrialising City”, seeking to connect the industrialisation to the belated advent of photography in Baku. It argues that concurrent internationalisation contributed to the co-construction of knowledge and the formation of local photographic practices between Western European travellers taking photos of oil fields and factories, the state’s appropriation of photography as a vehicle with which to promote the imperial integration of its peripheries, and diverse pictorial traditions among the resident ethnic groups that facilitated or complicated the beginnings of photography. The significance of this chapter becomes even greater, given that the author – as an expert in the visualization of history, based his knowledge both on scientific literature and archival materials, as well as the field research on the Caucasus.

The book’s section entitled **Migration and national academic facilities** explores some aspects of the development of the Macedonian, Azerbaijani and Ukrainian national academic cultures affected by migration

and migrants. First, Nataša Didenko displays the observations on “The Professional Music Educators and the Organized Music Life in Macedonia through Migration in Europe and the Black Sea Region (prior to World War I)”. The author paid attention to musical life in Macedonia as a part of the overall cultural activity and socio-political situation in the first half of the 20th century. An attempt is being made to present the life of the musicians through the connection of the Macedonian music culture with the cultural traditions of other peoples: collecting and recording Macedonian folklore as well as organizing musical life, through the formation of musical amateur groups in some cities.

The article “The Price of Being among the ‘Chosen’ on the Beginning of University Education in Azerbaijan” by Marinela Paraskova Mladenova discusses schooling during the first Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (1918–1920). That was the time of the formation of university education and what is particularly important for our topic – the effort of sending 100 Azerbaijani students to universities abroad supported with state scholarships. Writing on this brief period of modernization of the country and development of education at all levels, the author analyses how it was interrupted by the establishment of Soviet rule.

In this part of the book, the texts dedicated to aspects of research, i.e. the cultural and educational life of some ethnic groups in Ukraine, have their place too. Thus, Oksana Mykytenko’s chapter “The Role of Alexander Muzychenko in the Ukrainian Ethnological Studies of Crimean Bulgarians” deals with the development of the ethnology through the work of the first Ukrainian ethnologist who researched in Kyshlav, collecting materials on the folklore, history, ethnography and language of Crimea’s Bulgarians. On the other hand, Valentina Kolesnik’s chapter refers to “The Education System in the German and Bulgarian Villages of the Northern Black Sea Region (in the late 19th – early 20th century)”. Analyzing the Northern BSR as an area where different peoples, languages and cultures meet, the author turns to the beginnings of the German and Bulgarian settlements. She especially concentrates on Odessa and Tarutino as educational centres for the German colonists, as well as Odessa and Bolgrad as Bulgarian colonists’ centres. Special attention is paid to the institutions, which were founded by the colonists or the facilities used for their training.

The book is an attempt to initiate a research on the development of BSR academic cultures, developed through the exchange of knowledge through wars and migrations. Aware that it cannot cover all aspects and topics, we firmly believe in sparking scientific discussion of scholars. And, as has been done many times before by working together, not only will the

proposed themes give a new quality, but new ideas and approaches will come out and will contribute to future research. This publication is a part of the scholarly joint knowledge exchange between BSR and Europe, and will contribute the first systematic research of the exchange of knowledge in the BSR's academic cultures through migration, analysing the role of migrations in the processes of the emergence of independent and semi-independent academic cultures within the BSR until the WWI.

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***I. CROSSROADS OF MIGRATION
AND KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE***

MIGRATION, KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE, AND ACADEMIC CULTURES: EUROPE AND THE BLACK SEA REGION

Karl Kaser

Abstract: In this article, I will investigate the mutual interdependencies of migration, knowledge exchange and academic cultures in West Central Europe and the Black Sea Region in the turbulent years shortly before, during, and in the first years after World War I. In the first section, I will address the massive migration processes caused by the decades of wars and violence that began before and culminated in the First Balkan War in autumn of 1912. The Second Balkan War, the Great War, the Greco-Turkish War from 1919 to 1922 and the recapture of the Caucasian provinces by the Red Army prolonged the cycle of wars. The second section will address the interrelation between the voluntary/involuntary migration of groups and individual intellectuals, and knowledge exchange. The third section is by far the most comprehensive. It will investigate continuities and discontinuities of academic exchange cultures as a consequence of this violent decade.

Introduction

Without any doubt, the outbreak and outcomes of the Great War constitute one of the great ruptures of the twentieth century. The dramatic events in Sarajevo in 1914, new military technologies, the forms of mass destruction and mass killing, the emerging new mass media of that time (news-reels, etc.), the destruction of four European empires as consequences of defeat and/or revolution, massive population displacements, and the Paris peace negotiations – all this, and even more, contributed to this great caesura in political, economic, social and cultural life in the early twentieth century. However, for some countries, the Paris peace negotiations did not mean the end of violence and the establishment of a new order. After a very short period of peace, new violence flared until 1922 in relation to the emerging Turkish Republic, the territorially overstretched Greek monarchy and the Caucasian provinces of the former Russian Empire and subsequent Soviet Union (SU).

The contents of my paper circle around the mutual interdependencies of migration, knowledge exchange and academic cultures in West Central Europe and the Black Sea Region (BSR) in the turbulent years shortly before, during, and in the first years after the League of Nations was founded and the Lausanne Peace Treaty concluded (the latter in July 1923). In the first section, I will address the massive migration processes caused by the decades of wars and violence that began before and culminated in the First Balkan War in autumn of 1912. The Second Balkan War, the Great War, the Greco-Turkish War from 1919 to 1922 and the recapture of the Caucasian provinces by the Red Army prolonged the cycle of wars. This section will also address the impact of migration on societies across the region.

Because of the centrality of migration and adaptation processes in certain historical constellations, the second section of my paper will address the interrelation between the voluntary/involuntary migration of groups and individual intellectuals, and knowledge exchange. Mitchell Ash has stressed the importance of the role of the migration – or simply transboundary movement – of scientists and academicians, including political migration, for science and knowledge transfer and for emerging scientific centres (Ash 2006, 184–85; Gasimov 2016, § 3). We can add: individual academic migration and knowledge transfer, for instance between Nazi Germany and the Republic of Turkey, is well investigated. However, we know much less about aspects of knowledge production and transfer caused by mass migration during the violent decade in the focus of this article.

Surely, one of the most significant contributions to transfer studies was initiated by the fruitful debates on German–French cultural transfers in the 1980s and 1990s. The interdisciplinary and international field of transfer studies has gradually expanded to encompass other regions in Europe over subsequent decades. Recently, regions outside of Europe – or at least those at its margins – have been included in research. In many of these research projects, the primary focus of investigation has centred on cultural transfers from (Western) Europe to Eastern Europe, and from Western Europe to the Balkans or the Middle East. Until recently, however, the (inter)relations, mutual influences, and cultural transfers between two or more non-European countries or Eurasian societies have been neglected (Gasimov 2016, § 1).

The third section is by far the most comprehensive. It will investigate continuities and discontinuities of academic exchange cultures as a consequence of the ‘violent decade’. One of the continuities of the

period stretching from before the decade of wars and into its aftermath is the overwhelming position of Germany in processes of knowledge exchange with the BSR. On the other hand, an important discontinuity lies in what could be described as the double peripheralization of the Caucasian regions. These areas were not only strongly hindered in participating in knowledge exchange processes outside the Soviet Union due to its international isolation – they also came to realize that they had only a peripheral status within the SU itself. I will return to this core-periphery model later in the section when I will discuss a first, significant disruption within the phalanx of an exclusively male-dominated scientific culture.

Andre Gingrich, the eminent Viennese anthropologist, argues that during the early years of the twentieth century, the discipline of anthropology was increasingly elaborated in very diverse national directions, thereby leaving behind many of the global dimensions ‘armchair ethnologists’ had shared during the previous formative phases of their discipline. In this sense, anthropology/ethnology became part of the ‘end of scientific internationalism’, as some have called the shift accelerated by World War I. He continues by arguing that as an outcome of World War I, an entirely new global academic landscape became established in the anthropological fields along national lines (Gingrich 2014, 356). I would argue that Gingrich’s observations are not confined to anthropology but touch on other disciplines of the humanities, too, which created new national institutions. This process of the nationalization of various disciplines was contrasted by the acceleration of a seemingly opposite movement – namely that of *internationalization*.

I) 1912–1922 – A Violent Decade

The violent decade from 1912 to 1922 constituted only the peak of latent turmoil marked by forced migration within the Ottoman Empire from the early years of the second half of the nineteenth century. It is not the aim of my paper to present a comprehensive picture of the occurrences of forced migration, violent deportation, genocide, atrocities or any other brutalities associated with the mentioned upheavals. However, a short overview is called for here.

A well advised and sober account of such events should start with the expulsions from the Caucasus. The mass exodus of North Caucasian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, established and solidified the historical links the North Caucasian peoples now share with the Near East. Between 1860 and 1914, Russian forces expelled hundreds of thousands of Muslims from their homes. In

the period between 1855 and 1907, the number of Caucasian immigrants reaching the Ottoman lands was over 600,000 (Bilge Zafer 2017, 185). Upon arriving on the Black Sea's southern shores, the refugees were then distributed, often without their consent, to areas of settlement in the southern Balkans, Anatolia and Syria. If scholars' estimates are correct, the population of the Circassian diaspora at the turn of the twentieth century exceeded the total number of Kurds living in the Ottoman Empire (Gingeras 2011, 8–10).

Muslim migration flows from the Balkans to the Turkish heartlands were also significant. In the period between 1878 and 1913, between 1.7 and two million Muslims were displaced from the Balkans to Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. The Muslim population suffered most during the First Balkan War at the hands of Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian troops and irregulars, while their villages were in many cases burnt down by their Christian neighbours. Thousands of refugees sought shelter in cities like Thessaloniki and Istanbul (Salvanou 2017, 291).

Unquestionably, one of the most fundamental moments of the ensuing Great War was displacement. Key sites of displacement extended from Belgium to Armenia, with enforced departure taking place in France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, East Prussia, the Russian Empire, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey and Serbia. Much of this history remains unknown or poorly understood. We can assume that 14 or even 15 million civilians were displaced (Gatrell 2017).

While the influx of Muslim refugees to Anatolia continued, both Greeks and Armenians were forced to leave their homelands in Anatolia due to official state policies that were partly motivated by the ongoing wars and partly by the ideological orientations of the ruling elite. The mass expulsions of Armenians and Greeks led to the almost complete removal of these communities over a short period. Around 1893, Armenians and Greeks constituted about eight and ten percent respectively of the Ottoman population in the territories that roughly correspond to Turkey today. By 1927, however, 99 percent of Turkey's population (excluding Istanbul) was registered as Muslim.

The aim of this very rough overview of displacement and mass migrations caused by wars and governmental conventions was to give an impression of the massiveness of these population shifts. However, since this is only a secondary aspect of the paper's main topic, I will leave this plane of events and move to the investigation of the impact of migration on knowledge exchange.

II) Migration and Knowledge Exchange

Unfortunately, the interrelation between the migrations and displacements outlined above and knowledge exchange has by far not been systematically investigated. Naturally, research has focused more on the negative effects of expulsion, caused by this violent decade of wars, than on variants of positive experience, the achievements of individual migrants and their social and economic advancement in new environments. I will give three examples of contexts in which migration stimulated various kinds of knowledge exchange. The first example will show that as a result of the forced emigration of North Caucasian Muslims to the Ottoman Empire, many North Caucasians worked their way up into the military elite. This constellation not only served to intensify relations between their land of origin and the country of asylum but led them to fight for Turkey's independence. The second example concerns a young émigré linguist from Azerbaijan who became an interlocutor in the field of Turcology between Turkey and the SU. The third example discusses a Serb generation shaped by war that not only helped to liberate its country from occupation by the Central Powers from 1915 but also benefited from knowledge exchange with Serbia's allies.

The North Caucasian Case

It should be noted that at the beginning of the twentieth century the North Caucasian intellectual elite in exile considered the Ottoman Empire and later Turkey a temporary home, while they regarded the unity of the North Caucasian mountain peoples in their historical homeland as a strategic task. Before World War I, a number of activists founded the Committee for the Independence of the Caucasus. Among its members were many outstanding representatives of the Ottoman military and civil bureaucracy of Circassian origin, such as Fuad Pasha (1835–1931, a marshal and ambassador), Husein Rauf Bey (1881–1964, Minister of the Navy), Bekir Sami Bey (1865–1933, governor of Beirut and other cities,) and Yusuf Izzet Pasha (1876–1922, a general and historian). Aiming to garner international support, the Committee established close contacts with most of the foreign embassies in Istanbul. Lobbyists, particularly as part of official delegations, were sent to European countries to attract attention to the Caucasian peoples and the issue of political self-determination. The activities of the Circassian organisations reached their culmination after the proclamation of the Independent North Caucasian Republic on 11 May 1918, which found enthusiastic resonance among all the Caucasian groups in exile. The political and military elite of the diaspora helped the leaders

of the proclaimed republic to establish tight contacts with the Young Turk government (Chochiev 2007, 219).

Parallel to the struggle for an independent North Caucasian state, many North Caucasian émigrés fought for Turkey's independence side by side with Atatürk. Of the fifteen members of Mustafa Kemal's central 'representative committee', a body which would steer the war effort against the foreign occupiers, over a third were of North Caucasian descent. Most of the North Caucasians who surrounded Mustafa Kemal were under forty years of age. For the most part, these men had become acquainted with one another in the years before World War I. As friends, classmates or former comrades-in-arms, pro-nationalist North Caucasians shared a collective set of interests, values and aims defined by the Ottoman state and later by Atatürk's national movement (Gingeras 2011).

In the North Caucasus, the independent Republic ceased to exist between the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919. One year later, the Soviet power created two autonomous republics, the Dagestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Soviet Mountain Republic, and incorporated them into the SU. But the Soviet Mountain Republic was short-lived. Once Soviet power was firmly established, the regime started to divide the region into smaller ethnic territories in 1921 (Çelikpala 2003, 288).

The North Caucasian political elite that had so briefly been in power went into exile to Baku and Tbilisi and later to Istanbul, Paris and Prague, where they tried to establish and entertain permanent political and cultural institutions and to raise funds to support the training of their students abroad. The Union of Caucasian Mountain Peoples, the exiles' first formal political organization, was set up in Prague, quite probably in late 1923. Among the various institutions founded by the political emigrants, the Commission for the Languages of the North Caucasus, which convened in 1933, should be mentioned. The lack of a lingua franca among the North Caucasian peoples had always been perceived as the root cause of almost all the problems of the region, including the inability to sustain a union. Although the language and alphabet debate continued until 1938 on the pages of émigré periodicals, the Commission chose the Kumuk language as the lingua franca of the North Caucasus. For the future, the plan was to unify the North Caucasian alphabets using a 47-letter Latin alphabet. General Mikail Halil, the last president of the Mountain People Republic of 1918, was among the prominent supporters of this project which was never put into practice despite the fact that a Polish–North Caucasian dictionary with 2,000 basic words in each

language had already had been written in the new alphabet (Çelikpala 2003, 289–90, 301, 305–306).

The Case of Ahmet Caferoğlu (1895–1975)

The young linguist Ahmet Caferoğlu was among the most prominent South Caucasian migrants to Turkey and considerably contributed to Soviet-Turkish knowledge exchange in the field of Turcology. Born into a wealthy Shi'i family, he completed his education in Kiev on the eve of the Russian Revolution in 1917 and was recruited into the Azerbaijani army. In the autumn of 1919, 24-year-old Caferoğlu enrolled in the Faculty of Philology at the newly established University of Baku. Russian became his second tongue after Azerbaijani. The multi-ethnic composition of the university staff, which included professors and lecturers of Russian, Jewish, Georgian, Tatar and German origin, mirrored the cultural diversity of his academic environment. Although regular teaching at the university started in November 1919, the Republic had ceased to exist by April 1920. In May, at the last possible moment, Caferoğlu left for Istanbul (Gasimov 2016, § 5–46).

By the early 1920s, and after spending many years in different cities on the periphery of the Russian Empire and subsequently the Soviet Union, Caferoğlu found himself in Istanbul among a broad community of other emigrants from Russia and the Balkans. He successfully completed his education at Istanbul University in 1925 and subsequently obtained a scholarship from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs to pursue his PhD studies in Germany. In 1929, he defended his dissertation at the University of Breslau, which was published the following year under the title *75 Azerbaidshanische Lieder*. In 1929, Caferoğlu returned to Turkey with a Turkish passport, a German PhD title, and a personal network that boasted prestigious contacts with other eminent European orientologists (Ibid.).

The postcards in his private collection include several documenting his communications with the Leningrad Turcologist, Alexander Samoilovich, and Soviet diplomat Michel Mikhailov. The correspondence between Caferoğlu and Mikhailov suggests that with Mikhailov's assistance he regularly delivered publications on Turcology to the SU, and in return received Soviet research literature. By reviewing Soviet linguistics-related research for Turkish periodicals, Caferoğlu contributed considerably to the transfer of knowledge from the SU to Turkey despite the Iron Curtain (Ibid.).

This individual knowledge exchange is even more remarkable if we consider that from the mid-1930s until the late 1950s Soviet Turcologists

were unable to travel to Turkey and remained ignorant, for example, of the changes the Turkish language had undergone following the establishment of the Turkish Republic. In 1958, a group of Soviet Turcologists made a first trip to Turkey. In 1960, the 25th International Congress of Orientalists was held in Moscow. Soviet Turcologists began to attend, although rarely, conferences in Turkey (Şahin 2010, 620).

The Serbian Case

One of the most spectacular cases of the mass exchange of culture and knowledge to take place on the fringes of the BSR was caused by the great retreat of Serbian officials, civilians and approx. 220,000 soldiers – the rest of the army – across Albania in the winter of 1915–16. Instead of surrender, the Serbian High Command ordered the army to cross the border and retreat from Serbia towards the Albanian Adriatic in late November 1915. Members of the royal family, 180 parliamentary deputies with their families, government ministers and civil servants retreated together with Serbian Orthodox clergy, peasants and the Belgrade poor. Influential artists, such as the Serbian writer Branislav Nušić, scientists, such as the German Slavist scholar, Professor Gerhard Gesemann, and other professionals joined the crowd. Priceless historical objects were transported, such as medieval manuscripts, books and relics, along with deposits belonging to the National Bank and documents from the Serbian National Archive. Some 600 school pupils, 15 years of age and over, made up a separate category together with their teachers. This contributed to a widespread feeling that the entire country was on the move (Šarenac 2017) towards the Albanian Adriatic coast.

Serbian refugees and soldiers interpreted their displacement as a terrible yet also enlightening experience. Many of them had never travelled further than their neighbouring villages and now found themselves on huge ships heading across the Mediterranean Sea. Serbian entrepreneur Mališa Atanacković was a case in point. After visiting factories in France and Great Britain, Atanacković carefully noted the admirable work practices he hoped to introduce in his own business when he resumed his activities in Serbia. Four thousand Serb children who lost their fathers in the war were able to enrol in French schools and colleges between 1916 and 1918. In the UK, too, some 450 children attended various schools all over the country. Some 25 children attended George Heriot's School in Edinburgh, and a further 100 were divided between Oxford and Cambridge. Serbian pupils from George Heriot's School became pioneers of rugby in the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes after 1918 (Ibid.).

The presence of Serbian refugees in the Entente countries had political implications. Serbia's uncompromising and prolonged resistance to the Central Powers was endlessly praised in the media as a moral and courageous act. Photographic exhibitions informed the Allied public about events in Serbia and the great retreat. The photographer Samson Tchernoff, who followed the Serbian army across Albania, was sent to London by Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić to arrange an exhibition of his war photographs under the title 'The Serbs in December 1915'. Russian Grand Duke Mikhail Romanov opened the exhibition at the Royal Institution on 5 June 1916 with Pašić himself in attendance. The exhibition transferred to New York in March 1918. Another photographer, Rista Marjanović, exhibited his photos of the retreat at the Inter-Allied Exhibition of War Photographs held at the Louvre in 1916 (Ibid.).

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that while there was plenty of evidence of impatience and intolerance by indigenous people at the first sight of refugees displaced by World War I, they were also an object of curiosity and fascination, as well as a source of information. Furthermore, the presence of refugees and their interaction with non-refugees could yield positive results, for example, by introducing new employment and business practices to economic backwaters (Gatrell 2017, 10–11). Surviving refugees and migrants were forced to move to new places and to confront other cultures. For our linguist Caferoğlu, fluent in various languages, it was relatively easy to move back and forth. In the Serbian case, surviving Serbian soldiers made an involuntary excursion through the Mediterranean before they could return to their homeland via Thessaloniki. Thousands of Serbian pupils were educated in France. It was no accident that a majority of the Serbian elite opted for France and against Germany when Yugoslavia's government hesitantly approached the Axis Powers in early 1941. And in relation to migrants to Turkey, young North Caucasian military officers fought a proxy war on Atatürk's side, liberating Turkey instead of North Caucasia. These three examples refer to different forms of knowledge exchange, all of them related to involuntary migration; and in all of them, young men are overrepresented. This overrepresentation must be taken into account as we now turn to some continuities and discontinuities in voluntary academic migration and academic exchange cultures.

III Continuities and Discontinuities of Academic Exchange Cultures

The new geopolitical constellation caused by the outcome of the Great War had an impact on academic cultures and their exchange practices. New countries such as Yugoslavia and Turkey emerged, while new independent

states such as the South Caucasian republics disappeared again after just few years. Before the war, German academic culture that had oscillated between German and Austro-Hungarian universities and academies impacted on academic institutions in the Balkans significantly. Meanwhile, Russian academic culture and knowledge production had a crucial influence on academic institutions in South Caucasia. In the aftermath of the Great War, however, the academic institutions and scholars of Germany and its former allies became isolated and ostracized by international scientific organizations, as were the Soviet institutions. This isolation of traditional partners, however, did not mean that Germany lost its impact on the Balkans, nor did the SU lose its influence on South Caucasia; even under the new geopolitical conditions, existing core-periphery relations remained intact or were reinforced.

One of the most remarkable discontinuities in academic culture was the increasing inclusion of women. This had an impact on academic institutions as well as international exchange cultures – though not immediately, changes were evident on the long run. Another example of discontinuity was the nationalization of ‘armchair ethnology’ which was increasingly reshaped into empirical ethnography or folklore studies. Whereas several disciplines tended towards more national outlines, the increasing number of scholarly meetings in the framework of international conferences promoted the internationalization of academic cultures – a dichotomy that followed an internal logic.

Continuation of Core-Periphery Relations

In the eyes of the international scientific community, Germany constituted Europe’s, and even the world’s scientific core from the second half of the nineteenth century to World War I. This was especially true in regard to disciplines such as physics, biology and chemistry. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, after achieving national unity, Germany began a policy of imperial expansion, both towards Africa and Asia as well as towards Central and Eastern Europe (Fuchs 1996, 158–59; Santoro 2015). This emerging domination created stable scientific networks before the onset of the Great War – networks that continued to function even in the wake of war when the international scientific community officially banned Germany from its activities.

Before the outbreak of the Great War, Britain’s involvement in Central Europe and the Balkans had been governed by classic British priorities: economic profit and the maintenance, through careful and limited diplomacy, of the peaceful conditions that underpin trade. In contrast to

pre-war and wartime advocacy in Britain in favour of its Central European and Balkan interests, no pressure groups or parliamentary committees were involved in the decade following the war. One can therefore draw the conclusion that those responsible for Britain's foreign relations in the 1920s had limited faith in the system that they had helped to create in the east (Lojkó 2010, 281–82, 292).

In Italy, the collapse of the Habsburg Empire stimulated new interest in Central and Eastern Europe and initiatives were launched with the aim of gathering academic and cultural knowledge of the peoples in that geographical area. Slavists began to consider the idea of an institution that, following the example of existing institutes abroad, could devote itself to the study of Eastern Europe. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs readily responded to this desire for knowledge and encouraged the establishment of such an institute. It was named *Istituto per l'Europa Orientale* (Institute for Eastern Europe), and was founded in January 1921. This institute aspired to act as an intermediary between Italy and 'the new nations which with their vitality will shape the future destiny of Eastern Europe'. In the early years of fascism, the first Institutes of Italian Culture abroad were founded in this framework. They were born out of the example of the French institutes, on the initiative of cultural figures living abroad – lecturers and professors – and were later supported by Italian diplomacy. The first cultural institutes based in Central and Eastern Europe were those of Prague and Bucharest, founded in 1922 and 1923 respectively (Santoro 2015, 158–63).

France was more ambitious in the region than Great Britain and Italy and developed plans to bring it closer to French civilization. In 1920, a decree set up the French Foreign Works Service whose mission was to ensure France's intellectual expansion abroad. The service was organised on a global level, with separate departments for Europe, the French-controlled Levant, the Far East and America. The cultural efforts of the foreign ministry were primarily aimed at expanding the use of the French language, which was the preferred means of influence at all levels. The main concern was to contribute to the education of humanist and technical elites in foreign countries and, later, to spread French culture to the masses. Methods of achieving this goal included inviting foreign students to France, sending French university professors abroad and establishing French educational institutions in the mentioned regions. As outlined above in the case of Serbia, France provided education for almost 4,000 Serbian secondary school and university students during the Great War when Serbia was under occupation. Following the geopolitical evolution of eastern alliances, France founded the *Institut d'études slaves* in Paris in 1919

upon a joint decision together with the governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia. The Institute, which from the outset published a magazine, *Revue des études slaves*, became a reference point for scholars of Central and Eastern Europe and the engine of the French institutes (*Instituts français*) which in the interwar years were founded especially in Central Eastern Europe (Ibid, 157).

In the years immediately following World War I, France and Germany rivalled to establish cultural hegemony in the Balkans. France seemed to be in the better position since Germany was forced to withdraw from the group of colonial powers: it was deprived of all its territorial and other acquisitions abroad after the end of World War I and the signing of the Versailles Treaty in 1919. The sanctions of the Treaty dramatically affected the young republic's international affairs. German science and research were cut off from the international scientific community (Zarifi 2007, 199–200). However the existing networks, established before the war, were predominantly based on personal relationships, which helped to circumvent international sanctions.

From 1919 until 1925, Germany was excluded from participation in roughly 60 percent of international meetings (165 out of 275) in the fields of the humanities, natural and technical sciences. As was to be expected, figures were different when international congresses were organised by neutral states or the Central Powers. Germany was invited to all but one of the 21 international congresses organised by the Central Powers between 1920 and 1924. However the Allies, in particular France and Belgium, keeping true to the articles of the Versailles Treaty, refused to send their delegates to thirteen congresses to which Germany was also invited during this time. The measures taken by the Allies in order to punish Germany led the intellectual and political circles of the defeated country to talk about a 'war against German science'.

Inclusion of Women

Women belonged to the most disadvantaged groups in academia before and after World War I. Whereas the first women at universities and their academic careers have been relatively satisfyingly investigated, their inclusion in networks of knowledge exchange has, unfortunately, hardly been researched. When preparing my paper, I found only the work of Bulgarian colleague Georgeta Nazarska in relation to this topic. Nazarska examines the participation of Bulgarian women scientists in the scientific networks that emerged between Germany and Bulgaria in regard to the transfer of knowledge. Her work analyses the activities of these women in Germany:

their doctoral and postgraduate studies, their participation in various scientific forums, their publications in German periodicals, their affiliations with both the German scientific institutions and the established research networks of the time (Nazarska 2014, 13).

The entry of Bulgarian women into the field of academia had its repercussions also in the women's movement. The largest Bulgarian feminist organisation after World War I was *Bulgarski Zhenski Sujuz* (the Bulgarian Women's Union), founded in 1901 as a union of dozens of charitable women's societies. It worked for 'the mental and moral advancement of women' and 'the improvement of their status in all respects', and was a member of the International Council of Women and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance from 1908 (Nazarska 2007, 156–58).

World polity after World War I differed markedly from that of the previous period. Earlier dreams of establishing permanent international cooperative bodies were now realized with the creation of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization (ILO), ushering in a new phase of world polity construction. The League and the ILO, both created at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, constituted the first stable organizational basis for inter-state cooperation. They opened a new arena for women's mobilization by offering a central global focal point that until then had been lacking. In so doing, they changed the context in which women's organizations operated, consequently provoking changes in their modes of operation as well. The main endeavours of women's organizations were now directed at the newly created international bodies. By turning their attention to the latter, women's organizations conferred legitimacy on them and thus helped to institutionalize their centrality. At the same time, the degree of organization and cooperation among women's groups increased (Berkovitch 1999, 106–12).

New International and National Academic Institutions

As a consequence of World War I, the European countries had to adapt to the changed world order. Science and the humanities were to contribute to the establishment of permanent peace. With the creation of the League of Nations and its newly founded international scientific organizations a new dynamic came into being, which also had its repercussions on the national level. One of the outcomes and consequences of World War I was the foundation of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) in Geneva in 1922 – an umbrella organization of the League of Nations for the humanities – and its corresponding institute, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) in Paris in

1924. Inter-university matters were treated in special committees within the ICIC and the IIIC, as well as the issues of curriculum and textbook revision (Fuchs 2007, 199–201). After the collapse of the international political system at the beginning of the war, the establishment of a discipline called ‘international relations’ seemed more than appropriate and was supported by the ICIC. Forerunners were the Institute of International Affairs founded in Paris in 1919 and the British Institute of International Affairs, or Chatham House, inaugurated in 1920. The American Institute of International Affairs was also established in 1920 and the *Institutul Social Român* was created in Bucharest in 1921. A few years later, in 1924, the League adopted the famous resolution: ‘The Assembly, being convinced of the fundamental importance of familiarising young people throughout the world with the principles and work of the League of Nations, and of training the younger generation to regard international cooperation as the normal method of conducting world affairs [...] (League of Nations 1924, 17) is of the opinion that further steps should be taken to promote these objects’. In the following years, the ICIC adopted various coordination measures. The aim was to carry out similar coordination in all capitals and important university centres, and to create study programmes that would enable students to complete international studies in a different country from where they had begun them (Riemens 2011, 914–17).

Another ICIC field of action was the coordination of peace education along with a revision of history education. The revision of curricula and textbooks belonged to one of the most sensitive spheres of international cooperation, since it not only provoked political rivalry but also touched on a field that was traditionally seen as an integral part of national sovereignty. Therefore, the idea of introducing a uniform international history textbook that would be mainly developed by pacifist teachers was rejected by numerous governments. It soon became obvious that attempts to change only parts of the textbooks would be much more successful. In general, despite political differences, resistance from professional historians who feared a biased, non-scientific approach to history, conflicts between pragmatists and pacifist radicals, and debates over the overly cautious politics of the League, all these mutual efforts at curriculum reform showed a degree of success, even though a common European textbook was not be accomplished (Fuchs 2007, 205–8).

Incentives for the establishment of new disciplines as well as for the reorganization of already existing ones (e.g. history) came from the League of Nations and its scientific umbrella organizations. However, an additional push for the partial reorganisation of traditional disciplines and

the creation of new ones was generated by scientific exchange processes and the new composition of populations in many countries, caused by migration and territorial shifts.

Despite the already mentioned sanctions imposed against Germany (and its war allies), which also extended to knowledge exchange within the new international organizations, the German scholarly world remained the primary point of reference for the Balkan countries after World War I. Only French scientific institutions constituted an alternative. Therefore, the Balkan countries received crucial incentives from German scientists regarding the reorganization of certain disciplines, such as physical anthropology. A related field, ethnography or folklore studies – the study of a nation's own population – also started to prosper. The reasons for these developments were the establishment of new states, such as Yugoslavia and Turkey, the reestablishment of existing states under a new state ideology, such as the SU, the (temporary) integration of newly conquered territories such as the North Aegean by Bulgaria and the province of Izmir by Greece, and the integration of massive waves of refugees.

Physical anthropology developed along lines that were largely independent from those in ethnography and folklore studies. There was only partial intertwinement between these fields during the early period of Europe's newly independent states. In the context of new national priorities, ethnography and folklore studies in most cases took precedence over physical anthropology, at least during those early years. Under the conditions of post-1918 Europe, this internally heterogeneous context of a strong emphasis on folklore studies at home, relatively weak and partially interconnected physical anthropology and scarce elements of cross-cultural anthropology represented a specific configuration that differed markedly from those discussed so far. Despite never gaining wider international recognition, physical anthropology prevailed locally in one or the other version until World War II in this newly independent half of Europe (Gingrich 2014, 366).

The first Bulgarian attracted to the new science of heredity was Konstantin Pašev (1873–1961). As a young ophthalmologist, he broadened his knowledge of the subject in Berlin. During his stay there (1903–1904), he wrote *Higiiena na koto* (The Hygiene of the Eye). As such, hygienic measures in Bulgaria did not play the significant role as antecedents of racial hygiene that advocates of the latter had hoped they would. Stefan Konsulov, a promoter of racial hygiene in the early 1920s, ranked the different branches of hygiene as if they were different stages of human development. For Konsulov, changing gender roles in modern society were

responsible for declining birth rates and genetic degeneration: ‘Talented women represent the genetic treasure of a nation, but instead of bearing many children they often prefer to work in science and to stay childless. They squander their valuable genes; the number of intellectually gifted will decline in the long run.’ Bulgarian feminists, however, unsurprisingly insisted that the issue he raised was not about saving the ‘genetic treasure of the nation’, but about preserving the monopoly of men in academia and in high social positions (Promitzer 2007, 224–28). First cranial measurements in Bulgaria were conducted by a Lithuanian medical doctor. The first Bulgarian to undertake such measurements was Stefan Vatev (1866–1846), who had studied medicine in Leipzig from 1888 to 1893. He became a key figure and until World War I numerous doctors conducted thousands of cranial measurements of children under his guidance (Promitzer 2003, 374–76).

Similarly in the case of Greece, physical anthropology and issues of race, racial hygiene and racial science constituted a hegemonic discourse imported from abroad. The beginnings of physical anthropology reach back to the year 1884, when first descriptions of the body measurements of several hundred people were published. The first chair for anthropology was installed at the University of Athens in 1915. However, racial science remained under the domination of foreign scientists until World War II. Although the Hellenic Anthropological Society was founded on the basis of a eugenics programme in 1924, it did not develop notable activities, despite attracting a wide range of intellectuals and other prominent figures (Ibid, 374–76, 381–84). Debates within the Association reflected, to a great extent, the state of affairs in anthropological discourse in the rest of Europe, since most of the Association’s members were affiliated with scientific institutes abroad. Matters related to race, eugenics and population policies discussed under the heading of ‘anthropology’ thus became central to Greek scientific discourse at the time (Trubeta 2007, 129).

Compared to the development of anthropology, the foundation of sociology was more successful and had more impact. In 1916, the pro-socialist politician and intellectual, Alexandros Papanastasiou, established the Society of Social and Political Sciences based on the German model of the *Verein für Sozialpolitik*. Most, if not all, of the Society fellows were not involved in actual empirical research projects. They were members of the upper echelons of the bourgeoisie who held managerial positions in the public sector and were not interested in opening the debate to wider society. However, they contributed to introduce the teaching of sociology at the universities of Athens and Thessaloniki, as well as at

the Athens Panteion School of Political Sciences and the Athens School of Economics, between the late 1920s and the early 1930s. In addition, several social science journals were published among which the Archive for Economic and Social Sciences (since 1923) was the most important. However, they failed to offer any support to the crumbling democratic regime which collapsed in 1936 under the fascist dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas (Agelopoulos 2011, 7).

In Romania, racial science first emerged in ethnically diverse Transylvania. Shortly after World War I, the Hygienic and Social Hygienic Institute was founded in Cluj, which also started to edit a journal in 1927. In the rest of the country, this kind of research remained insignificant for the time being. Only in 1935 was the Royal Society for Eugenics and Heredity founded (Promitzer 2003, 374–76, 381–84).

Whereas in the Balkan countries physical anthropology and racial sciences emerged influenced by German scholarship, though without significant impact, this was not the case in the SU. Soviet ethnography had emerged out of the Petersburg Institute of Geography and Soviet ethnography would always maintain a specific disciplinary affinity to geography. After the 1917 revolution, physical anthropology under Soviet rule was downgraded to a position of minimal significance. By contrast, ethnography received growing attention and public support under the Marxist premise of what was now becoming the SU. The underlying reasons were political, in an ideological as much as a pragmatic sense. In ideological terms, it was believed that ethnography – in the evolutionist tradition of Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels's interpretations of the works of Lewis H. Morgan – could provide additional substantiation for Marxist theory. In pragmatic political terms, ethnography was regarded as a key tool for ruling the non-Russian peoples of Siberia, central Asia, and the Caucasus regions (Gingrich 2014, 358).

Whereas racial anthropology did not find fertile ground in the BSR, migrations and territorial expansions stimulated ethnography and folklore studies. This can be exemplified in the case of Greece. The breakdown of the Ottoman Empire in the mid- 1910s almost doubled the size of the Greek state. Just after the Balkan Wars (1912–13), Greek academics and policymakers started to turn their attention to the problem of incorporating the former Ottoman territories socially, culturally, politically and economically into their nation state structures. These areas were populated by hundreds of thousands of people who were neither Greek-speaking nor Greek Orthodox Christians. Until the withdrawal of the Greek Army from Asia Minor in 1922, the annexation of the 'New Lands' generated significant

challenges and dilemmas for the state administration. The situation in the New Lands demanded the proper scientific study of these populations in order a) to ensure their integration into the Greek state, and b) to allow a more productive use of the resources of these areas. Part of this process involved a hybrid attempt to develop ethnological studies and the academic discipline of ethnology.

The Greek Army landed in Smyrna/Izmir in 1919 and two years later the University of Smyrna was established by Kostantinos Karatheodori, a German-trained mathematician and close friend of Albert Einstein. This was the second Greek University to be established; the first was founded in Athens in 1843. Although the University of Smyrna never operated because the Greeks evacuated Asia Minor in September 1922, it should be borne in mind that the Greek authorities considered the development of ethnological knowledge as vital to state interests. It is certainly no coincidence that among the first four schools founded at the Greek University of Smyrna was a School of Oriental Ethnology created in 1920. Furthermore, a Balkan Languages Department was established, while a Chair of Jewish Religion overseeing the education of rabbis at the University of Thessaloniki emerged in the 1920s (Agelopoulos 2010, 2–4; Agelopoulos 2011, 5–6).

The Greek government also initiated pioneering ethnographic studies in the region of Izmir and in northern Greece during the 1920s. Trained lawyer and economist Kostantinos Karavidas, a 'sociographer', was among the first to conduct ethnographic work (Agelopoulos 2011, 5). The Greek ethnographers (geographers, demographers) before him had been 'armchair ethnographers' – none of them had conducted extensive fieldwork surveys of all the areas they described in their works. Their studies mainly relied on data from secondary sources, from information provided by third parties and from selective research in specific areas. Karavidas, instead of focusing on the broad frame and relying on secondary data and information provided by others, attempted his own fieldwork research in the district (*villayet*) of Izmir in 1922. His efforts resemble the work of some British anthropologists who assisted the colonial administration of India by producing ethnological maps and censuses. In 1924–25, he was appointed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in North and West Greek Macedonia to conduct ethnographic research among minority populations (Slavs, Vlachs). He produced seven reports, described the migration of Slav families, and worked on the history of the Macedonian Muslims. He paid attention to local economies and kinship structures, gender roles in rural societies, local elites, patronage and the role of the state. Although not trained as an

ethnographer, he kept excellent fieldnotes, detailed personal diaries, copies of his correspondence with officials, photographs, ethnographic maps and censuses (Agelopoulos 2010, 5–10).

These attempts to institutionalise the study of otherness in the 1912–22 period had an important and useful value for the state since they supported the administration of the local ‘natives’. These efforts ceased to be of value after the 1922 defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor. The subsequent population exchanges between Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria in the 1920s created a different situation. Greece became smaller, but the degree of linguistic, religious and national homogenisation of its population increased. In addition, the state implemented less liberal policies towards the remaining groups who were perceived as belonging to religious and linguistic minorities. Thus, the attempts to institutionalize the study of otherness lost any practical application and were cancelled (Agelopoulos 2011, 5–6). Nevertheless, a new discipline, ethnography or folklore studies, was born.

New Forms of International Collaboration

The decade of wars and violence contributed indirectly to changes in academic cultures in the humanities. Women increasingly gained access to higher education and were able to hold academic positions. They joined forces and started to fight for the rights of women in academia. Elements of German and increasingly French academic cultures were adopted and adapted to local needs. Internationally oriented ‘armchair ethnology’ became national ethnography. Despite the nationalization of some areas of the humanities, new forms of international knowledge exchange emerged or were intensified.

Already in the nineteenth century, factors such as the emergence of professional researchers, the differentiation of sciences in a national context, the integration of pure, applied and technical sciences, and the momentum for international exchange, collaboration, coordination and the standardization of individual scientific disciplines, had led to a push for internationalization. This push first occurred through the founding of international science organizations, to which departmental congresses and associations, periodicals, projects, research institutions and exchange programmes belonged. This new and widely ramified system of international scientific relations developed within the tension-loaded context of national scientific growth, yet it did express itself through an internationalization of national scientific institutions – mostly under state sponsorship – and through international competition.

The establishment of international scientific congresses became the most important form of scientific internationalization. Not only did they offer a regular meeting place where scientists could share their most recent findings, they also frequently provided the occasion for the establishment of international scientific organizations. It was at these congresses that an international community of scholars was created.

The dimension of this form of international cooperation becomes apparent when we examine the growing trend in the number of international congresses. Unsurprisingly, the years when the highest number of congresses was held coincided with the years in which a World's Fair took place. International cooperation before 1900 developed mainly on the level of personal correspondence, through scientific and professional journals, scientific travels (expeditions, guest lectures, and research at foreign institutions and laboratories), and international scientific conferences. International congresses and associations of specialists became institutionalized locations of discursive communities and therefore main rivals to those existing institutions which had functioned as supra-national research coordinators since the middle of the seventeenth century: the academies. Although the first international scientific congress was already convened in Paris in 1798–99, the congress boom began only in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1857, five congresses took place, in 1865 ten, and at the World's Fair in Paris in 1889 the number of international conferences exceeded one hundred (111) for the first time. The years 1900 (the Paris Exposition), 1910 and 1913 constituted the quantitative peaks of the congress movement with 232, 258 and 237 conferences held before the Great War (Fuchs 1996, 156–62).

Congresses on the topic of education, to take one example, go back to the educational exhibitions at the World's Fairs. The educational exhibits primarily served political goals and the propagation of the educational systems of the leading industrial powers, while international congresses offered an opportunity to exchange information. In the first World's Fairs up to 1900, the interest in other educational systems, teaching instruction and educational methods dominated these international encounters. They covered a wide range of topics from primary education to secondary and higher education, adult education, special schools and school hygiene. National representatives were delegated by their governments.

The first international congress on education took place at the World's Fair in Philadelphia in 1876. Its main resolution was to install the educational congress as a permanent institution at the World's Fairs (Fuchs 2004, 758–62).

However, even if we accept the thesis that the growing international congress movement resulted in a new quality of scientific exchange, this does not imply a transformation from national to international science. Especially the humanities – as is reflected in the history of history congresses in the twentieth century – remained subordinated to national and nationalistic ambitions. The Great War goes to show proves that the internationalism of a cosmopolitan republic of letters did not result in an ‘Internationale of scholars’ (Fuchs 1996, 165–66).

Following World War I, the victorious powers drew the consequences and stimulated an intensification of international collaboration. Already in 1919, the International Research Council (IRC) for the Natural Sciences and the International Academic Union (IAU) for the Humanities were established. However, these excluded the scientific communities of the Central Powers and their allies, as well as the SU. The leading scientists in the IRC were convinced that they were establishing the foundation of a new era in the life of the international community of science and, at the same time, conforming to the principles of international morality. In effect, German science and scientists had become seriously isolated. During the first post-war years, the ‘boycott’ – as the Germans called it – was broadly effective, especially with regard to international scientific associations and their meetings, and definitely with regard to the coordinating organizations, the IRC and IAU. Out of 275 international congresses held between 1919 and 1925 in the entire field of the humanities, natural and technical sciences, 60 percent met without the participation of a German delegation – as mentioned above. The percentage was particularly high in 1920 and dropped steadily from then on. But in 1925, still half of the international meetings were held without the presence of delegations from Germany or Austria. The German language, too, was banned from the international scene as a strong tendency to reject German as a language of scientific communication in international meetings made itself felt. Since Germans and Austrians were excluded, this should not have caused, at first glance, major problems. Difficulties were, however, soon to arise: at the International Tuberculosis Conference which met in Lausanne in 1924, for example, delegates from the German-speaking part of Switzerland were asked to read their papers in French or English. And from time to time, scholars from East and Southeast Europe addressed international meetings in the despised language. At the International Congress of Byzantinists in Bucharest in 1924, three Yugoslav, two Romanian and one Greek participant delivered their talks in German.

In 1926, the IRC repealed the exclusion clause for the former Central Powers but not for the SU (Schroeder-Gudehus 1973, 93–99, 110–11).

The congresses of Byzantinists are good examples of how international conferences were organized. Perhaps Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909) in Munich took the most significant step towards the internationalisation of the discipline in the 1890s when he founded the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, the first journal to focus on this field and still a noted publication, and set up the Institute for Byzantine Studies within the University of Munich. Also of significance were developments in Athens, where the newly founded university and the Academy showed strong interest in this area (Jeffreys 2008, 3). The next important step was the organization of a series of international congresses on Byzantine studies, the first taking place in Bucharest in 1924 with some thirty participants. All congresses were amply sponsored by public budgets and supported by the highest political circles. For example, at the opening ceremony of the second congress in Belgrade in 1927, besides the king, the prime minister, the patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic archbishop of Belgrade, there was a cohort of state dignitaries including the president of parliament, six ministers, the mayor of Belgrade, the president of the Royal Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the president of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts from Zagreb, the rectors of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana universities, as well as many foreign ambassadors. The very idea that Byzantinists should meet regularly stemmed as much from the need to affirm pacifism, driven not only by the long-anticipated reconciliation of French and German scholars but principally by the need to keep the volatile Balkan conflicts at bay, as from academic interest. This was a time when the Balkan states concluded a series of agreements on mutual cooperation and there is no doubt that the congresses were to act as a cultural bulwark against what were seen as ubiquitous political tensions in the region (Ignjatović 2018, 2–7, 13–15).

When the official part of the first congress in Bucharest came to a close, most of the delegates, accompanied not only by their spouses but also by a small army of journalists, boarded specially scheduled trains and headed off to visit the medieval monuments scattered around the countryside. The excursion was meticulously planned and coordinated, with every detail of the week-long itinerary worked out well in advance. In April 1924, a train comprising seven wagon-lits left Bucharest for Bukovina via Moldova, passing through Oltenia and Muntenia. The excursion after the second congress in Belgrade included Serbia proper, Kosovo and Macedonia: the six-day journey got underway with more than 300 Byzantinists and their entourage aboard three chartered trains. There

were two sleeping cars and an autorack for transporting the automobiles needed to get the travellers to the more remote areas. However, the roads leading to some of the most celebrated cultural monuments in ‘Old Serbia’ were in such a poor state that the automobiles could not be put to use and even oxen carts were unable to negotiate them. This misadventure, rather ironically, showed how big the gap between the ‘glorious past’ and reality really was (Ibid, 2–7, 13–15).

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that the decade of wars and violence in the BSR from 1912 to 1922, with its dramatic violations of what would later be called human rights, at the same time had innovative effects on knowledge exchange. Firstly, through personal experiences, as indicated in the three examples presented above, and secondly, by stimulating the emergence of new scientific disciplines. As a consequence of displacement, young people made careers that would have unfolded differently had they remained in their home environment. Forced migration produced forms of knowledge exchange that should not be underestimated in their extent and meaning. They were based on immediate personal experience and therefore inscribed into the bodies and minds of the migrants – beyond the emerging new forms of visual and textual mass communication, such as the telephone, photographs in newspapers and magazines, and film images produced for newsreels. These population displacements prompted the formation of new scientific disciplines in the humanities, especially ethnographic and folklore studies, as well as physical anthropology. As the example of Greece has demonstrated, they also encouraged the application of new methods, such as ethnographic fieldwork.

This period of insecurity, instability and violence provoked voices that called for an intensification of peaceful collaboration, for instance in the form of international conferences. I believe that the boom in Byzantine studies, reflected in the international conferences explored above, can only be explained by a desire for stability and security. Furthermore, the League of Nations and its scientific bodies endeavoured to learn from history by supporting the revision of historical textbooks – a rather unsuccessful move in the interwar period. However, as we know, this idea was formulated anew and successfully realized after World War II. Finally, the turbulences of this decade, triggered in male-dominated societies, opened some windows of opportunity for ambitious women in science in the first post-war years. Nevertheless in this case, too, equal access to universities and scientific institutions for men and women had to wait until the decades after World War II.

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FEMALE ACADEMIC MIGRATION OF STUDENTS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE TO EUROPEAN UNIVERSITIES: GENDER, HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS (MID-19TH TO EARLY 20TH CENTURIES)

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Abstract: The article explores the process of cultural, scientific and educational transfer through academic female migration from the Russian Empire to leading universities in Europe (1860s to 1914). The analysis of this phenomenon takes the various aspects of the internal and external socio-political and economic situation into account. It considers the issue of motivation, the social and national composition of the female share of educational migrants, as well as problems of adaptation to other cultural values. As a result of the academic migration of Russian youth to European universities, valuable foreign experience was gained in the process of obtaining and developing scientific knowledge, which contributed to the expansion of women's intellectual capabilities, as well as to the recognition of their expertise in various fields of knowledge and social life.

In the context of the process of socio-economic globalization and the formation of a common European educational space, international academic migration is becoming increasingly popular. This process is the subject of study by various humanities disciplines, including history, pedagogy, sociology, cultural studies, economics, and others. In contemporary scientific literature and journalism, as well as in regulatory documents, the term 'international academic mobility' is used to denote this large-scale social phenomenon which comprises educational (academic) and scientific migration. Academic migration has become an integral feature of modern education, and thus a necessary and unavoidable factor in the viability of Russian higher education (Traïnev 2007; Kozlova 2015).

In this connection, consideration of the development of academic migration in pre-revolutionary Russia, as well as rethinking the history of contacts with Russia's European partners in the fields of science and education, are becoming more and more topical. In our opinion, given the conditions of the current crisis in the relations of Russia with some

Western states, the study of such experience is extremely important. Since the turn of the 21st century, there has been growing interest in this problem from both Russian scientists (Anatoliĭ Ivanov, Andreĭ Andreev, Aleksandr Dmitriev, Iana Rudneva, Alekseĭ Trokhimovskii, Natal'ia Sukhova, Alekseĭ Rogozin, etc.) (Ivanov 2011; Andreev 2011; Rudneva 2011; Trokhimovskii 2007; Sukhova 2007; Rogozin 2015) and foreign researchers (Daniela Neumann, Claudie Weill, Franziska Rogger, Bianka Pietrow-Ennker, Trude Maurer, Natalia Tikhonov-Sigrist, etc.) (Neumann 1987; Weill 1991; Rogger 1999; Pietrow-Ennker 2005; Enderlaĭn 2001; Maurer 1998, 2016). The academic interaction of student youth and scientists of the Russian Empire with European universities in the period spanning the 19th and early 20th centuries is considered by researchers as a multifaceted, cultural and historical phenomenon. Turning to the historical and socio-cultural analysis of the phenomenon of the 'Russian academic abroad', contemporary domestic and foreign historiography focuses on various aspects of the political situation, the influence of state power on the field of higher education, motivational mechanisms, as well as the social, national and gender composition of youth and scientists who played an important role in the process of establishing links between the system of higher education and science of the Russian Empire and Europe. In the process of researching the problem of interaction and dialogue between different cultures, the authors of an extensive number of publications have actively analysed pre-revolutionary sources (primarily, data from the Russian State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg stored in fond 733, Department of Public Education; the archives of foreign universities, as well as memoirs and journalistic materials, including periodicals). This has provided them with the opportunity to study the aspects of the daily lives of Russian members of both student and professorial bodies abroad (academic environment, housing, peculiarities of European perceptions of Russian society), as well as their political and scientific views.

The origin of the tradition of educating Russian youth and scientists in Europe is associated with Emperor Peter I (first quarter of the 18th century). The urgent need for specialists with a European-level education encouraged the Emperor to send young people to foreign universities (so-called 'Peter's troops'), due to which "...in the European countries there appeared 'communities of Russian citizens', either sent by the authorities or arrived there on their own initiative in order to obtain higher education and improvement in the sciences" (Mazin 2009, 5).

The development of the university education system in the Russian Empire (in the 19th and the early 20th centuries) is connected with the attempts of the state authorities to take measures to streamline and institutionalize, above all, the Russian scholarship process at leading European university centers (mainly in Germany). The era of the 'Great Reforms' (1860s – 1870s) for Russian scientists opened up new opportunities to develop international scientific contacts, both through the Academy of Sciences and the imperial universities. A number of special government decrees regulated various types of international internships that lasted until the beginning of the First World War: fellowships abroad for Russian professors (1862, 1867), sent abroad on the proposal of the university; medium-term study trips (two or three years) by young Russian scientists – future full-time teachers at the imperial universities; secondment abroad in order to prepare young scientists for a professorship (1884); and internships for research purposes (Dmitriev 2012, 66–68; Gribovskii 2013, 65–73). All scientific internships were funded by the Ministry of Education. It should be emphasized that trips for scientific purposes, especially by young researchers, gradually formed the most important element of the implementation of educational and scientific policy in the Russian Empire.

The consequences of scientific interaction ('academic internationalism') between the Russian Empire and European countries in the period spanning the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century were of great value for the development of Russian science, mainly in the natural sciences and humanities. The establishment of systematic contacts with scientific societies in Western Europe led to the mutual exchange of scientific achievements (joint publications and research, the organization of new internships, and participation in scientific forums). European universities played a major role in shaping the scientific potential of Russian universities. On the other hand, Russian scientists had a brilliant opportunity to introduce the European teaching experience and methods of conducting research to imperial universities. However, the most massive wave of Russian academic migration from the 19th century right up to the beginning of the First World War encompassed student youth, whose ranks, to a great degree, were replenished without the participation of the government. In Russian historiography, this category of academic migrants is described by the term 'Russian students abroad', which covers Russian male youth and from the second half of the 19th century also women seeking higher education at numerous European universities, mainly

in Germany, Switzerland and France (Ivanov 1998). This process was triggered by the following main factors:

1. The lack of development of the state system of higher education in the Russian Empire. Russian higher education institutions could not provide enough places for applicants. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were nine universities in the empire (35,000 students), while Germany had 21 (49,000 students), Italy 21 (24,000 students), France 16 (31,000 students), Great Britain 15 (24,000 students), and Austria-Hungary eleven (29,000 students) (Margolin 1909, 10).
2. Restrictions on the choice of a specialty due to the existing requirements for university admission (only graduates of classical gymnasiums and privileged schools had this right). For all others, the required educational levels were raised and an external exam was introduced to be taken in the framework of a gymnasium course program (including a Latin language, for many an unpopular measure). Foreign universities, on the contrary, offered Russian students preferential admission conditions without exams, right up to the beginning of the 20th century.
3. The structure of Russian universities which maintained only traditional faculties (natural sciences, medical, historical-philological, legal, in some theological) and could not cover the variety of specialties offered by foreign universities, where there was a system of 'mixed universities'. Extensive training opportunities in Europe opened up for those motivated to acquire academic knowledge, and consequently the prospect of a successful professional and social career in Russia.
4. Government national policy in the field of higher education (the ethnic harassment of Jews and Poles in particular) led to the dominant position of the Jewish and Polish diasporas in the composition of Russian students abroad.
5. Opposition to the ruling regime. Conflict with the regime contributed to the enthusiasm of a significant number of Russian academic migrants for revolutionary ideas and political struggle.

The European system of higher education was able to play a very important role in the process of training highly qualified Russian professionals and specialists in various fields.

Within the framework of the proposed topic, it seems important to us to take a closer look at a special group of Russian academic migrants

– women – who from the 1860s appeared in the university space of the Russian Empire and Europe and made up a significant share of the migration flow. In the Russian Empire, throughout its existence, the issue of legal equality between men and women remained unresolved, as in most countries. An important component of gender inequality was the lack of the right of Russian women to obtain higher education. The ideal of a highly virtuous woman – wife and mother – and the well-established traditions of the patriarchal family that dominated in tsarist Russia, impeded the creation of conditions that would encourage the struggle of the progressive public for the right of women to higher education until the middle of the 19th century.

For the first time in pre-revolutionary Russia, the desire for higher female education arose during the reign of Alexander II, whose name is associated with the era of modernization that affected the public, social, legal and economic spheres (Epoch of Great Reforms, 1860–1870). The defeat of Russia in the Crimean War (1853–1856) caused a powerful crisis of the state in which the aristocracy held power, accompanied by a sharp deterioration in the economic well-being of privileged segments of Russian society. This process significantly influenced the lives of the representatives of the wealthy classes (noblemen, merchants, etc.). Radical socio-economic changes in the life of the country contributed to the disintegration of the foundations of the patriarchal family and the formation of new family norms and ideals. These circumstances led to the reduction of “...the ability to implement the traditional female path: early marriage, life in the family, the duties of the wife-mother-mistress” (Shilina 2010, 25).

It is possible to identify a whole range of political, socio-economic, demographic and psychological reasons that caused Russian women to fight for the right to higher education in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Socio-economic changes that effected the deterioration of the financial situation of noble families, on the one hand, led to reduced expenditure on the individual education of daughters. On the other hand, the attempts of parents to marry a daughter were complicated not only by the lack of suitors (impoverished noblemen often entered into marriages with representatives of the wealthy classes – merchants, burghers, etc.), but also by men’s unwillingness to marry until they had achieved a certain career and the level of income required for the maintenance of a family. Under the influence of these circumstances, in the opinion of a contemporary Russian researcher, “thousands and thousands of such young women without a dowry, needing money, began to search for at

least some occupation (of course, from their point of view, intelligent),” and for “serious education, which opened before them great opportunities for self-realization” (Bredikhina 2014, xxx). An important component of the psychological motivation of Russian women to obtain a higher education was the struggle for their equality with men, “the desire to measure themselves with a man, to perform equal duties and enjoy equal rights” (Veremenko 2004, 56).

Contemporary Russian researchers believe that the process of the transformation of women’s gender identity (as residents of large cities and provincial centers of the empire), which began in the middle of the 19th century, was accompanied by the formation of new psychological and behavioral characteristics, “...which allowed them to largely remove themselves from the tradition of the role of wife, mother, housewife and, on the contrary, to join in other (new) spheres of life” (Men’shikova 2014, 123). In order to characterize the systemic changes that took place in the outlook of young women in post-reform Russia, domestic and foreign scientists use such concepts as *ravnopravka* (which can be loosely translated as ‘equal rights woman’), ‘new woman’, ‘emancipated woman’ and ‘nihilist’ (Iukina 2001; Pushkarëva 2002; Staīts 2004; Pietrov-Ennker 2005), thereby focusing attention on the transformation of female consciousness in the political, legal and psychological sense.

The decisive influence on the development of women’s higher education in tsarist Russia was exerted by factors related to the political conjuncture that dominated society and government during the second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. The opinion of the majority of conservatives in the tsarist government, as well as of members of the Russian scientific community – the composition of which was exclusively male – was not favourable to allowing women to occupy equal positions in higher education and science until the beginning of the 20th century. This is exemplified by the standpoint of the outstanding Russian scientist Nikolai Pirogov, the first in Russia to publicly recognize the right of women to higher education (1856), while at the same time opposing the equality of women, arguing that demands for equality were ‘shameless’ and sought “to erase all signs that distinguish male qualities from female ones” (Androsova 2008, 13).

Relatively favorable conditions for the emergence of female higher education in Russia arose in the early 1860s during the period of the preparation of liberal reforms, when for the first time women received the right to attend public lectures at universities. Thus, the first Russian female students (women of the 1860s) appeared who attended lectures as ‘free

listeners'. However, this did not mean that they had equal rights with male students, in particular the right to be admitted to examinations and receive a diploma. Their right to choose lecture courses was limited, since attending specific lectures required not only a high level of educational preparation but also the approval of professors who made their own decisions about admitting auditors to their lectures.

The evolution of women's higher education in Russia led not only to a profound emancipation of consciousness, but also to significant changes in the appearance and behavior of young female students, who in tsarist Russia were called *kursistka* (female student). From 1860, a certain style and appearance of the *kursistka* developed, distinguishing her from the young noblewoman who received a traditional education for young ladies. The appearance and behavior of the female student was characterized by the complete rejection of luxury and a denial of traditional signs of gender (i.e. the desire to imitate men): cropped hair, simple skirts and modest white-collar blouses or dark woollen dresses, checkered shawls instead of coats, the use of men's clothing items – boots, round hats – as well as the spread of the habit of smoking cigarettes (Semenkova 2009, 104; Voznesenskaia 2012, 153–56). Incidentally, the transformation of women's fashion in 19th century Europe as a result of changes in the status of women in bourgeois society (for example, the rejection of the uncomfortable corset and wide skirt supported by crinoline) enabled, for reasons of practicality, the introduction of trousers into the European woman's wardrobe. However, this fashionable innovation did not take root among the Russians, largely due to the perception in society at that time of women's pants as an element of Muslim clothing (Mikhaïlov 2016, 152).

The imperial authorities and conservative society, governed by gender stereotypes, prejudices, and patriarchal traditions, were not prepared for the emergence of a new type of woman showing an inconceivable interest in science, education, and public life. The new University Charter (1863) and an order issued by the Minister of Education (1864) banned women from listening to lectures and their voluntary participation in classes. This ban was in effect in Russia until the revolutionary events of 1905. But it was precisely higher education that provided the only opportunity for Russian women to achieve personal dignity and economic independence, and to actively participate in public life. The inability of the imperial authorities to ensure women's access to higher education was one of the most important reasons for the first wave of mass departure as women left to study abroad during the second half of the 1860s and early 1870s (predominantly to Switzerland, Germany, and France).

The first wave of female students to leave the country as educational migrants mainly comprised former ‘volunteers’ at Russian universities, who “... decided to build their lives based on the new value system and expand the range of their activities outside the traditional family boundaries among the general public” (Petrov-Ennker 2005, 201). It is worth noting that the women striving for a European education had to deal with many bureaucratic and material obstacles. In the Russian Empire, certain rules restricted women’s movement abroad. First of all, it was necessary to obtain a passport for travel, which according to the laws of the empire was issued to women only with the permission of parents or their husband. In relation to travel for the purpose of study, it was thus necessary to seek the permission of the family, which as a rule adhered to traditional morality and was not always ready to grant independence to a daughter. One way out of this situation was to quickly enter into a fictitious marriage with a member of the so-called ‘new, advanced’ group, which allowed many women to go to Europe to study. Another major problem was the resolution of financial issues, since study abroad was carried out at the student’s own expense (payment for university lectures and laboratory classes, textbooks, housing, food, etc.).

Considering the fact that in the second half of the 19th century in liberal Switzerland conditions were created that allowed women access to higher education, the desire of numerous young Russian women to attend Swiss universities – in Zurich, Bern, Geneva, and Lausanne – is fully explained. The University of Zurich was a pioneer among European universities in opening lectures to women. In order to enroll at the university, foreign applicants were required only to present a petition addressed to the rector, and did not have to take entrance exams; the only required document was a certificate of exemplary behavior issued by a Russian secondary school (Tishkin 2009, 81), unlike the requirements for Swiss youth who had to present a school leaving certificate. Universities in Switzerland were interested in foreign students, since, on the one hand, this contributed to increase their prestige and popularity, and on the other, the fees allowed universities to provide high salaries for professors. All young women enrolled at a university were registered as regular students, which gave them full rights to attend lectures, participate in practical and laboratory classes, take bachelor’s degree exams and receive a degree. From as early as the 1860s, a significant number of university students in Switzerland were young Russian women.

The first Russian student to enroll at the medical faculty of the University of Zurich was Nadezhda Suslova (1867), later the first Russian

woman to receive the degree of doctor of medicine, surgery, and obstetrics (Smirnov 1960). According to Professor Franziska Rogger (Kapone 2017) of the University of Bern, Suslova indirectly influenced the subsequent admittance of the first Swiss female student, Marie Vögtlin, to the university – the first Swiss woman to receive a full higher education in her native country. Another significant figure among the first Russian students in Zurich was Mariia Bokova-Sechenova, who like her close friend Suslova, brilliantly defended her doctoral dissertation in 1871 and became the first female ophthalmologist in the history of Russian medicine (Bokareva 2017, 11–15). A well-known scholar of the women's movement, Professor Evelyn Enderlein of the University of Strasbourg, notes that Russian young women played an avant-garde role in the process of 'opening the doors' of major European institutions of higher education in Switzerland (Enderlain 2001). Many of these women were not characterized by outrageous behavior or appearance – they were talented and motivated to seriously engage in science. Thanks to their European education, some of them achieved recognition at the forefront of academic professions and became pioneering scientists, thereby changing the traditional notion that a woman was not capable of "carrying out mental exercises" due to her delicate constitution (Rudneva 2012, 87).

The example of Zurich was followed by the other Swiss universities, which accepted Russian women as their first female students. Consequently, Russians made up the bigger share of all women students. However, it is worth noting that the term 'Russian' was applied to anyone who came from the Russian Empire, regardless of their ethnicity. Due to the fact that the imperial authorities (including the Ministry of Education) did not keep official statistics on the academic mobility of young people, it is not possible to accurately answer the question of the ethnical and social composition of the group of students going abroad to study, or to establish the size of the Russian contingent, including women, which constituted the first wave of educational migrants. Contemporary Russian and foreign scholars, based on information derived from memoirs, the press, as well as archival materials from European universities, are unanimously of the opinion that the overwhelming majority of Russian female students consisted of ethnic Jewish and Polish women, while the smallest share was from the Caucasus (Georgian and Armenian). The social composition of Russian students was quite diverse and included women of noble birth, the daughters of officials, as well as young women of the middle classes (the families of orthodox priests, merchants, burghers, etc.).

The priority disciplines for Russian female students were medicine (74%), philosophy (24%), law (1.6%), and theology (0.2%) (Enderlaïn 2001). The memoirs of a former student at the University of Zurich, Serafima Panteleeva, present data on the quantitative composition of the first wave of Russian students in Zurich:

... in 1871 there were fifteen female students, three of them at the faculty of philosophy, in 1872 there were forty-three (ten of them at the philosophical faculty), and in 1873 there were seventy-seven students at the medical, twenty-two at the philosophical, and one at the law faculty (Pantelev 1958).

The popularity of the medical profession among Russian women stemmed from their desire to actively participate in public life and their ideas about the public good (in the sense that the meaning and purpose of life was to help fellow human beings). Moreover, the Crimean War (1853–1854) was a vivid example of where, for the first time in the history of Russia (and the whole world), trained nurses worked selflessly in a combat zone. This was the first instance of the active participation of Russian women in public life. On the other hand, women's medical education had been widely recognized in several European countries, including Switzerland and Germany.

By the beginning of the 1870s, Russian student colonies at Swiss university cities had grown to encompass a significant number of women. Since life in Switzerland was quite expensive, the students did their best to support each other: they formed communities in which they ate together, jointly purchased the necessary books, and maintained an aid fund for poor students. However, in communicating outside their group, Russian students faced misunderstandings and conflict as local people perceived them as representatives of an 'alien culture', while the majority of male students showed a very negative attitude towards the appearance of women in their territory. According to the memoirs of a contemporary, the appearance and behavior of the majority of female students from the Russian Empire was indecent and even immoral:

... short skirts, not always carefully brushed up wide blouses without white collars; short hair (...) directly looking at people, and eyes not lowered to the ground as a decent 'young lady' should. To this we must add the erratic groups walking on the streets, in loud conversation and

conducting fundamental disputes, often accompanied by excessive gesticulation, and finally, *horribile dictu*, young men and women meeting in apartments and sitting reading and having verbal disputes until late at night without being in the custody and under the supervision of an older chaperone compulsory in such cases in Switzerland (Kuliabko-Koretskiĭ 1931, 45).

An example of the allegedly aggressive behavior of students at the University of Zurich involving women, which took place in 1871, is described in the memoirs of the well-known *narodnik* (member of the Russian revolutionary movement), Mikhail Sazhin (better known as Arman Ross). Representatives of the student union demanded that women be denied access to university, based on the fact that "...the presence of women at lectures and, especially in the anatomical theatre, interferes and entertains male students, women occupy the best seats in the classrooms, flirt, get the best corpses in the anatomical laboratory" (Sazhin 1932, 47). This issue was dealt with by a specially created commission of students and faculty members, which

...investigated the whole issue in all its details, interrogated all owners of apartments where Russians had ever lived, Swiss students who had had any clashes with Russians, and even made inquiries in a brothel. Only then was the commission completely convinced of the absolutely correct and moral life of all Russian female students (Sazhin 1932, 52).

It should be noted that conflict situations also developed among the Russian students themselves. Some were motivated by the opportunity to engage in science and obtain a high-quality education, while others saw their time at university as an aspect of the struggle for emancipation or as a chance to engage in revolutionary activities to propagate socialist ideas in their homeland. The first type of female student achieved impressive academic results. The second, as a rule, either could not cope with the intense rhythm of school life or fell under the influence of the revolutionary emigrants who settled in Zurich (such as anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, and the theorist of revolutionary populism, Pëtr Lavrov). The discrepancies in the political convictions of Russian students caused conflicts and disputes, and led to the organization of various groups, participation in which altered the education-related plans of many into plans for political activity, and also

contributed to the formation of a new type of world view, previously not typical of Russian women. An example would be the famous revolutionary ‘Fritschi Circle’ in Zurich (named after the hostess of the guesthouse where most of its members rented rooms), founded by Russian Jewish students. It is noteworthy that members of the group – sisters Vera and Olga Liubatovich, Berta Kaminskaia, Sof’ia Bardina, and others – returned to Russia where they united with the ‘Caucasians’ circle created by Georgian students in Geneva, and became active participants in the ‘Narodniks’ movement, thus choosing a revolutionary path. Another well-known female student in Zurich, Vera Figner, decided to continue her study of medicine in Bern but did not graduate, returning to Russia to become an influential figure in the revolutionary populist organization *Narodnaia Volya*. Of the 126 women from Russia studying in Zurich between 1867 and 1873, 77 were included in the Dictionary of the Russian Revolutionary Movement (Shishkin 2011).

Information about female students in Zurich who had fallen under the influence of revolutionary ideas was widely disseminated in Russian periodicals. The government responded with a series of measures aimed at increasing control over the female share of educational migrants. In 1873, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Education established a special commission to clarify the reasons for why female Russian intellectuals were especially attracted to the university and the polytechnic institute in Zurich (Petrov 2016, 134–43). However, the commission not only acknowledged the problem of the discrimination of women in relation to obtaining higher education but also proposed, based on the experience of Germany, to open higher education institutions for women in the university cities of the empire (‘women’s higher courses’). On the other hand, based on the commission’s report, the tsarist government issued a decree concerning Russian female students in Zurich, which was published in the newspaper *Gosudarstvennyi Vestnik* on 21 May 1873. It emphasized that

... girls involved in politics fall under the influence of leaders of emigration and become obedient tools in their hands (...). The majority of our young compatriots go to the University of Zurich under influences that have nothing to do with the desire for education (Kapnist 1873).

The government decree contained an order to Russian students to return home before 1 January 1874. Following the order of the Russian government, 90 percent of Russian women left Zurich, and 10 percent chose to stay at Swiss universities (Enderlaïn 2001). Some, in the process

of completing their education and receiving a diploma, remained to start work in Europe.

In the 1870s, universities in Germany accepted women only as ‘irregular students’ but set precedents for granting degrees in the humanities and natural sciences (philosophy, medicine, law, and theology). Among the ranks of the first female educational migrants from Russia were three iconic figures, all representatives of the Russian nobility who received doctoral degrees from German universities (Kochina 1981; Matveichuk 2017; Tollmien 1997; Roussanova 2010). They were: Sof’ia Kovalevskaja (Göttingen, 1874), the first woman in the world to be appointed full professor of mathematics (at Stockholm University), and the first woman in Russia to receive the honorary title of Corresponding Member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1889); Iuliia Lermontova (Göttingen, 1874), the first Russian woman petrochemist and a member of the Moscow branch of the Imperial Russian Technical Society; and Anna Evreinova, the first Russian female doctor of law (Leipzig, 1875). After the tsarist government’s order of 1873, which banned Russian students from studying in Zurich, some were able to continue their education at German universities, though only as ‘irregular students’. Summing up the analysis of the historical context and socio-cultural space in which the first wave of female student migrants left the Russian Empire and arrived at universities in Western Europe (1860 to 1870s), the following should be noted:

1. The inclusion of Russian female students into the academic migration flow was driven by the political and socio-economic situation in the Russian Empire. Their appearance in the university environment was also a consequence of the pan-European process of modernization and the formation of civil society institutions.
2. The struggle for the right to higher education was an important component of the Russian women’s movement for emancipation, which developed alongside general processes of liberalization in Russian society.
3. Russian women were motivated to seek higher education in Europe under the influence of social and political movements, and nihilism. The women aimed to improve their social competence, prove their intellectual abilities and obtain a university education, liberate themselves from patriarchal traditions and values, take on a new social role, and obtain personal and economic independence.

4. Priority areas of study at European universities were in the natural sciences and humanities (mainly medicine, philosophy, and law).
5. Most of the representatives of the first wave of academic migrants were strongly influenced by radical, revolutionary ideas (e.g. a group of students at the University of Zurich and the Zurich Polytechnic), which contributed to change their outlook and shift their educational and professional focus to a political one.
6. Russian students had a big influence on the transformation of the traditional system of higher education, which for a long time was available only to men, as is exemplified by the changes in the Swiss system of higher education. On the other hand, their educational activities and political leanings contributed to direct the attention of the Russian authorities to the issue of female higher education.

In order to determine the reasons that caused a second rather large wave of Russian female students to go abroad and attend European universities as educational migrants in the period from 1880 to 1913, it is important to present a brief analysis of the main decisions taken by the Russian authorities on the issue of women's education in this period. The government of Alexander II attempted to satisfy the need of women to participate in higher education. The first stage in the development of women's medical education was the admission of women to a single specific area of medicine: obstetrics. In this connection, four-year 'medical' courses were launched on an experimental basis at the St. Petersburg Medico-Surgical Academy in 1872. From 1876, women could complete these courses with a diploma. However, the new female doctors received only temporary certificates allowing them to occupy the position of midwife or paramedic, without the right to practice medicine. In some university cities, 'women's higher courses' were opened offering education in pedagogy, history, philology, physics and mathematics (Kazan, 1876; St. Petersburg and Kiev, 1878). The Ministry of Education declined responsibility for their activities, however, defining the status of these courses as private and non-state, since they were based on private initiatives (Margolin 1911, 223).

The reactionary course of the new emperor, Alexander III, which aimed at preserving the socio-political situation in the country (The Epoch of Counter-Reforms, 1881–1894), had a negative impact on the further development of female higher education. The new University Charter of 1884 confirmed the ban on the admission of women to higher educational

institutions, and the Supreme Order closed all women's higher courses in 1886 (the exception being the Bestuzhev Courses institution in St. Petersburg, which resumed its work in 1889 and received state education status). The activities of these educational institutions were terminated largely due to the concern of authorities about the spread of anti-state propaganda, for which 'female students' were seen as a fertile medium (Androsova 2008, 16–17).

The first Russian revolution of 1905–1907 was an important event in the process of granting women access to higher education. The issue depended on the officials who headed the Ministry of Education in the period from 1905 to 1914. In this regard, it is important to mention the University Charter bill drafted by Count Ivan Tolstoï in 1905 and by Pëtr Kaufman in 1907, which allowed women to enter universities. Moreover, the University Charter of 1905, translated into German and French, was sent to all leading European universities with a request for their opinion (Tolstoï 1997, 99). Thus, at the beginning of the 1906–1907 academic year, women began their studies at all Russian universities as irregular students (except for at Warsaw University, which resumed its activity in the 1908–1909 academic year). However, the situation of women who had received the right to higher education remained uncertain. Historian Ol'ga Patrikeeva of the University of St. Petersburg has called the Russian female students at the turn of the 20th century 'stepdaughters of Russian universities' because of the many obstacles they faced in their pursuit of higher education (Patrikeeva 2011, 177–91). For example, the insufficient number of training places allocated for women led to high competition (three to four times higher than was the case for men), and women were obliged to take additional exams in Latin, mathematics, and physics – subjects that were part of the gymnasium program completed by men – in order to enroll. Moreover, the bureaucratic procedures demanded that the applicant submit a 'personal petition' to the rector, in which it was necessary to provide convincing justification for the need to enter university, and evidence of the importance of university education for later life (Rudneva 2010, 59). It was during this period that a significant group of irregular students were forced to return from European universities for financial and domestic reasons. For example, the fee for the summer semester course in the 1902–1903 academic year at the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics of the University of Heidelberg was 87 German marks, which was more than double the cost of education at the corresponding faculty of Kazan University (Rudneva 2010, 61).

The training of women in Russian universities lasted only until 1 January 1908. A circular issued by the new Minister of Education, Aleksandr Shvarts, regarding the conditions for the admission of students to imperial universities, as well as his draft for a new University Charter of 1909, again prohibited women from admission. However, it should be noted that the overwhelming majority of professors at Russian universities spoke out in favor of accepting women (this particularly applied to the faculty of Moscow University). An interesting detail: Bulgarian women remembered with special gratitude the outstanding Russian historian Pavel Miliukov of Moscow University, one of the first scholars to let women attend his lectures in 1897 during his exile in Bulgaria (Patrikeeva 2011, 186).

On the other hand, the ‘women’s higher courses’, which resumed their activities in 1905 as private or public educational institutions, could not provide high-quality tertiary education. They lacked the necessary financial resources, educational literature, classrooms and faculty members, while most importantly, the certificates they issued to graduates were not officially recognized and therefore did not grant their female students any rights. It was only in December 1911 that a law was passed allowing students who had completed the women’s courses, in the framework of programs officially recognized as equivalent to university, to take final examinations before state commissions organized by the Minister of Education at universities on an equal footing with male candidates (Laurson 1913). Students who passed the final exam were awarded a diploma, recognized as equivalent to a university diploma. While the law of 1911 was important, it still discriminated against women and excluded them from becoming fully-fledged university students. On the other hand, the prospect of finding an educational niche at a Russian university contributed to the decision of some Russian female students studying abroad to return to their homeland.

Contrary to state policy and the opinion of conservative parts of society, women independently chose higher educational institutions capable of providing them with the necessary knowledge to access their chosen specialization or to study science.

Information on the social background of Russian women who left to study at European universities as part of the second wave is contained in a guide for entering higher education institutions abroad compiled by Russian philanthropist and entrepreneur, David Margolin. Citing the example of female students studying in Paris, he noted in 1909:

Among this mass of women there are representatives of all walks of life – there are noblewomen, and petit bourgeois women, and peasant women, and children of small *raznochintsy* [persons who did not belong to any of the established Russian estates, A.K.], and from families of the clergy (Margolin 1909, 182).

This description can be applied to the entire group of Russian women students in the period 1880–1913.

A significant share of the academic migrants were Russian Jews. The main reason that prompted them to look for opportunities for higher education at European universities was the policy of the tsarist government regarding the ‘Jewish issue’ – attempts at Russification and an anti-Semitic campaign aimed at reducing the access of Jewish youth to education. The Moscow ‘women’s higher courses’, as well as provincial educational institutions, introduced strict quotas for the admission of Jews. They also banned pedagogical activities. The discriminatory measures applied by the Russian authorities to Jewish women, as well as the latter’s desire to change their social status, played a decisive role in their choosing higher education abroad. For example, according to Harriet Freidenreich, professor at Temple University, Philadelphia, before the First World War more than 70 percent of the female students from Russia at the University of Vienna were Jewish women (Freidenreich 2009, xx). According to German historian Daniela Neumann, 60 percent of female Jewish students at the University of Zurich in the period 1900–1908 were citizens of the Russian Empire (Neumann 1987, 69). Second in terms of the ethnic composition of Russian female academic migrants in the period 1880–1913 were Polish women. Ethnic Poles, discriminated in the Russian Empire, preferred not to enter Russian universities and to seek an education abroad.

The most popular destinations of academic migration among Russian students were universities in Switzerland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and France. After the order of the tsarist government prohibiting Russian women from studying at the University of Zurich was annulled in 1886, a large influx of women was noted at higher education institutions in Switzerland (Zurich, Bern, Lausanne, and Geneva). The majority of women chose to study medicine, followed by the natural sciences at physical, mathematical and philosophical faculties. In the Russian Empire, these diplomas guaranteed graduates a degree of social and financial stability. For example, the Ministry of Public Education in 1902 allowed women with medical degrees from European universities to be admitted to ‘final

examinations' before special state commissions that were established at universities and at the Women's Medical Institute (founded in 1897). As a result of this attestation procedure, foreign diplomas were equated with Russian ones (Ivanov 1999, 110). Far fewer Russian female students chose to study law or history and philology, largely due to significant differences in the curricula of Russian and Swiss universities. The increase in the flow of Russian academic migrants to university centers in Switzerland at the turn of the 20th century provoked tensions between Swiss youth and Russian students, since foreigners enjoyed more liberal admission rules. The outrage expressed by Swiss students forced the university administration to establish strict admission rules for foreigners and contributed to the reconsideration of this issue at the beginning of the 20th century by university rectors. As a result, new admission rules were established for Russian youth, including an increase in tuition fees (Ivanov 1998). Russian men were required to have a gymnasium diploma. Women, however, faced not only more complicated bureaucratic procedures (an interview with the rector, evidence of personal documents, etc.), but additional proof of their educational level (a school leaving certificate from a female gymnasium, Latin and German exams, as well as additional exams for the Swiss school certificate). Yet all these actions taken by the university administration could not limit the intensity of the flow of young Russian academic migrants to Switzerland, which lasted until the beginning of the First World War.

It is noteworthy that a significant number of Russian female students at Swiss universities in the period 1880–1913 showed an even greater passion for politics than their predecessors. Switzerland was still a convenient country for political emigrants from the empire, which already included representatives of radical socialist parties (Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries). It is known that Russian students played a large role in familiarizing young Swiss with the ideas of socialism, and Russian female students did so to an even greater degree. So-called 'ideological' marriages between Russian women and Swiss men become frequent occurrences. A vivid example is the family union (marriage in the spirit of the new time) of two medical students from the University of Zurich, Fritz Brupbacher and Lidia Kochetkova, who occupied a prominent place in the socialist movements in Switzerland and Russia. Swiss historian Karin Huzer, who has studied the correspondence of these two young people, has drawn attention to the highly topical issue of interaction and dialogue between cultures (Khuzer 2005, 70–82). The letters of Russian student Kochetkova reflect the characteristic perception of Swiss

society – and of Western Europe as a whole – by the majority of Russian academic migrants. On the one hand, the mentality of a significant share of Russian young people, including women (with their sense of collectivism, sacrifice, humility, and radicalism) contrasted with features of the Swiss (and other Europeans in general) such as selfishness and a focus on material values. On the other hand, this perception ignored such positive features as punctuality, hard work, discipline, and accuracy. The memoirs of Fritz Brupbacher include interesting insights on differences in the mentality of Russian and Swiss students:

The Swiss student did not think about any other issues besides his studies, which would earn him his daily bread in the future. His life path was straight and smooth. Soon after the exams, he married a wealthy bride, then he got a job somewhere, earned money, and over time achieved honor and respect without thinking about anything but his job. The Russian student felt the pressure of political relations at every movement. He thought about global problems, he wanted to change the surrounding reality. Therefore, his thoughts were on the whole world, on economics, politics, morality, on people in general. Therefore, he was versatile, encyclopedic (Shishkin 2011, 13).

Thus, the endeavours of Russian academic migrants to adapt to the living conditions – domestic, social, and economic – of the countries in which they studied were associated with great efforts to overcome social and cultural differences.

It is worth mentioning that among the iconic figures of the second wave of Russian female students who studied at the University of Bern, two women achieved major success in the humanities, both domestically and abroad. Maria Bezobrazova was one of the first female philosophers in Russia, and “contributed to the destruction of the male monopoly in this sphere” (Vanchugov 2014, 6). Anna Tumarkin, the first woman to become a professor in Switzerland, was also the first female professor in Europe to obtain the right to take exams and assess dissertations. According to Franziska Rogger, archivist and professor at the University of Bern, citizens of the Russian Empire were responsible for the ‘academic breakthrough’ in Switzerland of that time (Rogger 2008, 397–401). In 2000, next to the old building of the University of Bern, a new street was opened bearing the name of Anna Tumarkin: ‘*Tumarkinweg*’ (Chernova 2010).

Renowned universities in Germany, which began to accept women as regular students at the turn of the 20th century, attracted women of the second wave of academic migration from the Russian Empire. The share of enrolled Russian female students accounted for 40 to 50 percent of the total number of foreign female students, but their number did not exceed five percent of the total number of women (Rudneva 2011, 42). As in other European universities, the most popular disciplines among Russian female students were medicine, philosophy, and the natural sciences, which they studied for future professional careers. The young Russian women who took advantage of the new educational opportunities at German universities during this period were not politically active, but aimed at education. This is confirmed in a study by well-known German historian Trude Maurer. Based on documents held in the archives of German universities, Maurer presents data on Russian female students who received a doctorate in various fields of science in the period 1880–1913 (Maurer 2016, 68–84). It is noteworthy that almost 85 percent of all female students from the Russian Empire studied medicine (Maurer 2016, 77). Under the conditions of an acute shortage of medical personnel in the empire, Russian women (including ethnic Jews) were able to fulfill themselves in the medical profession, which guaranteed them economic independence, financial stability, and participation in social activities.

Despite the fact that many academic migrants from Russia were proficient in German and were familiar with German culture, they faced difficulties in the process of adapting to the everyday and material conditions of life in university cities in Germany. This process was further complicated by the aggravation of relations with German students, including women, and by having to overcome constantly tightened administrative measures – in particular, the rules of admission to universities. The intense influx of Russian female students provoked tough competition between them and German youth, especially at the medical faculties. The main reason for the conflict was the inconsistency of the existing admission rules for foreign and German applicants. At the beginning of the 20th century, organizations linked to German universities held a series of protests (male demonstrations, female petitions) demanding the restriction of admission to Russian women (Maurer 2016, 73–75). Students of the University of Leipzig demanded the exclusion of Russian women based on the fact that the Russian school gymnasium certificate did not correspond to the level of *Abitur*, the German gymnasium certificate; the Association for the Promotion of Higher Education for Women (*Verein Frauenbildung-Frauenstudium*) requested that authorities

introduce special admission exams for foreign women, following the example of Switzerland. As a result, Russian women had to prove command of Latin corresponding to the eighth-grade level of a male gymnasium in order to be admitted (which posed a serious obstacle), produce a police certificate confirming their financial status, as well as written permission from their parents to study in Germany (Margolin 1909, 19).

As anticipated, these measures led to a reduction in the number of female students from the Russian Empire at German universities. With the growth of tensions between the Russian Empire and Germany in the first decade of the 20th century, anti-Russian and anti-Semitic sentiments were observed in German university environments. A female student at the University of Freiburg reported in a letter in 1903 that "... louder and louder every day there are rumors that they will remove all Russians from the university. The professors are hostile towards the Russians, which can be clearly seen in everything" (Gutnov 2001, xx). Historian Anatolii Ivanov, relying on archival data, notes that simultaneously with the order of the Ministry of Education of Germany to ban the admission of Russian students to German universities in 1913, a widespread anti-Russian campaign was launched in the press, accusing the 'Russians' of the 'harm' they caused universities, as they were "low in moral and cultural terms" (Ivanov 1998, 107).

Thus, the academic sphere became hostage to the aggravation of Russian-German relations on the eve of the First World War, which had a powerful influence on the degree of politicization of the entire student body and the teaching staff of universities. This contributed to reorient Russian students toward universities in France, Belgium, and Italy. However, these countries offered a much smaller choice of universities compared with Switzerland and Germany, which resulted in a much smaller number of Russian academic migrants, primarily women. Only during the First World War, under the conditions of a shortage of educated personnel, did the government of Nicholas II recognize the right of women to study at university (Ivanov 1999, 124).

The analysis of the historical context and socio-cultural backdrop to the second wave of female academic migration to European universities in the period from 1880 until the outbreak of the First World War, leads to the following conclusions:

1. Women played a significant role in the process of integrating Russia into the European educational space, as well as in the feminization of the structures of both European and Russian higher educational institutions.

2. The intensity of the inclusion of Russian women in the process of academic migration hinged upon gender, national and confessional inequality, which limited opportunities for education in their homeland.
3. Female educational migrants independently chose higher educational institutions that could provide them with the necessary expertise for a professional career. The priority field of study for Russian students was medicine, a profession which guaranteed economic independence and the possibility of participation in public life.
4. The dominant ethnic groups among academic migrants were Jewish and Polish.
5. The process of adapting to the living conditions (domestic, social, economic, and political) of the countries in which the Russian academic migrants studied was associated with overcoming social and cultural differences.
6. Russian female students "...by their presence, their thirst for knowledge, their perseverance (...) contributed to the development of higher education for women in Western Europe" (Enderlaĭn 2001, 77). By gaining diplomas from leading European universities, they also became an integral part of the Russian professional intelligentsia.
7. Russian women represented a large group in the stream of international female academic migration. In Europe they gained academic experience in how to obtain and develop scientific knowledge and skills, and as a result how to improve the system of higher education in Russia. This contributed to expand the intellectual and professional capabilities of women, and to the recognition of their expertise in various fields of knowledge and public life.

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KARTVELIAN STUDIES ABROAD AND GEORGIAN RESEARCHER IMMIGRANTS IN THE CONTEXT OF ACADEMIC KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE

Ketevan Phutkaradze and Tamaz Phutkaradze

Abstract: Kartvelian studies produced in foreign countries are of utmost importance in terms of exchange of academic knowledge. In this case, great empathy is made by Georgian emigrants. Georgian scholars who have been forced to go to different countries in the world have been trying to spur the centuries-old interest in European peoples to Georgia and Georgian culture in the scientific turnover.

The information about Kartvelological Sciences in abroad is presented in the context knowledge exchange. In the work we tried to show their influence, merit in the development of general science, reflected by the special prizes of France, Vatican and other countries, with the honorary doctrine of various universities, joint scientific projects.

Kartvelian studies conducted in foreign countries are extremely important in terms of exchanging academic knowledge. Georgian emigrants have great merit in this regard. Georgian academics, who have willingly or forcefully left the motherland and lived in different countries, have been trying to drive European people's interest towards Georgian culture that has been there for centuries.

Kartvelian Studies in Italy

Italians were the first Europeans to have interest in Georgian culture. We should mention the promotion and activation of Kartvelian activities in Italy. From the beginning of the 17th century, the Italian missionaries Antonio Jardine, Francis Mario Mago, Bernardo Napolele, Christophoros Deacetel, Pietro Dlavel, and others have contributed the raise of interest towards Kartvelology (Peikrishvili 2015, 98). The first Georgian book *Georgian and Italian* (1629), created by Stefano Paolini with the support of Georgian Nikifore Irbach, St. Basil the monk – to be used by The Missionaries Distributing Religious Society (Chikobava and Vatheishvili

1983, 27). Dictionary is distributed as follows: the first column is for Georgian words; the second column provides Latin transliteration of the words with apostrophes; the third column presents the Italian interpretation of Georgian words. 3,084 words of the *Georgian-Italian Dictionary* are the first attempts to sort Georgian words in alphabetical order (Chikobava and Vacheishvili 1983, 28–29).

Also, the missionaries founded schools in Georgia and *Christopher Castelli (1597–1659)* was the one who created pictured albums regarding Georgia. Together with Jardine and Ber Claudio Castelli, he arrived in Georgia in 1628 and left unique album describing the then socio-political life of the country of 1628–1654. More than 500 sketches and collected materials are preserved in the Palermo Community Library (Khatarashvili 1980, 429). Pictures with his handwritten notes are presented in Latin, Greek, Italian, Syrian, Hebrew, Persian, Turkish, and Georgian languages. His reports are distinguished by reliability, especially in regards to Samegrelo region (Chomakhashvili 2013).

The missionaries in Italy initiated collection of the Georgian manuscripts. A great contribution was made by *Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652)*. He brought ancient Georgian manuscripts to Rome and left unique historical information in his work *Information about Georgia* (1627) (Peikrishvili 2015, 198). In exchange for scientific knowledge, important role lies in the release of the *Georgian Language Grammar* (1643) which is related to *Mario Mago's* name (Peikrishvili 2015, 198). The book was used by foreigners before the grammar issued by Marie Brosset. It contains many notable considerations and conclusions despite certain inaccuracies. They helped to research the grammar issues in Georgia.

Institute of Naples Oriental Studies was the place where the culture, history, and language of the Caucasian people were carried out, the predecessor of the institute was the Eastern Language College founded in 1722. Italian scientist *Lorenzo Ervas (1735–1809)* was the one who connected the Georgian language with Greek and Latin languages. Furthermore, he was emphasizing on the relative connection between Europeans and Caucasian Iber's. He published a multi-lingual dictionary in 1787; he was the first one to publish two samples of Chanuri dialect in the scientific literature (text) (Putkaradze 2006, 35).

Bernardo Barbiellini (1904–1981) became the head of Naples renewed Institute of Oriental Studies in 1935. He lived in Georgia for a while. His is the author of an interesting study of one of the Georgian sub-ethnic people called 'Khevsuri Who Khevsurians Are'. He was the

initiator of establishing Kartvelology department at the Institute of Oriental Studies (1936), which meant the compulsory, two-year course of the Georgian language, which was led by the scholar Shalva Beridze.

There are different Kartvelology Centers in other cities of Italy nowadays, namely in Venice and Milan. *Luigi Magaroto (born in 1942)*, who is the founder of Kartvelology Department at the Venice University, is teaching and conducting scientific and translation works (Tsipuria 2001, 55). The Georgian Center for Science has a rich library, the Italian series of the magazine *Georgica* is also released (Peikrishvili 2015, 199). Magaroto has many young followers: Giorgio Rota, Luca Taupher, Andrew Periraz (Italy) and others. He is an honorary Doctor of Tbilisi State University (Peikrishvili 2015, 199–200).

Kartvelian studies became active in Italy at the beginning of the 20th century. Following Georgian emigrant scientists were working in Italy at that time: Mikhail Tamarashvili, Mikhail Tarkhnishvili, Beridze, and others, which was the triggering factor for activating Kartvelian studies.

Mikhail Tamarashvili (1859–1911), who forcefully fled from the country, settled in Italy in 1891. He received a PhD of Theology in 1894. Archives of Vatican, France, Italy, Turkey, Alexandria, Moscow and London revealed an enormous, newly found materials depicting the history of Georgia, which was reflected in his fundamental research of *History of Catholicism within Georgians* (1902), while the work *Georgian Church from the Beginning until Present* (1910) published in French, received a special Vatican prize.

Mikhail Tarkhnishvili (1897–1958), who was a German, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Syrian and Russian language expert lived and worked in Italy (since 1942). His publishing and works in regards to studying ancient Georgian inscriptions, manuscripts and lectures in the libraries of foreign countries are truly priceless. First, we have to mention the oldest inscriptions discovered by Virgilio Corbus in Palestine. These findings were scientifically studied by Tarkhnishvili who also expressed remarkable opinions in this regard. In addition, he worked hard to publish Georgian manuscripts at the University of Graz and the Vatican. Tarkhnishvili was recognized as a famous scientist, extremely educated person. He raised the whole generation of Georgian scholars in Europe; he was cherishing and loving the ancient Georgian writings all his life.

Sorbonne University graduate *Shalva Beridze (1892–1970)* lived in Naples, in Italy, from 1936. He was invited by professor Bernardo Bar Bielien to the Naples Institute of Oriental Studies as the head of the Kartvelian Studies Department. He published a number of remarkable

works in the journal *Bedi Kartlisa (Revue de Kartvélogie)* (since 1948). It is worth to mention the following books: *Basque and Georgian* (1963), *Rustaveli World Importance* (1966), *Rustaveli and Medicine* (1967) etc. The Shota Rustaveli's poem *Vepkhvistkaosani* (The Knight in the Tiger's Skin) translation was published in Naples in 1945 (Peikrishvili 2015, 225).

Kartvelian Studies in Germany

The Kartvelology centers in German-speaking countries are distinguished with their versatile activities. The 17th century is considered as the beginning of Kartvelian studies in Germany, it is when German books and writings on Georgian language were first documented. *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1647–1716)* in Leipzig first tried to find similarities between Georgian and Indo-European languages. He is the first to focus on linguistic aspects (Merkulov, 2010). Special attention was paid to this issue from the second half of the 19th century. Fr. Müller denied Georgian relation with the Indo-European languages. In his opinion, Georgian language is not related to any other languages in the world and, forms a completely independent language family together with the other Caucasian languages (Peikrishvili 2015, 201).

Adolf Dirr's (1867–1930) activities, in the exchange of knowledge and Kartvelian studies, are particularly important. He lived in the Caucasus in 1902–1913 and published the thesis *Theoretical-Practical Grammar of Modern Georgian Language* in the German language (1904) as well as the *Introduction to Caucasian Languages* in 1928.

Successful Kartvelologists working in Jena, Frankfurt, Munich, Berlin, Bonn, Halle and Oldenburg are: Heinz Fenrich (1945–2013), Carl Schmidt (1888–1985), Winfred Boeder (1937), Jost Gippert (1956) and others. The researchers from the second half of 20th century Gerhard Deeters (1892–1961), Arthur Heat (1852–1927), Julius Assfalg (1919–2001) and others have even written dissertations on Kartvelology.

Gerhard Deeters (1892–1961) dedicated a long thesis to the Georgian literature, namely to *Vepkhistkaosani* and chose the Georgian verb as a topic for the dissertation and dedicated a thorough research to it (Revishvili 1973, N3). In his opinion, the Georgian script originates from the Greek language and was created after the Christianization.

Grigol Peradze (1899–1942), Doctor of philosophy, lectured at the University of Bonn since 1927. Special attention was drawn to his work *The Beginning of Nuns* (1930) in Georgia. He moved from Germany to Oxford University, then to Poland and founded the journal *Patrology*

(1935) Grigol Peradze contributed to the promotion of Georgian culture and Kartvelology research everywhere where he worked.

Nikoloz Janelidze (1920–1993) was organizing interesting events depicting German-Georgian cultural relations, establishing publishing, creating Georgian-German colloquial dictionaries for foreign students, translating works of classical Georgian writers. He was the first Georgian awarded by Albert Schweitzer Peace Prize in 1983 (Peikrishvili 2015, 230).

Kartvelian Studies in Austria

A number of Austrian scholars have been promoted in Kartvelology studies. The work by Professor *Hugo Schuchardt (1842–1927)* from the University of Graz is particularly valuable. He saved and preserved ancient Georgian manuscripts of Georgian culture from seventh – tenth centuries, currently preserved at University of Graz (see fig. 1–3).



Fig. 1 Georgian manuscripts in University of Graz
(photo by T. Phutkaradze, 18 May 2012)



Fig. 2 *Khanmeti Lectionary* protected in University of Graz
(photo by T. Phutkaradze, 18 May 2012)



Fig. 3
The Armenian-Georgian
Palimpsest protected in
University of Graz
(photo by
T. Phutkaradze,
18 May 2012)

Schuchardt got interested in the Georgian language in the 1880s. He made scientific contacts with Georgian scientists and public figures, namely with Ilia Chavchavadze, Petre Melikishvili, Niko Mari, Aleksandre Tsagareli, Davit Sarajishvili, and others. Schuchardt had about twenty researches on Georgia. His passion towards Georgian preserved the unique works and saved them from the re-salers. He purchased the writings for 500 Gulden and the scripts have allocated to the University of Graz ever since. Georgian manuscript from the seventh century became the beauty of the library since it is the oldest writing out of those 400,000 scripts preserved in the collection (Putkaradze 2012, 4).

The script is of significant importance for Eastern people, including the Georgians, in terms of studying the literature heritage, Christian cultural history, ancient Georgian grammar – whether in terms of specific or general theoretical research. An especially valuable piece of the script is the Georgian-Armenian palimpsest, dated tenth century, the first four pages of which are written in Nuskhuri and the rest in Asomtavruli writing. It also draws attention by its specific method of binding (Putkaradze 2012, 5).

Schuchardt created a group from students studying Georgian language at the University of Graz. He himself taught young people and was

preparing them for conducting future research works. He was the first to pay attention to such linguistic nuances that were unnoticed even by Georgian scientists. For example, the nature of the accent, the peculiarity of the sharp consonants. He did not exclude the relative connection between the Georgian and the Basque languages (Peikrishvili 2015, 204–5).

We cannot neglect the role of the poet *Hugo Huppert (1902–1982)* while speaking about an Austrian school, which managed and translated Georgian *Vepkhistaosani* into German language and renewed the Austrian interest towards the poem in 1955 (Peikrishvili 2015, 204–5).

Kartvelology Centers in Switzerland

Kartvelian studies are conducted in other European countries as well. Special attention is paid to the Kartvelology centers in Switzerland in this regard. The first Swiss work about Kartvelology was by *Frédéric Dubois de Montrepeux (1798–1850)*. In his book *Journey to the Caucasus* (1845), the author presented interesting information about Georgia's antiquities and even added the Atlas. Montrepeux is also the first geology researcher in Georgia. He first noted the young (late Tertiary) age of the Caucasian wrinkle system and made the first Georgian *Geological map* (Peikrishvili 2015, 206).

Excellent Kartvelologist *Leah Flury (1916–1992)* worked in the Swiss city of Zurich. She was a student of Professor Kita Chkhenkeli, founder of the Georgian Language Department at Zurich University. This department raised famous Kartvelologists: Yolanda Marchev, Ruth Noukom, and others. Flury soon became the assistant to Chkhenkeli, who was in charge of sorting out the publishing house. In 1974, the governance Canton of Zurich awarded employees for their hard work and translations for issuing the *Georgian-German Dictionary*. Flury, Marchev and Noukom were awarded a special prize (Imnaishvili 2008, 482).

Yolanda Marchev (1920–2015) is among other students raised by Chkhenkeli. After Chkhenkeli's death, Marchev is in charge of finishing the dictionary, started by her teacher. She was the head of the Georgian Language Department, was in charge of publishing Georgian-German dictionaries, and was teaching the Georgian language (1999), German translations of Georgian writers' short stories. Marchev was elected as the Honorary Doctor of Tbilisi University in 2008.

Kartvelology Centers in France

There were very strong Kartvelology centers in France. While still in the 17th century, the famous French traveler Jean Sharden left the work

Journey to Persia and Other Countries of the East, which gave a great information regarding Georgia and travel impressions filled with the information from the missionaries in the Antique and Persian sources. But, the foundation of a Kartvelian school is connected to *Marie Brosset* (1802–1880). His scholarly work was linked to Teimuraz Bagration and Saint Marten. After moving to Russia, he was elected as a member of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in regards to the Georgian-Armenian Philology. At St. Petersburg University, he was giving public lectures in the history of Georgia and Georgian philology. His name is linked to the translation and edition of *Kartlis Tskhovreba* in seven volumes. From the 1920s, Professor Maurice Brier of the Catholic University of Paris was also conducting fruitful Kartvelology activities. He taught Georgian language, studied Georgian cultural monuments, publishing the old Georgian texts of the Bible with the Latin translation. He co-authored French editions of *Shatberdi Collection* (Shanidze 1960).

Distinguished French Kartvelologist was *René Lafon* (1899–1974), Honorary Doctor of the Tbilisi State University, who devoted numerous works to Georgian-Basque connections (Turanava 1983, 89), as well as *Bernard Utie* (1941) who was Georgian culture distributor, Georgian-Armenian, Georgian-Syrian, Georgian-Arabian literary relations researcher, Honorary foreign member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, lecturer of history of old Georgian literature at Sorbonne University, founder of the Caucasian Library. There were other equily important figures: Georges Dumizil, Robert Roimph, Jean Pierre Guigliems, François Martelamons, Charles Mercieca and others (Peikrishvili 2015, 212–13).

The activation of the Kartvelian School encouraged publications of various journals. One of them was the magazine *Bedi Kartlisa* (*Revue de Kartvelologie*), founded by the Georgian Immigrant scientist *Kalistrate Salia* (1901–1986) with the permission and financial support of the French National Science Center. The articles in the magazine were printed in French, English, German, and sometimes in Italian languages. Salia gathered the world famous Kartvelologists, Orientalists, Caucasiologists. The magazine was released until 1984. Salia is the author of the *History of Georgian Nation* in French language, published in 1980, which was prized by the French Academy Award (Peikrishvili 2015, 230).

Kartvelology in the Other European Countries

Solomon Sozar Malan (1812–1892) is believed to be the founder of the scientific Kartvelology in the *Great Britian* He translated the religious works of Platon Ioseliani and Bishop Gabriel and conducted the liturgy

in Georgian while in Gelati during his stay in Kutaisi in 1872. Professor William Richard Morfill of Oxford University, who studied the Georgian language independently, inherited his traditions. Many scholars dedicated works to the Georgian language and script writing, but the special contributions were made by siblings *Marjorie (1868–1909)* and *Oliver (1864–1948) Wardrop*. They perfected to study Georgian and translated Georgian writers: Sulkhan – Saba Orbeliani, Chavchavadze, and others into English. Wardrop also translated *Vepkhistkaosani*, which was the introduction of the everlasting poem to the English readers. Later, Oxford University founded Memorial Foundation for studying Georgian language, literature, and history in memory of Wardrop (1912). It sponsors lectures, research works, and works published in the field of Kartvelology. Kartvelology Center of Great Britain further expanded in the 20th century. William Alen, David Lang, Robert Steven-Son, Steven Jones, Donald Rayfield, David Braund, Robert Parsons, Harold Bale, Katharine Vivian, Tamar Dragadze, Lord Koll Inrenfrew, Robert Thompson and others were working in Great Britain (Peikrishvili 2015, 2013–2014).

Strong Kartvelian schools are in **Belgium** (Paul Peeters, Gerard Garrry, Michelle Esbrok), in the **United States** (Robert Blake, Howard Arison, Alis Harris, Kevin Tweet, and others), **Czech Republic** (Jaromir Iedlichka), Poland (Jan Brown), **Hungary** (Leyosh Tard) (see Khutsishvili, 1992) in **Norway** (Hans Fogget) and other countries.

Georgians used to take advantage of European historical thinking. They created and still create researches, maintain their uniqueness and leave the indefinite mark in the history of culture, considering the national specifics. Georgian science and culture of the 19th–20th centuries are closely linked with Western European science and culture. Georgians acquired French, German and English science, cultural achievements of their public thinking.

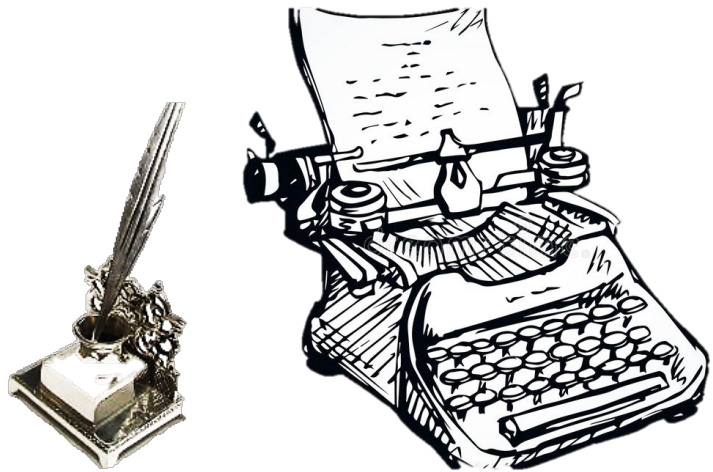
Modern-day information technologies are somewhat influencing the exchange and transmission of scientific knowledge. Intensification of information technologies supports increasing the level of educational, eminence development of intellectual society. The current day offers remote learning systems. A person has to face a completely new reality. Previously, the transformation of knowledge was within the scope of control, which has changed and the strict strategy of teaching is in the core with the use of the Internet.

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***II. ROLE OF EMIGRATION COMMUNITIES
IN THE EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE
AND IDEAS***

MACEDONIAN INTELLIGENTSIA THROUGH MIGRATION TOWARDS THE BLACK SEA REGION UNTIL WORLD WAR I

Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska

Abstract: The topic deals with a developmental stage of Macedonian academic culture in the period prior to the establishment of national academic institutions, and particularly from the beginning of the 20th century up to World War I. In order to shape a picture of research and education, several significant points are the goal of scientific observation on this occasion. Thus institutional education in Macedonia as well as non-institutional forms of establishing academic culture in emigration are analysed through the prism of the movement of the intelligentsia towards the Black Sea Region (with a focus to the Russian Empire), ie the interaction between migration flows and knowledge exchange.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the history of Macedonia was marked by several major political events that determined the process of Macedonian linguistic-literary, cultural-national and state-political development. The period up to the end of World War I (further: WWI) was characterized by fatal defeats (the unsuccessful Ilinden Uprising in 1903 – an expression of the urge of its people for freedom and own state), dissatisfaction due to the unfulfilled reforms proscribed by the Mürzsteg Agreement, the Revel Meeting, and the Young Turks Revolution in 1908 (cf. Ristovski 2001, 20–22). The latter resulted in violence by the armed bands or the ‘pursuit battalions’ created by the ‘Young Turks’. The non-introduction of promised reforms was used by the Balkan states as a pretext to renew armed intervention in Macedonia (Rossos 2008, 123). After a long period of status quo, the conditions for military intervention matured and the Balkan Wars began (1912–1913). It was an organized military intervention of the Balkan states supported by the great powers, aimed at the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the occupation of its remaining dominions. The great powers were striving for a new redistribution of interesting spheres, so they needed Balkan allies. Hence, it becomes understandable how a precedent was set, by which

the Macedonian territory was divided and annexed to other countries, contrary to the international regulations for resolving a crisis (cf. Donev 1988, 111–31). This inconsistency in the Macedonian case¹ took a legal form with the London Conference (1912), whose decisions influenced the confirmation of territorial division by the Treaty of Bucharest (1913) (cf. Stojčev, A. and V. Stojčev 2013, 355–538, 563–676). The Macedonian ethno-geographical territory was divided between neighbouring countries². This became a legal base for the following peace treaties.

The Macedonian appeals for the preservation of its territorial integrity proved unsuccessful. The change from Ottoman authority to four other states' authorities, administrations and armies became a real drama for the population in Macedonia. The occupying armies entered immediately after the partition at the moment of the withdrawal of the Ottoman armies, and they didn't distinguish in their actions from any conquering military force, establishing dominance in every aspect of life. Not only did this situation have disastrous consequences due to the severance of economic and social ties after establishing borders, but also the warring forces began to implement policies of denationalization and imposing their own national identities, aiming to modify Macedonian national awareness of identity, language, and history. Moreover, during the WWI, further changes of government in the conquered territories took place³. The authorities started a requisition of products and forced labor from the conquered territories. As regards mobilization of Macedonians and sending them to the front, a bizarre phenomenon occurred, due to which they fought in different armies (even brothers were forced to fight against each other)⁴. Thus, the descendant of a certain Kole Tuntev testified:

... My grandfather, Kole Tuntev, was a Bulgarian soldier for two years (in the 1st and 2nd Balkan War) and then from 1914 until 1918 he was a Serbian soldier. So, for

¹ The Albanian case was resolved by establishing a state after the First Balkan War.

² 34,356 square kilometers or 51% (so-called Aegean Macedonia) in Greece; 25,713 square kilometers or 39% (so-called Vardar Macedonia) in Serbia; 6,798 square kilometers or 9,5% (so-called Pirin Macedonia) in Bulgaria, and a small part of 0,5% (so-called Mala Prespa) in the new-created Albanian state (Kiselinovski 2000, 29).

³ For example, occupation of the Bulgarian army in the Vardar part of Macedonia, 1915–1916.

⁴ For example, in the spring of 1914, the Serbian armies recruited about 12,000 Macedonian Christian recruits, while the Muslims were not recruited due to Turkey's reactions (Stojčev 2000, 587).

six years he was a soldier, came home infested with lice, green from the front, reeking of gunpowder, not understanding what all the battling was for. He died in 1937 and his wife, Kostadina, never wanted to say a single word about the Macedonian plight. 'May it never happen again, it wasn't any good', she used to say (Otpretani svedoštva 2007, 19).

The brutality towards the population was especially evident along the line of the 'Balkan Front', which opened in 1916. Until the end of the war, the front line went exactly along the middle of the Macedonian territory (which is why it was called the 'Macedonian Front')⁵. An example of devastation was the city of Bitola (often referred to as the 'Macedonian Verdun'⁶), which was under fire and bombardment every day until 1918, first by the Entente armies and then by Central Forces (Tankovski-Lilin, and Minovski 2009, 110–91). The drama of everyday life could be seen through documents and private records. For example, the descriptions in the reports and letters by the French Catholic missionaries in Bitola are illustrative⁷, picturing the chaotic situation at the end of 1916:

... the refugees from the surrounding villages are filling Bitola and day and night we hear cannon shots ... soon there will be no room to accommodate the wounded ... the overcrowding is a difficulty, the contagion is too great (Ibid., 146).

In these historical circumstances, the intelligentsia was divided over the question of how to act. Various currents emerged in the Macedonian national and revolutionary movement. Some protagonists had authentic Macedonian views while others were under foreign influences, divided into several ideological formations. One was anti-Ottoman and supported all the inhabitants of Macedonia, some were

⁵ It stretched from Lake Ohrid to Orphan Bay at the mouth of the river Struma. The presence of various armies in Macedonia can be seen at the military cemeteries (Tankovski-Lilin, and Minovski 2009, 218–20), as well as the remnants of weapons that are constantly found. Recently, more than 4,000 unexploded grenades were unearthed in Bitola (Lokalno 2020).

⁶ Verdun was the most ruined city at the Western Front during the WWI.

⁷ Merciful Sisters of the Order of St. Vincent in 1900, and the Monk Order of the Marist Brothers in 1904, opened schools for girls and boys from prominent families, and helped the poor with groceries and free medical care.

advocates for a class struggle too, but some were seeking an evolutionary solution, by fighting the Empire when it refused to carry out reforms, and against all influences by its neighbours (Vangelov 2007, 16–20; cf. Rossos 2008, 117–29). The aim of this text is to follow the part of the intelligentsia which acted on authentic ideas, but whose activity was linked to the Black Sea Region (further: BSR), especially to the Russian Empire, and was an advocate of the idea of establishing a state, and academic culture by standardized Macedonian language, literature and culture. Their activity yielded results only after World War II (further: WWII).

1. Macedonian Cultural-National Associations in the Russian Empire up to WWI

The history of migrations from Macedonia towards BSR over time differed from employment, church missions, trade relations, military engagements etc. If we take into account the movements in the period from the beginning of the 20th century to the WWI, Romania used to be one of the main destinations, especially merchants and seasonal workers travelling in guilds or individually. Turkey was a desired destination as well, and Istanbul served as a main port, where people could find work and transportation⁸. However, the most massive migrations took place to Bulgaria, especially the large refugee waves after the Balkan wars and WWI, and traces of Macedonian colonies along the Black Sea coast could be still found in the toponymy today⁹. Speaking of the Russian Empire, migrants travelled and stayed because of many reasons. As regards BSR and the academic migration, the schooling centres of present-day Ukraine became attractive destinations, and acquiring education was encouraged by the Russian Empire, which could in this way strengthen its political impact on the Balkans. For example, Nikolaev Gymnasium and Novorossiysk University in Odessa were regulated in 1865/66 as centres for schooling young people from South Slavic countries (Sidorovska-Čupovska 2009, 88–94).

⁸ According to the census in 1905/06, the officially registered migrants from Macedonia were mainly low-qualified workers and some qualified craftsmen. The majority originated from Bitola, Lerin, Kostur, Resen, and the villages from Prespa–Lerin region (Gorgiev 2020, 11–14).

⁹ Thus, a big Macedonian colony existed in Varna. In the 1920s, entire families settled from the regions of Kostur, Enidže Vardar, Veles, etc. (Ristovska-Josifovska 2011, 13–72).

The involvement of Macedonians educators in BSR institutions should be also noted. For example, Krste Misirkov (1847–1926)¹⁰ – one of the main revival protagonists and codifier of the Macedonian language (see fig. 5), was an exarch high-school teacher, and tutor of the children of the Russian consul Aleksandr A. Rostkovskii in Bitola (1902–1903), and high-school teacher in Berdyansk (1904–1905), Odessa (1905–1913) and Chisinau (1913–1918). In Odessa, he actively participated in the work of the Historical-Philological Society at the University (1906–1909). After the October Revolution and independence of the Republic of Bessarabia (1917–1918), he was a Member of the Bessarabian Parliament for National Minorities and Secretary for the Minorities. After the unification with Romania he was exiled to Ukraine, then moved to Bulgaria: at the History Department of the Ethnographic Museum in Sofia, and a teacher and acting director of the Gymnasium in Karlovo (1919).



Fig. 1 Card from Pyatigorsk (19 April 1916) by Dimitrija Čupovski¹¹, who wrote to his son Dobromir Dimitrievič Čupovski in St. Petersburg, amongst other things: “Greetings to my dear Dobrik from the beautiful Caucasian mountains” (see fig. 2)



Fig. 2

¹⁰ He got his elementary education in Greek, his secondary school in Belgrade and Sofia, and Šabac. In 1897 he studied at the Faculty of History and Philology at the University of St. Petersburg. His important work was *On Macedonian Matters* published in Sofia (1903), but it was forbidden by the Bulgarian authorities. He began to print the first scientific-literary and social-political journal in Macedonian language and orthography *Vardar* in Odessa (1905). He spoke English, Russian, German, French and other languages.

¹¹ One of the many cards sent to the family, through which we learn about his movement on the Caucasus and the BSR (Pyatigorsk, Kislovodsk, Kiev, Sofia, Ungeni, Pirot etc.).

Within the Russian Empire, the Macedonian Colony in St. Petersburg and the South-Russian Macedonian Colony were the most important. These immigrants developed political and cultural activity through various forms of self-organization (associations, press and publications) and they also took actions to attract the attention of the international public for the purpose of the positive resolution of the Macedonian national issue. In 1900 secret ‘Macedonian-Edirne groups’, branches of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization were formed in Kyiv, and afterwards in Odessa. Their political messages became more frequent during the events related to the Balkan Wars, when the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire was obvious, as well as the division of Macedonia. The efforts for the promotion of national ideas and the attempts to influence the decisions of the great forces were articulated through individual and collective endeavours. In the perception of the development of education and the activity of the intelligentsia, an important parameter were the steps that were taken to cultivate the ideas of organizing associations with cultural-national and scientific goals, and attempts to establish Macedonian educational institutions.

The cultural-national associations in emigration related to the academic culture¹² led to one of the most significant associations – the **Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society** (further: MCLS) in St. Petersburg (1902–1917). It was formed and supported by many active members (Aleksandar P. Vezenkov, Gavril G. Georgiev, Georgi A. Georgov, Done M. Peškovski, Gligor N. Ugrinovski, etc.), and led by its president and ideologue Dimitrija Čupovski (1878–1940)¹³ – one of the key figures of the Macedonian intellectual elite (see fig. 3). The organizing the Macedonians in St. Petersburg began in 1900–1901, and took place through a series of attempts for official registration. Its first act was dated 28 October 1902 (Makedonski album 2014, 24), on the basis of the Appeal from 19 signatories addressed to the Council of the Slavic Charitable Society of St. Petersburg for a permit to use

¹² Development of Macedonian associations with academic goals runs from: Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society (1888) and Young Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia (1891–1892), Students’ Society “Vardar” (1893–1894) in Zagreb, Macedonian Club (1902) in Belgrade (Ristovska-Josifovska 2018, 139–61).

¹³ He was a poet, publicist, editor, cartographer, historian, lexicographer and encyclopedist, a member and founder of the MCLS; Slavic-Macedonian National - Educational Society “Ss Cyril and Methodius”; a member, a founder and a chairman of Russo-Macedonian Charitable Society “Ss Cyril and Methodius”, and Macedonian Revolutionary Committee in St. Petersburg. He also participated or headed other societies.

the Council's rooms for gatherings. The request stated the motive for organizing, including information on academic emigration:

Every year the number of Macedonians who are studying in high schools in St. Petersburg is increasing. At the same time, with each passing day, the need for an exchange of thoughts between us increases so that we can get to know our homeland, its present, past and future together. We had little knowledge of this need so far, especially because we have received secondary education in various schools in Turkey, Bulgaria and Serbia ... (Ristovski 2017, 48).

Furthermore, the signatories hint at a “study of their homeland from a historical, ethnographic, folkloristic and linguistic point of view”. Also, the introduction of the Macedonian language into official use was first confirmed in the Charter on its establishment, as one of the first tasks of this association.



Fig. 3 Dimitrija Čupovski
(21 March 1913)



Fig. 4
Emblem of the Slavic–
Macedonian National–Educational
Society “Ss Cyril and Methodius”,
enclosed with the Charter



Fig. 5

Krste Misirkov (the first one on the left) and the teaching staff at the Chisinau Gymnasium (1913–1918). He was a high school professor and member of the Bessarabian Parliament in Chisinau (1917–1918)

Dated 16 December 1903, we find the Charter of the Slavic-Macedonian Scientific-Literary Society in St. Petersburg, with the following goals: to develop the national consciousness among the Macedonian colony in St. Petersburg; to study the language, songs, customs and history of Macedonia in ethnographic and geographical terms; to reconcile and unite all Macedonians regardless of education and beliefs, in the name of the same origin and unity of the homeland, and to spread it among the Macedonians in Macedonia and abroad. The second article defined the actions: organizing assemblies and lectures; reading papers, short stories, poems, etc.; collection of folk works (intellectual works) and historical monuments for Macedonia; spiritual support of the compatriots, especially during their first arrival in Russia; helping and developing mutual relations with other Slavic societies, circles and activists (Ristovski I, 1978, 242–43).

In 1902, the MCLS was recognized as a separate Slavic National Society by the Council of the St. Petersburg Slavic Charitable Society, which was the first official recognition of a separate nationality at the international level. However, the creation of an officially recognised institution by the state remained a priority. That is what brought about the organisation of the Slavic-Macedonian National-Educational Society “Ss Cyril and Methodius” (see fig. 4). But, the Charter submitted to the authorities (27 June 1912), and rejected, stated that this association would expand “its activities in the territories of the Russian Empire and in Macedonia”, and:

- a) to organize assemblies, sermons, readings, lectures, public lectures, performances, concerts and literary evenings;
- b) to collect and study the historical monuments and the folk characteristics of the Macedonian Slavs;
- c) to organize publishing houses, to open libraries and reading rooms, in accordance with Art. 175 of the Chart. for cens. and print., vol. XIV of S. Law to issue its own periodical printed press, to organize competitions for the best scientific and professional works on the Macedonian issue and to award prizes and awards to their authors;
- d) to assist the upbringing and education of its citizens in a true national spirit, providing them with material and moral support;
- e) to open schools and renew the destroyed Orthodox churches and monasteries in Macedonia;
- f) to support and develop mutual relations with all Slavic societies, as well as with certain scientists and social activists;
- g) to establish scholarships for children and orphans in various educational institutions. (Ristovski 1978, II, 8–10).

In November 1913, there was another attempt with the submission of the Charter of the Russo-Macedonian Charitable Society “Ss Cyril and Methodius” (cf. Strukova 1963, 185–86; Lape 1970, 236–39). The request to the mayor of St. Petersburg for the establishment of the Society was signed by “the descendant of the courtier Leon Mihaïlovich Shakh-Paronianz, the Turkish citizen Dimo son of Dimo Pavle-Chupovski and the fellow advisor Vasilii Mihaïlovich Smelkov”. The procedure was supposed to continue with amendments to the Charter (April 1914), but it’s interrupted due to the WWI. The third article of the Charter prescribed how to achieve the goals and activities by: providing assistance to the Macedonians, both to those who come to Russia, in times of their difficulties, and in their homeland in times of particular national disasters (famine, floods, destruction of the country, etc.); helping the upbringing and education of young Macedonians of both sexes, and to provide scholarships to the poorer of them in various educational institutions; organizing assemblies, sermons, readings, lectures, public lectures, spectacles, concerts and literary evenings; organizing publishing-houses, libraries and reading-rooms; printing own periodical printed press; organizing competitions for scientific research papers on history and ethnography of the Macedonian Slavs, as well as awarding their authors (cf. Ristovski II, 1978, 146–47).

The Macedonian emigrants and their activity were not limited to St. Petersburg, but in movement between the Balkans and the Russian

Empire, having links with aforementioned associations all the way to the BSR. They were in a constant search for quality education as well as for an environment where they could freely express themselves, striving for the establishment of a state and academic culture. However, the Macedonians from St. Petersburg colony acted in coordination with the ‘Odessa and Southern Russia Macedonian Colony’ (in the Southern part of the Empire, centered in Odessa). The existence of this colony is evidenced by many documents, correspondence, photos and oral history. Some of them used to live and work exactly in the Black Sea towns: in Krasnodar, Rostov on Don, Eïsk etc. In 1905, Risto V. Rusulenčič together with Misirkov and Filip Nikolov(ski) even tried to form a clone of the MSLS in Odessa.

1.2. Educational Institutions in Macedonia. The Role of Emigrants

Academic culture and institutions represent a complex historical process, in which knowledge exchange participates substantially, and education is one of the main links that encourages, develops and affirms them. Accordingly, when analyzing the intelligentsia in connection with the migration towards BSR, it is necessary to understand the situation of education in Macedonia from the beginning of the 20th century up to WWI. The Ottoman educational system had long been dominated by religious institutions, and predominantly Muslim. The secular exceptions could be found in military training. Reforms in education had become apparent in the Tanzimat era, when changes concerning organization, subjects and textbooks were introduced, so except for the religious education for Muslims¹⁴, new public and private schools were opened. Over time, modern elementary schools ‘iptidai’ prevailed, and the traditional ones were modernized. At the end of the 19th century, high schools appeared: ‘rushdie’ and ‘idadie’ (in this one non-Muslims were permitted as well). Secular secondary education included other schools too, such as Teacher-Training Schools and Schools for arts and crafts (cf. Ćorgiev 2018, 35–45).

The proclaimed religious equality of all citizens, as well as an improvement in the financial situation, enabled the Macedonian population to build churches and to open schools. Progress could also be seen in educational curricula and teaching methods. New church-educational communities were founded, and general parochial schools, or municipal folk schools where classes were taught by teachers from the ranks of common people. Then public municipal schools appeared, which children could

¹⁴ Also Jewish education took place in the synagogues. Only in 1873 a modern school established in Thessaloniki, by the honorary Italian consul Solomon Fernandez, and a private school, by the Allatini family.

attend free of charge. But, the right to open schools generally belonged to the ‘milet’s (based on the officially recognized religions), due to which the Macedonian people was forced to choose between the schools organized by one of the churches, supported by religious or national propaganda (Bulgarian, Serbian, Greek, Romanian, Catholic, Protestant).

High schools were organized, and used for propaganda purposes. Bulgarian propaganda was particularly strong, and the Exarchate continued with its monopoly over education up to the Balkan Wars: Bulgarian Boys’ High School “Ss Cyril and Methodius” in Thessaloniki (1880/81), Bulgarian Pedagogical Schools in Serres (1895) and Skopje (1895), Men’s Trade School in Thessaloniki (1904), Men’s Classical High School (1899), Women’s High School “St. Theophany” in Thessaloniki (1881) and some male and female high schools. The Serbian propaganda also organized the Serbian Boys’ High School in Skopje (1894) and Bitola (1897), High School “House of Sciences” in Thessaloniki (1897). In Bitola, the Greek propaganda founded Greek Boys’ High School (1884/85), and the Romanian – Romanian Boys’ Lyceum (1880) (cf. Minov 2017, 305–43). Schools in various European languages were also opened, mostly as a result of religious or other missions in Macedonia. For example, the French Women’s School in Bitola (1900) was founded by three Catholic sisters of mercy, leaded by Sister Violè, who also opened a dispensary, whose activities continued in WWI, especially during the 1915 and 1916 epidemics (Andonovska, et al. 2007, 43–44).

During the period from the beginning of the 20th century up to WWI, Macedonia was not an internationally recognized political entity, with no established national institutions and science. The schooling situation remained a motive for gaining education abroad, because of the curricula for propaganda purposes, and especially since university education in the Ottoman Empire didn’t exist at all. Accordingly, knowledge obtained abroad was of great importance. Its impact could be traced in the attempts to open schools with Macedonian as the language of instruction, rejecting the educational propaganda by neighboring countries. The protagonists of these ventures were part of organized emigration educated abroad. The intellectual elite around the Macedonian Scientific-Literary Society, which acted in an organized manner in the Macedonian colonies in the Russian Empire, especially in the BSR, also acted in Macedonia shortly before the wars (1912–1918). This Society was the most important cultural-national association with academic goals, and the establishment of schools was among its chief commitments.

During this pre-war period, the attempts to open institutions for primary and higher education in Macedonia, as well as attempts to take religious and political positions, were significant. Focusing on the renowned representatives of the intelligentsia, associated with the migration through the BSR in this time period, we highlight Misirkov, Marko Mušević (first half of the 19th century – after 1920)¹⁵, Nace Dimov (1876–1916)¹⁶, Teodosija Gologanov (1846–1926)¹⁷ and Petar Poparsov (1872–1941)¹⁸.

When referring to attempts for political engagements, the candidacy of Poparsov should be considered. In 1909, he was nominated for elections to the Turkish parliament on the National Federal Party list, by the Macedonian people of Skopje ‘sandžak’. But, the heralds of the ‘Young Turks’ did not support his candidacy. In the same period, the Bulgarian Exarchate launched the campaign for the election of the Metropolitan of Skopje, since this diocese did not have a pastor who would be aligned with the aims of the Exarchate. So, in 1910, Gologanov submitted a candidacy for re-election for the Metropolitan of Skopje, supported at the National Assembly in St. Bogorodica in Skopje. After the rejection of his candidacy, the national movement intensified in Bitola, Demir Hisar and Kruševo, where people collected signatures. Other two activists – Dimov and Mušević, were leading the action for opening a Macedonian school. In May 1910, Mušević visited Russia and, together with Dimov, submitted a request to the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church for financial support of 10,000 roubles to restore the Church of St. Athanasius on the grounds of the ruined Žitoše Monastery and to open a Macedonian

¹⁵ He was an icon painter, collector of folk poetry, cultural and national activist. He worked in Sofia, Thessaloniki, Belgrade, Bucharest, and traveled to St. Petersburg: to the Russian emperor Alexander III (1885), with a petition to Nikola II (1902), and Memorandum to the Holy Synod for opening a school (1910).

¹⁶ He attended evening school in Sofia and worked on the Railway in Varna; a railway machinist in Odessa (1901), and since 1902 he was involved in the MSLS, travelling to the university centers (Odessa, Kiev, Moscow, St. Petersburg) asking support for the Slavic societies. Since 1903, he was a machinist at the St. Petersburg Railway Depot, opened the “European Café” in St. Petersburg (1904) and later became a private lawyer. He was a member or co-founder of many societies.

¹⁷ Vasil Gologanov (his secular name) – a significant church-national figure, metropolitan of Skopje, writer of academic articles on religion. He was a protagonist for the renewal of the Ohrid Archbishopric and union with Roman Catholic Church, a leader of the ‘third Union movement’ in the 1890s.

¹⁸ He was a high-school professor, writer, publicist, a leading figure in the movement around the Young Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia and its journal *Loza*. He got his education in Veles, Thessaloniki, Belgrade, Sofia, and taught in Thessaloniki, Skopje, and in the village of Kostenec (in Bulgaria).

vocational (professional) school (with a boarding school). In the following years, many similar requests were submitted (Makedonski album 2014, 116–20). Unfortunately, the request was't considered until July 1913 and remained without decision. As for higher education, three national and cultural activists – Misirkov, Poparsov and Gologanov, worked on establishing an Academy of Teachers in Skopje in 1910. Working to create conditions for the realization of this idea and his appointment as a professor, Misirkov even mentioned the idea on establishing University in Skopje. Although this proved unsuccessful, it was a vital act in the history of Macedonian higher education (Ristovski 2018, 67–82).

The partition of Macedonia led to severe consequences, and Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece began implementing their military-police systems, issued governance decrees and imposed education to be taught in Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek. The schooling situation was unfavourable both before and during the wars, while illiteracy was widespread. An illustration could be one bizarre example of knowledge transfer, through the testimony of a Macedonian mobilized in the Bulgarian army. Here, Ilija Stanoev from the village of Kukuraevo (near Petrič), testified how he became literate because of the need to write his soldier's letters home:

We told ourselves this war would not end. I was supposed to write the first year, and today I beg one, tomorrow another one to write my letters. But no one can do it the way I want. I was forced to learn, even though already I knew few letters, I learned to write, so I got from the wars to be able to write letters by myself, although with many mistakes (Otpretani svedoštva 2007, 36).

2. Macedonian Intelligentsia in Exchange of Knowledge and Ideas

In this time period, the engagements of the emigrants were focused on several essential goals. They were pointing out the likely outcome of the possible resolution of the Balkan conflicts and its consequences for Macedonia. Accordingly, they took steps to consolidate the activists within Macedonia as well as the emigration. With the beginning of the Balkan Wars, they were insisting on the Macedonian issue being resolved positively, that is to say by establishing a separate state (a kingdom), trying to warn of the dangers that dividing the ethno-cultural territory of Macedonia might bring about. Shortly before the declaration of the First Balkan War, the national liberation group from Bitola adopted the so-called Programme Letter of Bitola (15 August 1912) (cf. Kon 1912, 5). What the document

aimed at was in compliance with all the official documents and public appearances of the emigration (draft-Constitutions of various associations, memorandums, appeals, articles), which was an indication of the unity of ideas as regards national issue. Special attention was given to the problem of national propaganda in Macedonia, which attempted to reshape the national identity. The letter contains a national program on the further steps that should to be taken, also conveying a deep trust in the support of the Russian politics.

Soon after the beginning of the Balkan War, many emigrants returned to the Balkans. For example, Dr Gavril Konstantinovič (1878–1918)¹⁹ applied as a volunteer, via the Russian Red Cross, for the position of a physician in the detachment in Serbia and Montenegro and became the manager of the Russian military hospital in Cetinje (Zografski 1957, 17–37). While Misirkov went to southern Macedonia as a military correspondent for the Russian newspaper *Odeskiĭ listok*, D. Čupovski came to Veles to participate in the General Macedonian Conference in December 1912. The main topic of this gathering was the preservation of the territorial integrity and the establishment of the state. The Conference approved a mandate to the Macedonian colony in St. Petersburg to represent the Macedonian interests in Europe. Unfortunately, the participation of Čupovski and Poparsov at the Conferences in Paris and London failed (cf. Donev 1997, 197–203).

The participation of the local population in the war was essential for the armies of the alliance on the terrain. The Macedonians provided this support because they believed that military intervention was aimed at liberating them from Ottoman rule. But the true intentions of the Balkan allies soon became clear. That is why Čupovski claimed that the Macedonian people was betrayed:

Generally speaking, more than 100,000 Macedonians took part in that war, not taking into account the support from the whole population which it provided for the allies for its liberation. Justice requires that, since the Macedonians were fighting the Turks for their own freedom under the slogan “Macedonia to the Macedonians” and helped the allies in the war, than the interests of Macedonia should be recognised by the Balkan

¹⁹ He was born in village Smrdeš (1878), and died in Murmansk (1918) – a military doctor, a Macedonian national activist, one of the founders and the vice-president of the MSLS.

Alliance and be duly satisfied in the form of autonomy... (Chupovskiĭ 1913, 6).

One can read about how intellectuals experienced the wars in an article by Misirkov:

Macedonians from all over the world rushed to take part in the war against the age-old enemy. They fought bravely and provided essential services to the allied armies.

But ... it soon became clear that our homeland would be crushed and enslaved by the Allies. The liberation war turned into a war of conquest and instead of liberation from slavery, Macedonia was crushed and fell under a new, worse, triple slavery of: Serbs, Greeks and Bulgarians (Pel'skiĭ 1914, 206).

Speaking of the organised activity of the emigrants, several important documents were forwarded to the relevant international factors. For example, *Memorandum on the independence of Macedonia* of 1 March 1913, written in Russian and French, was prepared by representatives of the Macedonian colony in the name of the Macedonian people (Makedonski album 2014, 121–25). The concept of this document was a strong and emotional display of the situation and the national demands. It was submitted to the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, and the ambassadors of the great powers to the Court in London, together with the map of ethnographic Macedonia. The Memorandum was presented in the Russian Duma by Akaky Ivanovich Chkhenkeli (1874–1959)²⁰, Georgian by origin, who obviously had understanding and compassion for the Macedonian national question. He himself was an important figure on the Caucasus, an advocate for the national rights and freedom of the peoples. It contributed to his representation of the Macedonian national demands in the Duma, speaking on the new circumstances regarding the partition of Macedonia (Ristovski II, 1978, 167). It was an example of exchange of ideas between

²⁰ He was born in Khoni, Kutaisi Province – a lawyer and writer, studied in Kiev, Berlin and London. Entering politics (1898) in the social democratic movement, he led the Georgian Mensheviks. After he was expelled from the Caucasus (1911). Later he was a member of the Social Democratic Party in the 4th Duma, a representative of the Batumi and Kars regions and Suhim district, a member of Special Transcaucasian Committee, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Central Committee of Russian Social Democratic Party, and chaired the Georgian National Parties Conference, initiator of the Act of Independence of Georgia, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Georgian Democratic Republic etc. In 1921 he emigrated, and died in Paris.

Macedonian and other intellectuals, important personalities from the science, art, journalism, political and social life.

On 7 June 1913, another *Memorandum by the Macedonians*, was sent to the governments and the general public of the Balkan states. Once again the Macedonian claims were presented together with the warning: “Remember that separated Macedonia will be an everlasting apple of strife between you...” Then the reasons why a separate state should be supported were stated: “Macedonia is populated by a homogeneous Slavic tribe which has its own history, its own tradition, its own former statehood, its own ideals, and hence has the right to self-determination”. The new state should be designed as a government answering to the people’s assembly; the relations with the other Balkan states would be established in a Balkan Union of independent states with common customs borders; church organization with a renewed Ohrid autocephalous church in canonic relation with the other Orthodox churches will be introduced, and there will be an action plan for practical implementation (people’s national assembly in Thessaloniki under patronage) (Makedonski album 2014, 121–25).

The intellectuals expressed opinions through articles in the Russian press as well, related to questions concerning the national identity and history, language, church issue (cf. Trajanovski 1997, 213–24) and statehood, as well as at various public discussions. An important event was the lecture by Dimov, on 4 March 1913, in the hall of the St. Petersburg Slavic Charitable Society, entitled “Macedonia in the Past, Now and in the Future”. It was immediately published by the Macedonian colony as a brochure in Russian: *Glava I. Istoricheskiĭ ocherk Makedonii i makedonskih slavian. Glava II. Prichini vozniknovenia chetnicheskago dvizhenia v Makedonii. Glava III. Politicheskiĭ obzor Makedonii i Makedontsev*. This study analyzed the historical grounds of the Macedonian demands, written in an academic manner and with academic methodology (see fig. 7).

The Macedonian press was an important task in messaging to the public²¹. Speaking of the activities of the emigrants in Odessa, we have to highlight the publishing of a journal in the modern Macedonian

²¹ The presence of Macedonian emigration in the public of the Russian Empire, could be traced in the information on the documentary film *Slavonic Album* (filmed in Lev Osipovich Drankov’s photo-studio “Progres”, St. Petersburg, March and April 1913). The 100 metre film, besides the Slavic monarchs, ambassadors and Russian activists, also featured three Macedonians: Čupovski, Dimov and Georgov. There were also post-cards with the representatives of the Slavic peoples (Ristovski 1978, 77–78).

language, titled *Vardar* (1905)²², printed in one issue (1 September 1905) and never distributed. It was initiated and published by its editor K. Misirkov, as the first scientific-literary and national-political journal in the modern Macedonian literary language and orthography, including the first Macedonian national statistics on the population (Misirkov 1905, 17–20), folkloristic, ethnographic and historical texts. The journal depicted the MCLS program (Ristovski 1966), and the following was planned: poetry, short stories, novels and plays on topics of local life, monuments of ancient literacy and oral Macedonian folk literature, consideration of issues related to the Macedonian literary language, Macedonian dialects, Macedonian literary works, people's lives and culture, literary schools and trends, characters, customs, costumes, way of life, field and home tools, working methods, home order and upbringing, living conditions, modern life of Macedonians, people's economic interests, distribution of land, churches, schools and literacy, national-religious education, the patriotism of the intelligentsia, research and articles on the old and new history of Macedonia and the Macedonians, the latest phenomena in the life of the Slavic peoples and articles on Macedonia and the 'Macedonian question' (cf. Bernstein 1958, 179–80).

Makedonskiĭ golos (*Makedonski glas*) was, however, the most important Macedonian periodicals (see fig. 6), printed by the Macedonian emigration in St. Petersburg (9 June 1913 – 20 November 1914), in 11 issues (with an interruption after the eighth). The editor was Čupovski, editor-in-chief I. P. Kulaznev and D. D. Arhangel'ski for the last two issues. Among the authors of texts in the journal (P. Konstantinov, Filaret Chernev, P. Bozhidarski – probably a Macedonian from Petrograd, Vseslav Volievski etc.), authors under pseudonyms or initials also publish: 'Pelski' (probably K. Misirkov), 'Tiger', 'A-go!', 'G. S.' (Georgi A. Stojanov?), 'P. V.' (P. Bozhidarski?). The debates in the journal can be analyzed as an expression of the Macedonian views on the wars, the most direct reflection of national consciousness and ideas of statehood and territorial integrity of Macedonia among the emigrants in Russia (cf. Ristovski 1978, 367–424; Radičeski 1997, 167–77; Todorovski 1997, 155–62). The Editorial published various articles, arranged in several sections, mainly related to Macedonia and the Macedonians: historical and ethnographic reviews, political analysis and actions, letters to readers and correspondents, as well as pages

²² Misirkov initiated the newspaper *Blizhniĭ Vostok* in Odessa (1911), but was rejected.

dedicated to poetry. Regarding the published ‘Correspondence from Macedonia’, the consequences of the wars were reflected in the contributions. We get a vivid description of the situation during the change of authorities in the border region. The attitude and the personal feelings of the population and the reaction to the events are of great value for our understanding of history from the inside. Also, the journal was related to the first venture for emerging Macedonian cartography. The map of ethnographic Macedonia, made by Čupovski, was published in its first issue, as well as separately in colour and in Macedonian language under the title: “Map of Macedonia according to the Programme of the Macedonian populists”. In the following issue of the journal detailed explanations of the geographic and ethnographic borders of the map were elaborated, as well as a national statistics, in which Macedonians participated with 65% of the population (Georgiev 1913, 28–34).

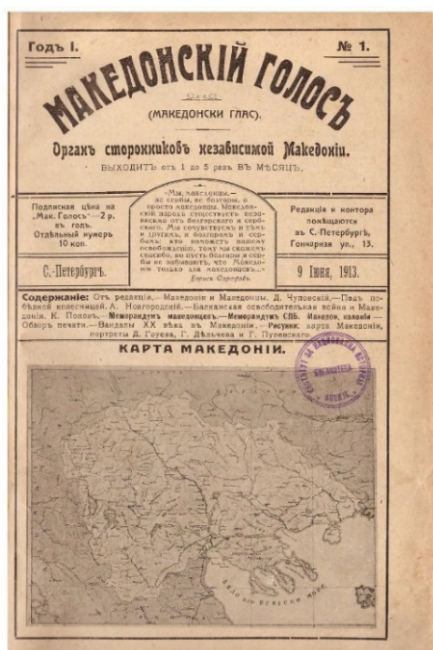


Fig. 6 *Makedonskiĭ golos*
(*Makedonski glas*),
I, 1, St. Petersburg, 1913

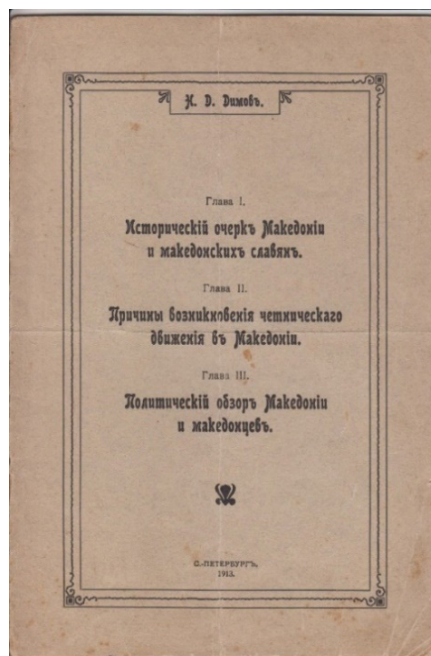


Fig. 7 The brochure by
Nace D. Dimov
(St. Petersburg, 1913)

In the journal we find pages devoted to artistic expression as a part of literary history, whose authors were Macedonian and Russian

poets and writers. A total of 19 poems and a poem in prose were published, in 1913/14 and the separate edition in 1915. The lyrics were written in Russian, except one in the Macedonian language: “Krale Marko” (March 1914). Its author was Čupovski (signed with ‘Posmrťe’), who also published under the pseudonyms: ‘Makedonec’ and ‘Upravda’. In the poem “Krale Marko”, he addressed the national hero, expressing his dissatisfaction with the situation of divided Macedonia. Čupovski also wrote verses in Russian, including the published poem “S bogom”, as well as the unpublished poem “Molitva Makedoneca”. According to Blaže Ristovski, the lyrics under the pseudonym ‘Makedonec’ are his as well: “Svobodnoī Albanii” (on the occasion of the arrival of Prince Wilhelm Wied in Petrograd) and “Dedo Ivan” (alluding to Russia), in which Čupovski expressed his hope that ‘Slavic Russia’ would help the Macedonians:

... We Macedonians really love the homeland...
 Who has the right to blame us for that?
 We will cede our mountains with death,
 We will all have to be buried on them.

I love the blue waters of Solun,
 The beauties of Ohrid, the mountain roads,
 Warm nights, fields under the full moon,
 In the villages the cemetery of children and fathers...
 (Makedonec 1914, 220).

Among the active contributors to the journal, we single out Leon Mikhailovich Shakh-Paronians (1863–1927)²³, undoubtedly an Armenian by origin – an indicator of the exchange of ideas. He was a poet, journalist, writer and publisher, born in Tiflis (today’s Tbilisi), and died in Petersburg. It is very certain that relations with Macedonian students were established in university circles. The common basis of Macedonian and Armenian ideas was the solution of the national questions, and Shakh-Paronians deeply understood the Macedonian situation, as shown by his poems in Russian: “V Makedonii”, “Prizraki novoī voīni

²³ He graduated from the Faculty of Law at the Imperial St. Petersburg University, and the Faculty of History and Philology of the University of Kharkov. He was the owner of the book-magazine “Publishing and Book Warehouse of L. M. Shah-Paroniansz” from 1908. He was married to the poetess Glafira Ivanovna Iushkova; taught Russian language and literacy; worked in the Library of the Russian Society of Singing and Music Lovers, and the Library of Petersburg University in the 1920s.

na Balkanah”, “Plach Makedonii”, “Vragam Makedonii”, “V zaschtitu edinoi, nezavisimoj Makedonii” and “Russkii privet Makedonii”. The cooperation with Shakh-Paroniansc was confirmed by the submitted Charter for the registration of the Russo-Macedonian Charitable Society “Ss Cyril and Methodius” (November 1913), where the first signatory was Shakh-Paroniantz, together with Čupovski and Smelkov.

The Macedonian national question did not find a proper place in the spheres of interest of the great powers, but it was used as an instrument for resolving other political issues. Though the appeals of the intellectuals did not prove to be influential, the tendency for establishment of cultural and national unity continued. The period from 1912 to 1918 was marked by military action in Macedonia. Therefore, we can agree with the question whether the WWI is not actually the Third Balkan War (Mikietyński 2009, 119–27).

The organized activity of the emigrants took place in different forms. Thus, a significant event was the speech of the representative of Macedonians in Odessa, Misirkov, at the All-Slavic Meeting (6 August 1914), at the manifestation in front of the Kazan Temple, on the occasion of the beginning of the WWI. The emigration activity also included the memoranda and appeals to other countries. A *Memorandum* to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergeĭ D. Sazonov was submitted in August 1914, signed by the representatives: Čupovski (“Representative of the St. Petersburg Macedonian Colony, who graduated from the St. Petersburg Spiritual Academy, editor–publisher of the *Makedonskii golos*”) and Misirkov (“Representative of the Odessa and Southern-Russian Macedonian Colony, history and geography teacher at the Kishinev male high school of Tsar Alexander I the Blessed, a college counselor”). It is one more testimony to the unity between the intellectuals centered in St. Petersburg and Odessa. The document provided a preview of the events and relations between the Balkan aspirants and Russian policy. This document was another attempt to convince the other countries of the existence of a separate Macedonian entity and its historical justification as regards the population (“majority of the population of Macedonia and that gives ethnographic unity to the country – it is the Slavic people – Macedonians”, ‘a completely formed nation’, ‘an incomparably larger and more versatile intelligence’ etc.), as well as the demand “to form a new Slavic, completely independent Balkan kingdom – Macedonia, headed by one of the great princes of the Russian IMPERIAL house” (Ristovski 1978, II, 221–26; cf. Misirkov 2007, 83–101).

The cooperation with Shakh-Paronians obviously continued in the new circumstances, within the Commission of the Council of Slavic Charitable Society, formed to prepare a Resolution on the Macedonian question (see fig. 11–12). It was printed as an offprint of *Makedonskiĭ Golos (Makedonski glas)* on 8 June 1915 in Petersburg, and signed by the Chairman of the Commission, Count Mihail M. Perovski–Petrovo–Solovovo. Shakh-Paronians was among the Russians (together with Count Perovski–Petrovo–Solovovo, N. Filjković and Prince Serafim P. Mansirev), along with the Macedonians Čupovski and Dimov, the Serbs – prof. R. Jovanović and prof. M. Vukicević, and the Bulgarians – engineer Karasimeonov and Konstantin Kushlev. Attached to the submitted document was a page with a picture of the Macedonian flag²⁴, the Boris Sarafov’s words on the cover page of *Makedonskiĭ golos (Makedonski glas)*²⁵, and a poem “In Protection of a Unified, Independent Macedonia” by Shakh–Paronians, who had read it at the Commission’s meeting (Ristovski II, 1978, 239–47; Makedonski album 2014, 141).

In accordance with the new situation and the need for revolutionary action, the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee in Petersburg (1917–1924) was formed by Konstantinovič, Peškovski, Ugrinovski, and under the leadership of Čupovski. Eventually official Russian policy finally became more seriously interested in the Macedonian question, so the program ‘Balkan Federal Democratic Republic’ (under the motto ‘The Balkans for the Balkan peoples. Full self-determination of each nation’), was published by the body of the party of the Prime Minister Aleksandr F. Kerensky (*Volia Naroda*) and *Novaia zhizn’* (18 June

²⁴ In 1914, a Flag was made within the Macedonian colony in Petersburg (red silk, Alexander of Macedon’s mythical horse-unicorn Bucephalus in red on a white background, and golden rays of a rising sun were depicted in the bottom right corner with the following inscription in gold letters across the rays ‘UNIFIED INDEPENDENT MACEDONIA’) (see fig. 9–10). It’s used in the protests on the streets of Petersburg. Symbolically, the late Čupovski’s bier (1940) was draped in it and then it was carried over the coffin during his funeral. The flag was preserved in Čupovski’s home. According to his wife Lidija and his son Rostislav (1970), the flag was handed over in 1950 to a member of the Macedonian colony in Leningrad, Velko Manoilovič Jonovski (from Tetovo), so he could take it to Macedonia. As he moved to Kiev, Velko took it with him. In 1973 Ristovski located it in his home in Leningrad (Makedonski album 2014, 287).

²⁵ “We Macedonians are not Serbs, we are not Bulgarians, but simply Macedonians. The Macedonian people exists independently of the Bulgarian and Serbian. We sympathize with them and others, with the Bulgarians and with the Serbs: to those who help our liberation, we will say thank you , but let the Bulgarians and the Serbs not forget that Macedonia is only for the Macedonians” (Boris Sarafov).

1917). It was signed by the 'Macedonian Revolutionary Committee, Macedonian Society named after Cyril and Methodius, Editorial board of *Makedonskiĭ golos (Makedonski glas)*', aiming: a republican government of all the Balkan peoples obliged to overthrow the dynasties; independent internal life within each republic; a Balkan Federal Democratic Republic of all Balkan republics (including Macedonia); various regulations of the internal affairs and issues related to language, religion etc. But, after the October Revolution (1917) most of the supporters of Macedonia emigrated or lost their positions in society. However, Macedonian intelligentsia continued to act, and some of them joined these trends, believing it was a new chance (Mihail Antonov, Dr. Vladimir Kavaev, Dimče Milevski, Vasko Panoski, etc.). Some of them even had relations with the Soviet government (Kavaev and his wife Elena Etinger-Kavaeva), and Mihail Antonov was a general in the Red Army (Mladenovski 2009, 898–99).

Conclusion

The period of 1913–1919 was confusing and fierce, when wars and confirmation of the borders of Macedonia's partition took place. Macedonians experienced disappointment, isolation and fatigue among the national forces, while some of the revolutionary forces put themselves at the service of the Balkan countries. There was a series of reactions and official acts demanding a statehood in all political variants, but the core of all demands was the territorial reunification. Emigrant communities played an active role in that process, especially the societies and intellectuals in the Russian Empire, Switzerland and Bulgaria, as well as activists in Macedonia (who prepared the Voden Declaration and the Promemoria of Grigorie Hadži Taškovič for united Macedonia within the Kingdom of the Yugoslavian peoples, submitted to the Corfu Conference). As regards the Macedonian emigrants in the Russian Empire, they intended to draw attention to the national issue by writing communications and articles, with the aim of influencing the decisions of political factors. The attention was focused almost exclusively on the national question, while outlining their position to the Russian and European public, warning of the possibility of partition, seeking support for the creation of a state and protesting against the partition. The debates on the history of Macedonia and the Macedonians aimed at the historical verification of the idea of a state (kingdom), even asking for the appointment of a monarch from the Russian dynasty (following the example of the Balkan monarchs from European dynasties).

Seen through the prism of the exchange of knowledge, the focus of this research was the movement of intelligentsia towards BSR, especially their public activity and organization of cultural and national societies, i.e. the non-institutional forms of establishing academic culture in emigration and in Macedonia. The activity of the intellectuals in the Russian Empire took place with rather strong dynamics, and was related to publishing articles and print media, development of a concept and national program for action and preparation for the future academic culture in the Macedonian state. Čupovski and his collaborators affected all the elements of academic culture: establishing educational institutions, and national and cultural associating, as well as attempts to lay the foundations for science: scientific journals, text-books, lexicography and encyclopedia, history, ethnography and folklore, officializing the language and literature, field research, demography, cartography, and collaboration and exchange of ideas with other intellectuals.



Fig. 8 Map of geographical and ethnographic Macedonia, made by Dimitrija Čupovski, in Macedonian (1913)



Fig. 9 Macedonian Flag of the Macedonian colony in Petersburg, made in 1914



Fig. 10 Reserve Emblem for the Macedonian Flag (Bucephalus, mythical horse-unicorn of Alexander Macedonian)

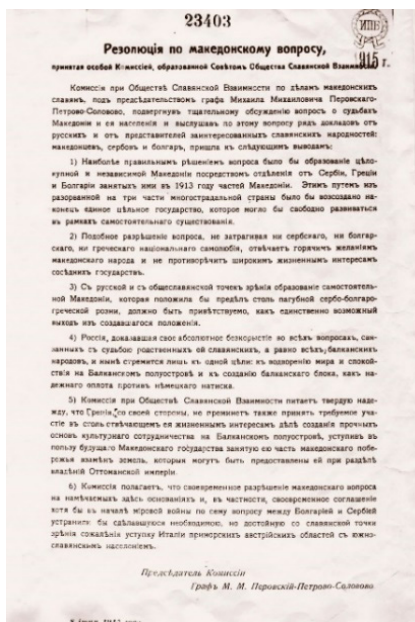


Fig. 11



Fig. 12

Fig. 11–12 Resolution on the Macedonian Issue (1915)

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LINGUISTIC SITUATION AND LINGUISTIC POLICY IN THE MIGRATION PROCESS IN THE CAUCASUS AT THE END OF THE 19TH AND BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURIES

Marine Aroshidze and Nino Aroshidze

Abstract: Throughout its history, the Caucasus has been a region where imperial interests of different countries collided. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, in terms of language, this region presented a very mixed picture: against the background of ever-increasing migration processes (both voluntary and violent), tsarist Russia implemented a harsh language policy in relation to the languages of the Caucasian nationalities — a policy of complete Russification. In Georgia in the 19th century, the Georgian language had almost no official use; all administrative work, court cases, and learning took place exclusively in Russian, because it is language that largely determines the formation of a personality, the process of its socialization. Even the patriarchate of the Georgian Orthodox Church was eliminated. The growth of national identity was largely initiated by advanced Georgian youth who received education abroad. A prerequisite for the development of academic structures in the region was the development of national languages: science needed developed national languages, which, in turn, stimulated the development of science.

Introduction

The problem of the formation of academic cultures in the Black Sea Region at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries has become excessively multilayered, for it is intended to shed light on a number of interesting questions resulting from research by historians, anthropologists, philosophers, culturologists, and sociologists. The topicality of this problem has been growing even more in the context of ongoing globalization, when “an actively proceeding process of economic and political globalization has entered the stage of language and cultural globalization” (Arošize 2018, 90). The interdisciplinary approach to the study of civilizational processes in the modern global community has diversified researches in which philosophers, economists, historians, political scientists, and sociologists are actively involved (Arthur J. Penty, David

Riesman, Daniel Bell, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Alvin Toffler, Alain Touraine, Raymond Aron, Jean-Francois Lyotard, Tadao Umesao, David Lyon, Herbert McLuhan, Yoneji Masuda, Manuel Castells, etc.); later they were joined by culturologists, linguists (Edward Taylor, Max Weber, Arnold J. Toynbee, Mike Featherstone, Leonid Vasilyev, Vladimir Alpatov, Alexandr Khrolenko, etc.). Analyzing the main research directions of the modern review, Vladislav L. Inozemtsev notes that the majority of American and European researchers, starting in the late 1980s, began to focus on the role and significance of *knowledge*, which gave rise to a whole range of new definitions of modern society, including the ‘knowledge society’ and ‘knowledgeable society’ (Inozemtsev 2000, 15). Consequently, one can speak of a further stage of the globalization process – the globalization of knowledge, which, in its turn, implies linguistic and cultural globalization has been studied to a much lesser extent.

The 19th century was a special milestone in the life of all of Europe because the scientific and technological revolution caused dramatic changes: *the century of reason* (17th century) turned into the *Enlightenment era* (18th century), which led to the formation of institutions of modern science and to the increasing role of science in society as a result of the popularization of science in the 19th century. As Viachislav Stepin, etc. rightly claim, fundamentally new trends in the development of scientific knowledge arose, which led to the development of a general scientific picture of the world as an integral system of scientific ideas about nature, man, and society. The history of science shows that its development is largely due to the evolution of institutional forms, as a result of which the access of the scientific community to public resources has gradually increased. This evolution displays the following major stages of the development of science institutions: amateur science, academic science, university science, and applied science related to industry and state programs (Stepin, n.p.).

The increasing role of science in society at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was due to the formation of industrial science, the growing volume of scientific information, and the need for long-term professional training for scientific activities.

In different countries and regions, however, this process unfolded under completely different socio-economic and political conditions. The lessons of history indicate that the development of national languages is a necessary condition for the development of academic institutions: science needed developed national languages, which, in turn, would stimulate the development of science.

Studies of the international history of science and culture are impossible without analyzing the language of this period, not just as the main means of direct communication within the scientific and any other community, but also as the basis of the most complex interaction processes, the exchange of ideas, practical achievements, and spiritual values. One way or another, all stages of knowledge development (both unscientific and scientific) are closely related to language development, and the formation of academic cultures is connected with the language situation and language policy in the region.

In the course of the historical development of the human community, there is always a clear interrelation of linguistic and sociocultural processes requiring their complex study: it is impossible to imagine the development and functioning of society without language and culture, and it is equally impossible to consider a number of important linguistic and cultural phenomena apart from geopolitical, sociopolitical, and economic conditions for the functioning of society. It is the awareness of this close relationship that led to the emergence of such an interdisciplinary science as sociolinguistics, the most important areas of which are the language situation and language policy of important regions from a geopolitical point of view. The Black Sea countries, and, in particular, the South Caucasus throughout its history has been just such a region, where the imperial interests of different countries collided. Despite diligent work by historians, political scientists, cultural scientists, and ethnologists, the language situation and language policy implemented in the South Caucasus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries has yet to be sufficiently studied.

Social, Economic, and Geopolitical Situation in the Caucasus Region at the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Centuries

The turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was a challenging and volatile time in Europe and the Caucasus, respectively. The South Caucasus has always occupied an important geopolitical position, located at the crossroads of international routes between Europe and Asia, North and South. The Great Silk Road, a grand trade route that connected East and West in antiquity, ran through the entire South Caucasus (through the territory of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia), and bustling trade promoted the development of languages, culture, and science. Yet, since the end of the 15th century, the value of the Silk Road was gradually lost. The South Caucasus and, in particular, Georgia found themselves on the curb of world civilization developments. Nevertheless, the trade route played a grand role in the fate of all the South Caucasian republics.

Countries of the South Caucasus have always had close political, military, economic, and cultural ties with European countries, which were greatly conditioned by the close proximity to the region of Christian Christianization (Byzantium and the Mediterranean), with their developed political relations, economy, trade, and culture. However, the Caucasus very often became the scene of the collision of bulk powers.

In his analysis of the basic tendencies of mutual relations in the Caucasus with the states of Europe, Jemal Nakašize specifically highlights accession of the Caucasian countries to Russia and the complete loss of statehood (18th and 19th centuries). This period includes the pre-revolutionary and socialist historical epochs, when the countries of Caucasia conducted foreign policy through a single state — first tsarist Russia, then the Soviet Union (except for 1918–1921, when the countries of the South Caucasus restored statehood and in a short period in cooperation with leading European powers tried to determine the future orientation of development, which was interrupted with the establishment in these countries of the socialist system) (Nakašize 2003). Thus, in the period we are interested in at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, there was a “complete loss of statehood”, supported by a corresponding language policy, carried out in the Caucasian region within the framework of the Russian governor’s office.

Russian Governance in the Caucasus and the Colonizing Policy of Mass Resettlement

The entire history of the Caucasus, including the Caucasus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, has been almost completely determined by the policy of the Russian Empire, its needs and hopes. The crucial period that determined the Caucasus region’s fate in the following years was the governor’s rule.

In the 19th century during the period of the Vienna system of international relations, Azerbaijan and a part of Armenia were annexed to Russia as a result of the Russian-Iranian wars; as a result of the Russian-Turkish wars, Western Georgia and another part of Armenia were also annexed. The Caucasus acquired a new legal status as part of the Russian Empire. In connection with this, the management system in the region also changed. The region began to form as an inseparable part of Russia. For this, a management reform was needed, which was carried out in 1840. Its goal is to establish a unified system of executive bodies inherent in all the provinces of the Russian Empire. The reform of 1840 fully proceeded from the interests of the Russian colonial policy and completely corresponded

to neither the socio-economic nor ethnocultural needs of the peoples of the South Caucasus (Ismailova 2013, 41).

The tsar's decree of 24 December 1844 appointed Mikhail Semenovitch Vorontsov as governor-general of the Caucasus and commander-in-chief of a separate Caucasian corps. The Caucasian governorship made up the entire Caucasus region, and the governor was vested with military and diplomatic powers and received unlimited power over the province. In 1846–1847 the Caucasus region was renamed the Stavropol province, and the Caucasian provinces with the center in Tiflis after the gradual transformation were represented by the following regions: Tiflis, Erivan, the Baku provinces, the Sukhumi department, the Black Sea district, and the Batumi and Kars regions.

The colonial policy of Russia led to the Caucasian War (1817–1864); the stubborn resistance of the Highlanders was only broken in the second half of the nineteenth century. Russia used different methods of stabilization in the recalcitrant region, one of the most effective being the policy of mass resettlement of the Highlanders and the settlement of the liberated Caucasian lands by representatives of other ethnic groups.

According to Viktor Chernous, after the end of the Caucasian War and in connection with the changes that had taken place, the Russian and Ottoman empires tried to organize an 'exchange' of the Muslim highlanders for the inhabitants of the Balkan Slavic Christians.

Under the influence of Turkish propaganda, with the participation of the British Empire, and under pressure from the Caucasian administration, the North Caucasus in the 19th century was forced to leave from 500 to 700 thousand Adygs, several tens of thousands of Vainakhs and other peoples of the North Caucasus. The inter-Caucasian resettlements of the North Caucasian peoples initiated by the administration of the Caucasus governorship also painfully and tragically took place. The peoples of the North Caucasus have lost a significant part of the fertile lands (Chernous, n.p.).

Similar phenomena proceeded in Caucasia; after the accession of Ajaria to Russia followed the resettlement of Muslim Georgians (Ajarians) to Turkey (called *Muhajirism*). Russia in every way contributed to this process, since it was interested in freeing the border areas from Muslim Georgians and created unbearable living conditions for the Muslim population of Ajaria. As a result, during the Russian-Turkish War and after, in

the period of Muhajirism, approximately 30 thousand Muslim Georgians migrated from Ajara to Turkey (P'ut'karaže 2005, 137).

Thus, the entire period studied by us passed under the banner of large-scale migration processes in the Caucasus, and migration flows differed in several ways: for reasons of resettlement, they can be distinguished as forced and voluntary resettlement; location can be distinguished as resettlement from abroad and from the domestic Russian provinces; and, according to the direction of mass migrations – resettlement to the Caucasus or from the Caucasus to the neighboring Muslim countries. The entire apparatus of the Russian governorship was actively working on the implementation of far-reaching colonization plans in order to finally subjugate the Caucasus.

Muhajirism was organized on a confessional basis, when Caucasian highlander Muslims were 'urged' or forced to move to a permanent place of residence in neighboring Muslim countries, but the reverse flow of immigrants coming to the Caucasus was caused by different reasons – political exile (Polish exiles), confessional reasons (Molokans, dissenters, Dukhobors), by striving to change the ethnic and demographic composition of the problem region, to secure for small-scale peasants from domestic Russian provinces *odnye* Caucasian and Caucasian land and so on. For example, in 1841–1845 about 5,000 Dukhobors were sent to Caucasia (to Georgia and Azerbaijan); they lived compactly in the Javakheti region, called 'Caucasian Siberia', where the settlements of their descendants who preferred to stay in Georgia still remain and did not move in the 90s to Russia or Canada (Ninocminda, the former Bogdanovka, Gorelovka, etc., settlements).

Interesting data on mass migration to the Caucasus lands is given in the document by Nikolay Shavrov:

...became it is obvious that in order to prevent future Caucasia from falling away from us, the only means is to strengthen the Russian colonization of this margin and bring the Russian population to such proportions that the Russians lodged in number not less than half of the native population (Shavrov 1911, 6).

The author is very disappointed that most of the fertile Caucasian lands were not inherited by the Russians, because there was a settlement in the South Caucasus of "... about a million Turkish Armenians, several tens of thousands of Greek families ...", and because the western part of Caucasia was lost for Russian colonization, the author strenuously

‘advertises the rich possibilities of eastern Caucasia – Lankaran Mugan (Shavrov 1911, 6).

A flow of immigrants also poured into Armenia. The Cossack families were first to arrive, initially from Don, then Kuban and Terk after the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878. With the accession of the Kars region to the empire, Russians were added to the inflows of Cossack settlers. According to Aikaz Poghosyan, by the beginning of the First World War, 27,856 Russian inhabitants already lived in the territory of the Kars region. By the end of the 19th century, Pushkino, Novopokrovka, Privolnoye, and Novoaleksandrovka were purely Russian villages in Eastern Armenia. The Kars region also had such villages, like Mixaylovka, Olgovka, Xoroshee, and Grenaderskoe (Pogosian 1982, 167).

If in the first half of the 19th century involuntary resettlement prevailed in both directions (both from and to the Caucasus), in the second half of the 19th century the inflow of voluntary displaced persons increased due to the conditions of rapid industrial development of the region and, in particular, of the Caucasus.

It should be noted that the growth of capitalist relations intensified after the abolition of serfdom in the Caucasus from 1864 to 1883. This led to the development of infrastructure: beginning in 1867, the construction of the railway in the Caucasus; in 1883, the Caucasian railway Batumi–Tbilisi–Baku was completed, with wagons going to Yerevan, Batumi, Kara, Julfa, etc. in the 1890s; in 1900, the Caucasian highway was connected to the Rostov–Baku all-Russian railway network. The area of Baku in the second half of the 19th century was marked by the growth of the petroleum industry, which in 1901 produced approximately half of the world’s oil. Mining of manganese and coal began in Georgia, and cement production began in the Novorossiysk area, among other developments (Merzliakova, n.p.).

The economic boom of Caucasia was associated primarily with oil production in Baku, called the ‘black pearl’ of the Caspian Sea.

As Vladimir Kostornichenko notes in assessing the role of the Nobel corporation, it is necessary to emphasize its importance in the Russian oil industry, which was determined not only by the number of foreign investments attracted (Swedish, German, English, French). The contribution of the Nobel Brothers’ Association was primarily to bring from Western Europe organizational, technical, and commercial experience, a well-known production culture, business ethics, etc. (Kostornichenko 2005, 48). Thanks to such industrialists as the Nobel brothers, Rothschild, and Montashev, representatives of the technical

intelligentsia from Europe and Russia moved to the South Caucasus with their families.

The migration and the related developments described above led to alterations in the ethno-demographic situation in the Caucasus.

Ethno-Demographic Changes in the Caucasus as a Result of the Migration Processes

The tactics and strategy of the colonialist policy of tsarist Russia in the Caucasus fully justified themselves: the resettlement policy not only contributed to the political and economic subordination of the recalcitrant region, the change in the ethnic and demographic situation also allowed a strengthening of ideological control. According to Sudaba Zeinalova:

by the beginning of the 20th century, representatives of more than 20 nationalities lived in the region along with the indigenous peoples, whose main area of settlement was outside the Caucasus ... In the first half of the nineteenth century. Russians, Ukrainians, German colonists, Greek immigrants, Polish soldiers and exiles joined the indigenous population of the Caucasus. In the second half – the end of the 19th century ... in connection with the economic and industrial development of the region, mass resettlement of low-income Russian peasantry began, as well as German colonists, Estonian, Moldovan, Czech, Bulgarian peasants, etc. In this period, due to the industrial boost, the influx of immigrants of European origin increased, among which were a lot of employees, specialists of various industries, entrepreneurs, etc. (Zeinalova, n.p.).

The ethno-demographic situation has greatly changed across the entirety of the Caucasus, but the ethnic migrants were dispersed in different ways. If Armenians, Russians, sectarians and a small number of German prisoners, Greek settlers, and Polish exiles were involved in the territory of Northern Azerbaijan, in Georgia, according to the research of Kote Antaże, the Greek population prevailed, then Russian settlers, German colonists, and then other ethnic communities. He compares the figures of these ethnic groups for 1832, 1864, and 1897 (Antaże 1974, 20):

	1832	1864	1897
Russian migrants [in thousands]	0,5	19	76,4
Greek population [in thousands]	7,3	12,1	34,2
German colonists [in thousands]	1,8	4	7,8

The greatest ethno-demographic boom was caused by the industrial growth of Caucasia at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, as evidenced by the data of the First General Census of the Russian Empire in 1897. Of particular interest is the distribution of European ethnic communities, which are given according to the Caucasian calendar for 1985: representatives of Slavic groups — Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, and Serbs; representatives of the German group — Germans, Swedes, the Swiss, the Dutch, and the British; Greek groups — Greeks; Roman group — Moldovans, Romanians, the French, and Italians; Baltic group — Lithuanians and Latvians; representatives of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic languages — Estonians, Finns, Hungarians, Mordovians, and Mari. As Zeinalova notes, despite all the similarities and differences, “over a long period of residence in the Caucasus, they were able to preserve the distinctive cultural portrait and were full participants in interethnic interaction throughout the Caucasian space, actively participating in the historical, economic, socio-cultural development of the region” (Zeinalova, n.p.).

In addition to statistical data on changes in the ethno-demographic situation in the Caucasus and, in particular, in the South Caucasus, it is of great interest to evaluate the processes of non-Russian historians who explicitly or subconsciously evaluate the ‘Russification’ of the region as ‘cultivation of wild peoples’, of non-Georgian historians of the post-Soviet era who blame Russian colonialism for all misfortunes, and the ‘side view’ of such researchers as Donald Rayfield, who scrupulously analyzed the most significant documentary data in Russian, Georgian, English, and other European languages and presented an interesting work to the public: *Georgia. Crossroads of empires. The story is three thousand years old* (Rayfield, English ed. 2012, Russian ed. 2017).

Analyzing the situation in the Caucasus in the 1930s–40s, Rayfield noted that during this period the population mainly increased not due to a rise in the birth rate or a reduction in mortality from epidemics, hunger,

and robbery, and ... the arrival of immigrants – Greek miners, Armenian traders, German colonists and Russian sectarians... The population census upon assuming office (referring to the post of commander-in-chief of the Caucasian Corps and the chief civilian of the entire Caucasus, with whom General Evgenii Golovin resigned) indicated that relatively peaceful times finally brought a creep of Georgia: the birth rate was twice the death rate, although there were more emigrants than immigrants (Rayfield 2017, 359–61). In the 1960s, the demographic situation worsened. Rayfield describes it according to the numerous archival materials cited in the monograph by historian Giorgi Dzidzaria; after the suppression of resistance in the Caucasus:

The last recalcitrant peoples remained the Circassians, Ubykhs, Abkhazians and Abazins. They were pacified and in 1963 presented an ultimatum: to cede the fertile lands to the Cossacks and Russian colonists, or to be deported to the Ottoman Empire. All Ubykhs (completely extinct today) and half of the Circassians, Abkhazians, and Abazins chose eviction. In the next three years, they were deprived of everything except hand luggage, and driven to the ships-troughs, which were supplied by Armenian contractors, who took three rubles per person. Of the two hundred thousand sent to Anatolia, about half survived. So many Caucasians died of typhoid, dysentery, famine and shipwrecks that this purge is justly called genocide (Rayfield 2017, 379; Dzidzaria 1982, 270–95).

In the 1870s, the population of Georgia grew, but, according to Rayfield, “Georgians accounted for only 70 percent, while the number of Armenians and Russians increased” (Rayfield 2017, 382).

Georgian historians characterize the ethno-demographic processes described above as “demographic expansion, one of the main directions of the colonial policy of tsarism” (Vachnadze, et al. 1995, n.p.).

After the end of the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878, Georgia was returned to Ajara and Batumi, which became for eight years (1878–1886) a free port (Free Port). The activity of the Georgian intelligentsia to increase the national identity of the Georgian people intensified.

A brief overview of the socio-economic situation in the Caucasian region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the analysis of the Russian colonization policy of mass migrations suggests that a completely

unique multicultural and sociolinguistic universal community has been formed in this place, partly preserving the features of its ancient original culture. This to some extent reflects the numerous scientific and cultural ties that were formed during the era of the Great Silk Road, rapidly growing and renewing in the new conditions of the industrial boom and numerous contacts with European ethnic communities and, due to socio-political conditions, under the pressure of “complete Russification” carried out by the Russian Empire.

National and Linguistic Policy in Caucasus and the Civilizing Mission of Education as Part of the Colonizing Policy

Numerous lessons of history convince us that, in addition to the economic factors themselves, a number of social reforms were necessary for the socio-economic development of the region: education, education of professional personnel, and the development of science, culture, the media, etc. Therefore, an integral part of colonization policy in the Caucasus was a national and linguistic policy, but under M. S. Vorontsov the process of Russification of the Caucasus was accompanied by at least some concessions regarding the local Caucasus languages. In the second half of the 19th century, extreme Russification became the main direction of the language policy of the Russian state.

According to Rayfield, it was thanks to Vorontsov and his wife, who was particularly interested in the problems of female education, that, by the middle of the 19th century, Muslims, Shiites and Sunnis had their own schools in the South Caucasus. In 1852, in the seminary, priests began to teach not only Greek, but also medicine and agriculture. German colonists near Gori grew high-quality tea. Thanks to Vorontsov’s English connections (the son of the Russian ambassador; he was educated in London, and his sister was married to Count Pembroke) Georgian products reached the Great London Exhibition of 1951 and were awarded a medal (Rayfield 2017, 364).

The 1848 document “The Provision on the Caucasus Educational District and educational institutions under its jurisdiction”, the Caucasian educational institutions were divided into three categories: 1) Tiflis Commercial Gymnasium, accepting children of officials, noblemen, town mayors, as well as children of priests; 2) Tiflis Commercial Gymnasium, where children of the free class and commoners were admitted; 3) Kutaisi, Stavropol and Yekaterinodar Gymnasiums, where the children of all persons of the free class were received, except for peasants of state, church and landlords (Šengelia 1918, 178).

Under the rule of Alexander II:

... local languages are no longer a compulsory subject for Russians, but the study of the Russian language, on the contrary, is introduced into all educational institutions without fail from the first year of study. Since 1876, this rule applies to schools that are not under the jurisdiction of the Caucasian school district (there were three quarters of them). History and geography, if they were included in the program, should be taught only in Russian. In connection with the administrative reform in the Caucasus in 1883, the tasks of the new government included the ‘Russification of the natives’, and the school was recognized as the ‘best instrument’ (Natsionalnaya politika Rosii: istoria i sovremennost 1997, 97).

The crucial phase of demonstration for the language policy in that period was publishing. From 1838 in 42 provinces and regions of Russia, official periodicals began to appear, intended primarily for informing the townsfolk about the decisions and instructions of the authorities. Where there were practically no literate subjects in Russian, the state established newspapers in the local language, even if the proportion of literate people in the area was insignificant. In Tbilisi, for example, parallel with the Russian-language official *Tbilisi Vedomosti*, which appeared in 1828, its Georgian version *Tpilis Utskebani* was immediately issued, and from 1832 a similar edition in the Azerbaijani language, *Tiflis Ekhbary*, began to be published. Private periodicals in some cases appeared before the official publications: in Georgian, since 1819; in others, much later (in Azerbaijani, since 1875). According to the authors Vladimir Belikov and Leonid Krysin, the state did not feel responsible for the informal literature, did not encourage it, but did not pursue it – of course, as long as it did not affect the foundations of society (Belikov, Krysin 2001, 259).

According to Georgian journalists, the first Georgian newspaper was published on 21 March (8 March, old style), 1819; it was called *Sakartvelos Gazeti* (Georgian Gazette), and a year later it was renamed *Gruzinskaya Gazeta*. It was first printed at the headquarters of the Russian army in Russian and then translated into Georgian, as the authorities wanted to convey state decrees and orders to the local population. The newspaper became a means of disseminating government information. *Gruzinskaya Gazeta* existed only for three years *Pervaia gruzinskaia gazeta* (First Georgian Newspaper, n.p.).

It is only natural that the censorship that existed at that time strictly followed the printed production, but, in spite of this, the appearance of periodicals (in Russian and national languages) and the development of education played a very important role in spreading the Russian language, knowledge of which was a prerequisite for admission to any official position and in the development of the national identity of the aboriginal nations in the Caucasus.

Amiran Urušaže explains the development of education in the Caucasus in the middle of the 19th century: “It was European education and enlightenment that was a reliable channel for the formation of a wide social support of the Russian Empire in the region” (Urušaže 2015, № 2, 148).

It is worth noting the development of culture and art in the analyzed period. In the 1950s, historian Kaxa Šengelia suggests the foundations of the Georgian drama theater, opera, and ballet were laid. On 2 January 1850, his *Comedy Section* was staged in the Tiflis Gymnasium under the direction of George Eristavi. This day is considered to be the date of the revival of the Georgian theater, which played an important role in raising the cultural level of the people (Šengelia 2018, 180).

The 1880s were a period of severe reaction that occurred after the murder of Alexander II. Alexander III did not just abolish the Caucasian vicegerency, but through a tough policy of Russification and centralization, he tried to fully integrate the Caucasus into the Russian Empire, which caused a justified resentment among the masses.

In 1885, Armenian parochial schools outside churches and monasteries were temporarily banned (there were then about 20,000 students in 350 Armenian parish schools); the study of the history and geography of Armenia was proposed to be replaced by Russian history and geography taught in Russian. Similar bans were repeated later, in 1895 and 1903 (Belikov, Krysin 2001, 251–52). In 1881, at the initiative of the guardian of the Caucasian School District, Kirill Yanovsky, a plan was approved (“On the school’s curriculum among the native population according to the Russian language”), according to which the Russian language was introduced in Georgia from the first grade of primary schools, and then all other subjects were taught in Russian. The attempt to banish the Georgian language from primary schools resulted in the desire to explain Russian not in Georgian ‘alien’ to Megrelian children, but to write the Megrelian words in Russian letters, since the Megrelian language had no written language (Xundaže 1960, 35).

According to Rayfield, Tbilisi Seminary was almost the only institution where Georgian students could enter universities of the Russian

Empire, but the atmosphere in the 1880s became so depressing that many students left universities with a wolf ticket. For them, one of the only possibilities of obtaining higher education was in Poland: they came most often to the Warsaw Veterinary Institute, where they studied socialism rather than medicine. Later, the Georgians learned that swimming from Batumi to Trieste and going to a Swiss or German university cost less money and hassle.

The reactionary policy of the 1880s led to the greatly increased importance of centers of Georgian emigration (Rayfield 2017, 389).

In fact, the so-called ‘people’s schools’ became the guides of the Russification policy of tsarism; their management was often entrusted to ignorant officials and teachers were appointed by people who were often completely ignorant of the Georgian language. At the same time, the standard measure of education in schools was severe corporal punishment. Not surprisingly, in the 1880s, the tsarist administration finally expelled the Georgian language from public schools.

Exploring the state of public education in the Caucasus, A. Urušaze cites data from the archives of the Gosudarstveniy Arkhiv Rossiyskoy Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation) and Arkhiv Kabardino-Balkanskogo i instituta gumanitarnikh issledovaniy (Archive of the Kabardino–Balkarian Institute for Humanitarian Research): “there are many teachers even in gymnasiums and a real school, from native natives who speak Russian poorly, with incorrect pronunciation of Russian words” (AKBIGI, f. 1, op. 3, d. 1, l. 7).

Analyzing the language policy of this period, one cannot remain silent regarding the problem of religions in the Caucasus. The oppression of the Georgian Orthodox Church began in the early 19th century, when the autocephaly of the Georgian Church was abolished (the official name was the Georgian Apostolic Autocephalous Orthodox Church) and the Georgian Exarchate was formed, which was ruled by the exarch in the dignity of the metropolitan, later in the dignity of the archbishop. Georgian language was deliberately ousted from worship; teaching in seminaries was also conducted in Russian. The number of dioceses was reduced, church property was at the disposal of the Russian authorities, only the first exarch was a Georgian, and later bishops of Russian nationality were appointed.

Thus, at the end of the 19th century in the Russian Empire, “getting secondary and higher secular education everywhere was only possible in the official Russian language. Russian language becomes an indispensable part of any primary education. For the Orthodox, both Russians and

foreigners, the Church Slavonic language was an indispensable subject of study” (Belikov, Krysin 2001, 257).

During this period, reforms were proceeding with great difficulty in the South Caucasus. In various parts of Georgia, the abolition of serf slavery had occurred in stages since 1964 and ended only in 1971. As K. Šengelia notes, if “in Russia, in 60s–70s, territorial, judicial, rural and urban reforms were carried out”, then “not all reforms were carried out on the outskirts of Russia, which lagged far behind its central part. In particular, judicial, rural and urban reforms were carried out in Georgia” (Šengelia 2018, 181).

Judicial reform, as reported by the authors of the History of Georgia Vač'naže, proceeded in a very truncated form:

The emperor of Russia did not consider it expedient to carry out judicial reform in Georgia in the same form in which it was implemented in Russia. They explained this by the fact that the population was allegedly not prepared for the introduction of a new court. Another reason allegedly consisted of specific features of the region. In reality, Russia did not want to curtail the rights of the Russian administration in Georgia. Therefore, in 1868, a limited version of judicial reform entered into force in Georgia. Class courts were abolished and judicial institutions common for all social strata of society were introduced. The participation of lawyers in the judicial process was also instituted. The lower courts of the judiciary were the magistrates' courts in counties headed by magistrates. World judges appointed by the government. In the provinces were established regional courts, the composition of which was also appointed by the government. The highest court in the South Caucasus was the Court of Justice, located in Tbilisi. The election of judges was not introduced in Georgia. This meant that, instead of independent courts, judicial institutions were established that defended the interests of the higher authorities. The institute of jury was not approved in Georgia. Record keeping was still conducted in Russian, a language incomprehensible to the majority of the population, which caused confusion and fair discontent of the people (Vač'naže, et al. 1995, n.p.).

Yet again, we face not only a social problem but a sociolinguistic one. The fact is that the whole trial was held only in Russian, the judges were everywhere Russian. Although there were official translators at the courts, one can imagine the unenviable position of peasants who did not know the Russian language and did not have the means to pay an interpreter.

Summing up the analysis of the national policy of the Russian Empire in the Caucasus, let us quote the words of the historian A. Urušaže, whose opinion we share and who believes that the course taken during the reign of Alexander III towards the forced integration of the region with the internal gubernias of the empire within a single, unified administrative-legal field not only did not justify itself, but turned out to be an additional catalyst for the development of sociopolitical processes which led to an increase in the general systemic crisis. The impression that in the Caucasus the empire came closer than ever to the realization of the strategic task of its entire policy towards the suburbs — their complete merging with other parts of the state — in fact turned out to be a dangerous illusion (Urušaže 2015, № 2, 146).

It is not surprising that the national question on the outskirts of the Russian Empire, including in Caucasia, turned into a ‘time bomb’. The development of education and the acquisition of European higher education (in the institutes and universities of Russia, Poland, Germany, and Switzerland) contributed to the emergence of progressive-minded Georgian youth, who began active public activities for the growth of Georgian national identity. First of all, the most important means of awakening national identity was the native language of the national minorities inhabiting the Caucasus.

Development of the National Languages and Reinforcement of the National Identity: A Vital Condition for Development of Independent Academic Institutions

The advanced Georgian intelligentsia and progressive youth understood that the only way to save the nation was to educate the masses and develop the national languages. At the beginning of the 1860s, the so-called ‘Sixties’ intensified in Georgia, who, following the Russian Sixties, saw their goal as bringing enlightenment to the masses with the help of periodicals to shape public opinion. Unlike in Russia, in Georgia of most importance was the national question, not the social one, especially for the representatives of the first group – ‘pirveli dasi’ (Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli, Jacob Gogebashvili, Dimitri Kipiani, etc.). Their supporters in Georgia called

themselves “Tergdaleulebi”, which literally translates from Georgian as “those who drank the Terek’s water” (because many had received higher education in Russian universities; this means that those who went to Terek, that is, in Russia, since this river was considered to be a symbolic border between Russia and Georgia). Representatives of the second group, ‘meore dasi’, were Niko Nikoladze, Giorgi Tsereteli, Sergi Mesxi, etc. They began their activities under the leadership of Chavchavadze but then did not agree on social issues of the national liberation movement.

According to the authors of the *History of Georgia*, Merab Vač’naḡe, Vaxtang Guruli, and Mixeil Baxtaḡe, “the future of Georgia depended entirely on how much it could ... defend its national identity: preserve national identity, protect language, culture, traditional social and economic structure, mental structure” (Vachnadze et al. 1995, n.p.)

It was possible to improve the life of one’s own people only by overcoming many obstacles, but there was only one way: the mother tongue, the growth of national identity, education, and science. All representatives of the Georgian “Tergdaleulebi” wrote about this.

“Everyone knows,” wrote Chavchavadze, “that the causes and reasons of our helplessness, our underdevelopment, our suffering, are ignorance and lack of education” (Chavchavadze 1927, 156). This idea was shared by A. Tsereteli, who directly linked the success of the Georgian people and eradication of national and social problems to spreading education: “today the strength of the arm is replaced by the strength of mind, a sword by the language, and an arrow by the pen” (K’art’uli proza 1985, 478).

Books by Gogebashvili preserved the Georgian language in schools and enhanced youths’ knowledge of it. These books enjoyed great popularity and affection, and strongly obstructed the anti-Georgian language policy in schools. Therefore, opposition to his textbooks was a part of the tsarist educational policy (Sigua 1969, 14).

Thanks to the “Tergdaleulebi” periodicals printed at that time, they had the opportunity to convey to the general population the need for and importance of protecting the Georgian language. Particularly acute was their controversy with the trustee of the Caucasian school district Kiril Ianovsky after the implementation of the above-mentioned curriculum.

In 1880, under the strictest censorship, the *Droeba* newspaper published the article “Open Letter” by Sergey Meskhi, addressed to the guardian of the Caucasian school district Yanovsky. He wrote: “The Georgian people have the same desires as other nations: to protect and preserve their native language, fatherland, and their faith. You want to deprive the Georgian of the Georgian language.” In the same year, an article by D.

Kipiani was published, which addressed Yanovsky with the following words: “Did you understand what your sermons lead to? Neither Genghis Khan, Ty Timur-Leng, nor Shah Abbas, nor Nadir Shah could break the will of the Georgian people, and now you want to achieve this?” Criticism of the new curriculum, compiled by Yanovsky, was made by Chavchavadze in the article “On the letter from Mr. Yanovsky”, which was published in the *Droeba* newspaper in 1881. Chavchavadze argued that the basis of teaching any subject is the learning of the mother tongue by students, because “without the native tongue it is impossible to develop the student’s thinking. Otherwise, the school will not be a means of disclosing thinking, but on the contrary, a means of oppression, dullness, obscuring thinking”. The well-known works of Gogebashvili are dedicated to protecting the rights of the Georgian language. In 1881, he published an article, “The Curriculum of Yanovski, Compiled for Public Schools”, in the newspaper *Droeba*. Gogebashvili exposed the anti-pedagogical essence of the educational system of Yanovsky, which could not impart knowledge to Georgian children who studied in an incomprehensible language. Compiled by Gogebashvili, textbooks *Deda ena* (Mother tongue), *Bunebis Kari* (Window to nature), and *Russkoe Slovo* (Russian word) with their wonderful stories from the historical past of Georgia served to defend the trampled sense of national dignity and safeguard the Georgian language from attacks assimilators (Vač'naže et al., n.p.).

Not surprisingly given such democratic views and open criticism of the tsarist colonial policies, the newspaper *Droeba* was banned in 1885. Later, I. Chavchavadze was able to obtain permission from the authorities to convert the monthly magazine *Iveria* into the daily *Iveria*, which began to be edited by him. All the ‘Georgian Sixties’ conducted active educational work aimed at protecting the Georgian language and Georgian culture and awakening the national identity. Thanks to the wonderful textbooks of Gogebashvili, the younger generation of Georgians became acquainted with the glorious deeds of their ancestors and the best examples of Georgian culture, thanks to the patriotic articles of Chavchavadze, the highly artistic and emotional works of Tsereteli, etc. The older generation of Georgians were aware of their national roots and the need to uphold the values of national culture.

However, in order to achieve these objectives and for the success of the national liberation movement, it was necessary for people to become educated. In many ways, this was facilitated by the Society for the Suppression of Illiteracy organized by the advanced Georgian intelligentsia (1879). Georgian schools appeared; the first of these national

schools began to function in 1883. At the end of the 19th century, before the beginning of World War I, there was an intensified struggle to create a Georgian state university. Supporters of Grigol Orbeliani called for the creation of the Higher Military School but did not find support from the tsarist government. Supporters of Chavchavadze argued that a national university was needed, which was achieved only in 1918.

The turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was a difficult period in Caucasia and, in particular, in Georgia. The process of the birth of political parties and movements was complex and often bloody. In 1907, the whole of Georgia was shocked by the murder of Chavchavadze, who devoted his whole life to selfless service to his homeland and to the cause of national revival.

The last Caucasian governor, Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich, who replaced Vorontsov-Dashkov, gave an objective and at the same time laconic description of Caucasian history of the late 19th and early 20th centuries: “it must be admitted that during decades, extremely little attention was paid to this richest outskirts, and concern was shown not so much about economic and cultural progress, as about maintaining police order and calm within the region” (Caucasus and Russian Empire 2005, 543).

According to Andreas Kappeler, the general imperial political context of the revolution of 1905–1907 contributed to the belated “spring of nations” in the Caucasus (Kappeler 2005, 401).

Describing the national question in the internal politics of tsarism, Valentin Diakin refers to the European experience:

The suppression of national movements in the 19th century by the czarist authorities contributed to their radicalization, and the strengthening of these tendencies, on the contrary, prompted the authorities, in turn, to strengthen repressive actions. As a result, the national question became one of the destabilizing factors in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 20th century. If we talk about Europe as a whole, then its centuries-old history shows that every large ethnic group aspired to its own territorial and state registration. As a rule, starting with the movement for the protection and development of one’s own culture, the process of national identity comes, regardless of the sincerity of the declarations of the social groups that lead it, to the slogan of territorial autonomy, and under circumstances favorable to the radicalization of demands, to the idea of complete independence (Diakin 1996, 39).

Thus, it can be summarized that the desire of the Georgians to preserve their native language and original Georgian culture in response to the violent Russification and change in the ethnic and demographic situation in the Caucasus led to an increase in national self-awareness, in which the activities of the advanced Georgian intelligentsia who received higher education in Russia and other European countries.

Another important factor that played a role as a catalyst in the national liberation movement of Georgians in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is the role of European science and higher education. In addition to the already noted circumstance that the majority of progressive Georgian intelligentsia received higher education in Russian and European universities, the research of linguists from Austria, France and other European countries contributed to the awareness of the originality of the ancient Georgian culture. Marie-Félicité Brosset, a French and Russian orientalist with a wide profile, the founder of Georgian archeology, devoted most of his works to the history and culture of Georgia and to the Georgian language. Thanks to the famous Austrian philologist Hugo Schuchardt, the Georgian intelligentsia had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the oldest Georgian manuscripts, stored at the University of Graz. All this helped to increase awareness of the greatness of the few people who created one of the world's unique alphabets and highly artistic works of the early Christian period.

We believe that the Caucasian 'spring of nations' resulted from many factors, among which an important role was played by the process of forming a national linguocultural personality aware of its inseparable connection with the heritage of its ancestors and wishing to pass on its native land to descendants (in Georgian culture to designate this important concept there is a very beautiful and at the same time precise expression, 'mitsa-tskali mshobliuri', which literally translates as 'native land-water'). The words of Chavchavadze, the great Georgian writer and public figure, "Language. Fatherland. Religion" became the slogan of the national liberation movement in Georgia. He expressed in laconic form the three most important factors ('three whales') of national identity: it is a national language reflecting the unique originality of the culture of this ethnos, a sense of homeland (fatherland, statehood) and religion. It is these factors that become signs of national identification, the distinctive markers of 'their own', separating them from the 'alien' (Arošidze 2015, 346).

We would like to conclude our discourse on the important role of native language and a well-thought-out language policy in the life of each ethnic group with the words of Dr. Reuven Enoch: "someone like

Georgians, who for nearly 200 years had to fight first against Tsarist Russia and then the Soviet regime national languages, and in practice pursuing a Russification policy, must understand the importance of the role of the mother tongue for any nation” (Enokh, n.p.). Praising the radical changes that have occurred in Georgia thanks to the activities of famous writers and public figures in the second half of the 19th century, he notes that the period when the “Society for the Promotion of Literacy among Georgians” began to function, which aimed at the full development of the Georgian language, included the first attempts to revive Jewish education in Georgia among Georgian Jews. The children were taught the Hebrew language and Tanakh; in fact, it was a religious upbringing. Georgian leaders strongly encouraged this activity, as this corresponded to their main thesis, which stated that every child should learn in his or her own language (Enokh, n.p.).

We tried to present in our article different points of view on the events described. A review of a large amount of historiographic literature indicates that the same ‘history’ is described differently in different historical periods. And the discrepancies lay not only (and not so much) in different assessments of the same historical facts, but in different interpretations of the same facts on which the evaluation directly depends. And the interpretation of events directly depends on the author’s national, religious, and political affiliation, on the ‘social order’ of the period, etc. I would like to recall that in this article we tried to look at the events described in terms of the fate of the national language and its role in shaping national identity.

Conclusion

Thus, summing up the analysis of the language situation and language policy in the migration processes of the Caucasus of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, we came to the following conclusions:

- 1) In the course of the historical development of the human community, there is a clear connection between linguistic and sociocultural processes requiring their complex study. The most important areas of sociolinguistic research are the linguistic situation and language policy of the regions important from a geopolitical point of view (such as the Black Sea countries, etc.).
- 2) The language situation is to a greater or lesser extent the result of a deliberate policy, and language policy is a powerful factor influencing the public consciousness, an important ideological lever for controlling the masses. The history of Caucasia is not only a redrawing of borders and forced or voluntary

resettlement of peoples, it is also a tough language policy that, together with a targeted change in the ethnic and demographic composition of the region, should have led to the assimilation of the Caucasian peoples.

- 3) The history of the whole Caucasus, including Caucasia, in the second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries was almost entirely determined by the policy of the Russian Empire, its needs and aspirations. The entire apparatus of the Russian governorship was actively working on the implementation of far-reaching colonization plans in order to finally subjugate the Caucasus. An important part of these plans was language policy, a tough Russification policy that covered all spheres of life: compulsory study of the Russian language in elementary school with almost complete expulsion of the national languages, the presence of a secular secondary and higher education only in Russian, the maintenance of service in Orthodox churches in Church Slavonic, strict censorship of all periodicals, and the implementation of judicial reform with the conduct of the entire judicial process only in Russian. These processes have received diametrically opposite assessments from scientists: some call it 'the modernization of the region', while others call it 'demographic expansion'. We consider this attempt to take the native language away from the people to be 'forced assimilation', an attempt to take away their soul, for the spiritual wealth of the ancient Georgian culture (as well as of any other people) is expressed in its language.
- 4) A brief overview of the socio-economic situation in the Caucasian region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and an analysis of the Russian colonization policy of mass migration suggests that a completely unique multicultural and sociolinguistic universal community has been formed here, partly preserving the peculiarities of its ancient original culture, to some extent reflecting the numerous scientific and cultural ties that were formed during the time of the Great Silk Road, rapidly developing and renewing in the new conditions of the industrial boom and numerous contacts with European ethnic communities and, by virtue of sociopolitical conditions, under the pressure of 'complete Russification' as implemented by the Russian empire.
- 5) The national question on the outskirts of the Russian Empire, including in Caucasia, turned into a 'time bomb'. The

development of education and the acquisition of European higher education (in the institutes and universities of Russia, Poland, Germany, and Switzerland) contributed to the emergence of progressive-minded youth, who began active public activities for the growth of national identity. The most important means of awakening national self-consciousness has become the native language of the national minorities inhabiting the Caucasus.

- 6) The change of social and political paradigms is almost always accompanied by a change in the language situation and language policy. The heavy pages of Georgian history are a vivid example of how far-reaching political goals were implemented through language policy, education, and science. During the period we analyzed, in the absence of national academic structures, the scientific activities of all famous Georgian scientists of that period (Ivan Tarkhnishvili /Tarkhan–Mouravi/, Petre Melikishvili, Vasily Petriashvili, David Chubinishvili, Alexander Tsagareli, Alexander Khakhanashvili, Niko Marr, Dmitry Bakradze, etc.) proceeded in Russian universities. This is a clear demonstration of another important pattern: the development of national languages is a necessary condition for the development of academic institutions. Science needs developed national languages, which, in turn, stimulate the development of science.
- 7) We believe that the Caucasian ‘spring of nations’ came as a result of many factors, among which an important role was played by the process of forming a national linguocultural personality aware of its inseparable connection with the heritage of its ancestors and wishing to pass on their native land.
- 8) A look at the events described from the point of view of the fate of the national language and its role in the formation of a national identity helps to realize an important truth. Studies of the international history of science and culture are impossible without analyzing the language of this period, not simply as the primary means of direct communication within the scientific and any other community, but also as the basis of the most complex interaction processes, the exchange of ideas, practical achievements, and spiritual values. One way or another, all stages of knowledge development (both unscientific and scientific) are closely related to language development, and the formation of academic cultures is connected with the language situation and language policy in the region.

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THE STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF TURKIC IDEAS IN AZERBAIJAN FROM THE END OF 19TH CENTURY THROUGH THE END OF WORLD WAR I

Nargiz F. Akhundova

Abstract: The development of Turkic ideas and particularly the idea of Turkic state was quite a serious historical process reflected in the theory of multiple enlighteners in the period of 19th–20th centuries. Initially these were theoretical developments then the practical implementation of these theories in the field of journalism and education, as a result of constant contact and knowledge exchange between the Turkists of Crimean Tatars, Azerbaijan, Turkey and Russia. The hopelessness of fighting alone for ethnic and religious rights against tsarist Russia led to the idea of uniting all Turkic peoples enslaved by the tsarist regime into a single political, and in the future, state union. However, cardinal changes on the political map of the world, associated with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire on the one hand and the collapse of Tsarist imperialism on the other hand caused Azerbaijani thinkers and democrats without changing the principles of the ideological unity of the Turkic peoples still to fight for the proclamation of a separate sovereign state. This was a difficult multifaceted process that formed the basis of this article.

Introduction

The last years of World War I coincided with the struggle of Azerbaijan for its independence, the proclamation of its sovereignty and evolution of Turkic ideas as a form of the national identity. It is known that 100 years ago the first ever and the only republic in the Muslim world was established – Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR). The proclamation of this republic and its activities was heroic effort in the complex domestic and foreign political context, namely: economic crisis driven by the World War I; threat of Denikin's intervention; anti-Azerbaijani policy of Bolsheviks. Not surprising that in such severe circumstances ADR lasted just 23 months. However, history of these months, lessons learned, the progress made as well as political and cultural outcomes became national heritage. This state was initiated by over 30 outstanding thinkers,

politicians, diplomats, encyclopaedists: the Chairman of ADR Parliament Ali Mardan Bey Topchubashev (hereditary Orientalist and public figure, diplomat, lawyer and journalist), first Prime Minister and Justice Minister Fath Ali-khan Khoyski (lawyer and politician), President of the National Council Mammad Emin Rasulzade (public figure, Orientalist, journalist, play writer), Deputy Chairman of ADR Parliament Hasan Bey Agayev (doctor, journalist, public figure and politician), the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Interior Hajinski (prominent state and political figure), the Minister of National Education Nasibbeg Usubbekov (writer and statesman), the official representative of the ADR in the Ottoman Empire Ali Bey Huseinzade (scientist, philosopher, artist and doctor), Khalil Khasmammadov, etc. This plead of thinkers had the great predecessors - Azerbaijani enlighteners of 19th century. Many of them (Abbasqulu Aga Bakikhanov, Mirza Alexsander Kazem-Beg, Mirza-Jafar Topchubashev, etc.) not only laid foundation for national science and education but also considerably contributed to the world of Oriental studies and historiography and absorbed knowledge and values of European academic education. However the galaxy of educators of the 20th century grown on the ideas of Turkism and led by M. Rasulzade, went far beyond that bringing the idea of national revival in a coherent system of views within the framework of the secular nationally *Turkic state*.

One of the integral parts of Turkism was Europeanization. It was an obligatory postulate in the theory of founders of Turkism such as İbrahim Gasprinskiï, Yusuf Akchura (modernization), A. Huseinzade, Ziya Gökalp. Perhaps the most striking example of the realization of the idea of Europeanization and, consequently, the main achievement of the concept of Turkism in the territory of the former imperialist Russian power was the creation of the first republic in the Muslim world with a parliamentary form of government in Azerbaijan.

The Reasons for the Emergence and Development of Turkism in Azerbaijan at the Turn of 19th – 20th Century

The ideas of Turkism in Azerbaijan were founded in the late 19th century by the activities of the legendary thinker Huseinzade, who made “transition from enlightenment and cultural Turkism to political Turkism” in 1889. This doctrine was born during the complicated socio-political situation of the late 19th century and was called by Tsarist imperial regime as Pan-Turkism. Most probably such types of ethnic ideas emerged in Europe and were directed against the hegemony or political leadership of some states (in particular, France and Russia). However in Azerbaijan

the calls for the unification of the Turkic peoples were associated with the goal of surviving, defending and preserving their nationality, language and religion. Thus Turkism developed in Azerbaijan differed from European doctrines mentioned above which emerged chronologically a little earlier; it was of defensive nature. At the same time 'Azerbaijani' Turkism differed from the processes in the Black Sea Region as well, and had a number of own specifics.

Primarily, should be considered why did the prerequisites for the development of this doctrine arise in Azerbaijan?

Azerbaijan on the edge of 19th–20th centuries was the typical example when all signs of discrimination of the people on religious and ethnic grounds could be observed. It is known that the period of the second half of the 19th and the beginning of 20th centuries is characterized as the epoch of the economic progress and development of industries in Russian Empire, Europe, United States of America and etc. In Azerbaijan this process was connected especially with the emergence of oil production since 60s of 19th century. However, inequality of the local population manifested itself in all spheres of life and work. The tsarist government continued to pursue a resettlement campaign taking the best fertile land from local peasants and giving them to peasants who came from other parts of the Russian Empire. This policy was accompanied by sharp inequality in the salaries of local and foreign workers as well. Moreover not only workers but the representatives of national entrepreneurs suffered a lot of significant barriers, although inexhaustible deposits of Azerbaijan were predatory exploited by Russian government. On the other hand opening of any schools in Azerbaijani language was prevented; the first newspaper in the Azerbaijani language *Ekinchi* in 1877 was cut off.

In light of the foregoing we would like to attract the attention of the reader to the process of disappearance of the term Azerbaijani, which was especially important. For this I would like to explain the conception of 'Azerbaijan' and 'Azerbaijani' and demonstrate chronologically the availability of these terms in the early written sources.

The toponym of **Azerbaijan**¹ that relates to both of territories of the South and North surrounding Araz River both in its initial and in its modern form and with its Turkic population, was mentioned since the beginning of Arabian invasion. For instance, at early beginning of eighth

¹ We will not go into even earlier forms of the names Aderbigangan, Aterpakan, etc., which took place in ancient antique sources, since the deepening of this issue is beyond the scope of this study.

century the Arabian author Caliph Ibn Hayyat al-Usfuruni mentioned: “In 91/709 AD Meslema [He was the brother of the caliph – N.A.] unleashed the campaign against the Turks and achieved al-Baba in the direction of Azerbaijan” (Al-Usfuruni 1985, 303).

In the manuscript of the famous Arabic historian of the ninth century Al-Tabari (829–923) we could stumble upon the next information: “He attacked the Turks of Azerbaijan which is still in the hands of the Turks” (Al-Tabari 1974, 197). The Arabian historian, writer and traveler of the 13th century Yaqut al-Hamawi in his work *Mu'jam al-Buldan* noted: “The borders of Azerbaijan achieves Barda on the East and on the West – Erzinjan” (Al-Hamawi 1965, 172).

The court chronicler of the Safavid's reign Iskender Bek Turkeman Munshi, describing the events from the first ruling period of the dynasty gave valuable example in the source of the 17th century *Tarikh-Alam-Arayerre-Abbasi*:

During the siege of Gulistan fortress [1501 – N.A.], His Highness [Ismail I] called his great emirs and asked them:

- Do you need Gulistan fortress or the throne of Azerbaijan?
- All emirs immediately expressed their opinion that they need the throne of Azerbaijan (Munshi 1381, 27).

Even later, at the end of 18th century when some Azerabijani khans tried to negotiate with the Tsarist government, one important letter was found out among them. It was the letter of Fatali Khan Kubinskiï of 1782, addressed to Catherine the Great written in Persian and translated into Russian, in which Ibrahim Khalil Khan Karabaghi (1759–1806) was repeatedly called ‘adirbayjanets’ (Rüstamova-Tohidi 2018, 46).

Finally, in 1841, Mirza Alexander Kazem-Beg in the translation of *Derbend-Name* gives a detailed description of the expansion of Azerbaijan in 1644 (*Derbend-name* 1851, 157).

Russian-Qajar Wars resulted in the territory of Azerbaijan getting divided into two parts. Some of these territories entered the Tsarist Empire even before the conclusion of the Gülistan treaty. Curiously, after the annexing of the Azerbaijani territories even in Iran the population of the Southern Azerbaijan continued to be called Azerbaijani officially and Turks in plain language, in order to distinguish them from the Persians and other nationalities inhabiting Qajar Iran. On the other hand, surely, it was a very important conception for Azerbaijani population of Iran to pick out its national identity, history and culture.

Nevertheless the population of Northern Azerbaijan in Tsarist Russia had already lost its name² (probably because of enemy relationship with the Ottomans and Qajars).

On 16 November in 1890, the expressions ‘Azerbaijani’, ‘Azerbaijani nation’, ‘Azerbaijan’ were used in *Keshkul*, edited by Jusuf Usnizade. That is why the edition of this newspaper was prohibited. Two month later Kamal Usnizade, the brother of the editor, asks the tsarist government for permission to publish the new newspaper under the name ‘Azerbaijan’. Probably, this request was the reason for the new taboo on edition any publication in Azeri language, in this case more than 14 years. All of the endless petitions by the brothers Usnizade, Muhammad Aga Sahtahtlı, Agayev, Nariman Narimanov to tsar Alexandr III were failed.

The population of the Northern Azerbaijan in Tsarist Russia was called by any names: Asian, Muslims, Tatars, except Azerbaijani. From the statements of the public figure and the future founder of the Republic of Azerbaijan (1918–1920), M. E. Rasulzade (1884–1955):

We [Azerbaijani] published the newspaper in Turkic, but named it Muslim, we put the plays and operettas on Turkic, but named it as Muslim theatre and Muslim operettas... Somebody called us Tatars, somebody called Persians. We didn’t resist it. All of these happened because of the reason, that we don’t know ourselves properly... (Rüstamova-Tohidi 2018, 46).

Panturamism, Panislamism and Turkism in the Scientific Thought of the Turkic Enlighteners of the Ottoman and Russian Empires

Panturanism or Panislamism?

The national-Turkic identity of the Muslim peoples of Russian Empire began a long time earlier, possibly back in 1839 when *The Grammar of the Turkish-Tatar language* was written and published by Mirza Alexander Kazem-Beg. It became a notable event in Oriental Studies and the first written Turkic grammar book in the world. Then, in 1850, the first Turkic playwright Mirza-Fatali Akhundzade wrote his immortal comedies in the simple folk Turkic language. As a cultural and philosophical worldview, Turkism

² Why? Some scholars have suggested that in addition to the policy of discrimination against religious and ethnic minorities, the reason for this situation could be Russia’s unwillingness to identify the newly admitted population of Northern Azerbaijan with the Turkic population of the enemy Russia of Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire.

has long been felt among the Turkish intelligentsia as well. Vefik Pasha (1823–1891) compiled a dictionary of the Ottoman language, where he proved the common roots of this language with the languages of Turkestan. Gradually, these sentiments began to move into the field of historical and philological research. Rasulgade called this stage *panturanism* – a classical or romantic form of Turkism. And what preceded the idea of panturanism?

Of course, initially the leading place in the ideology of the Turkic people was occupied by *pan-Islamism* – the idea of religious unity. In one of his speeches, Rasulgade describes a symbolic episode about how it was difficult for one Turkish pasha to force a Turkish soldier:

- ... to call himself not a Muslim, but a Turk:
- What nation do you belong to, Mamed?
- Thank God, I am Muslim.
- But Islam is a religion, and I ask what nation do you belong to?

Pasha began to explain that the nation is determined not by religion, but by language, and Mamed's language is Turkic, and that he is Turkic by nationality (Rasulgade 1930, 44).

However the ideas of pan-Islamism began to weaken among a certain progressive part of the Turkic people already since the middle of the 19th century. This phenomenon could be observed in the theory of the educated sheikh and talented scientist Camaladdin Afghani (1839–1897). He was a professor at the famous Egyptian University 'Jami al-Askhar'. Afghani edited a pan-Islamic journal in London against British imperialism. Pursued by the British, he arrives in Paris, from there he visits St. Petersburg where he makes an attempt together with the Slavophiles, led by Katkov, to fight for the awakening of India although soon because of certain circumstances he abandons this idea. He traveled throughout the Muslim world as well. Persian and Turkish courts considered him as a strong personality. Camaladdin Afghani in the *Philosophy of Unity* for the first time points to the awakening of national identity among Muslims:

- ... there are the two main principles that serve as the unifying cement of society - this is religion and language.
- But the language remains unchanged much longer than religion ... Pan-Islamism discourages the awakening of the national identity of these peoples, delays their progress
- ... and prevents them from becoming independent nations
- ... The primary source of all progress, as well as national

independence, is only the existence of a conscious national
I (Ibid, 40).

Perhaps for a while, the fact of the defeat of ‘Ottomanism’ reinforced the theme of Islamism again. However very soon it became clear that the Muslim people of the empire were also engulfed in the spirit of the times. Nationalist movements among the Arab intelligentsia killed the belief in the reality of the ideology of pan-Islamism.

Ekinchi as the First Newspaper in Azerbaijan Published in Native Language and the First Newspaper in Tsarist Russia Published in Turkic
In 1875, another great enlightener and prominent social and political activist of the Azerbaijani people, Hasan bey Melikov under the pseudonym Zardabi established the *Ekinchi* newspaper in Baku. It was the first newspaper in history printed exclusively in Azerbaijani language and simultaneously it was the first newspaper in the Russian Empire published in Turkic (Seidzade 2018, 16–17). Initially, as the Polish scholar of Azerbaijani Studies Tadeusz Swietochowski pointed out, in order not to cause discontent on the part of the tsarist regime, the *Ekinchi* published news and recommendations in the field of agriculture, although along with this, the newspaper published scientific articles on biology and medicine. Gradually, it became the voice of the social and cultural condition of the Muslims of the Caucasus. The newspaper united the Azerbaijani intelligentsia and was prone to secularism (Swietochowski, Collins 1999, 13). Thirty six numbers of *Ekinchi* were published during 1875–1877. This newspaper was published twice a month with a circulation of 300–400 copies. Letters of Najaf-bek Vazirov and Asker-gha Adygezalov (Gorani) from Moscow, Mohammedtagi Shirvani from Shamakhi, poems by Seyid Azim Shirvani and articles by Mirza Fatali Akhundov were printed in this newspaper. Zardabi often shared his thoughts on Turkic ideas with another famous Crimean thinker Ismail Gasprinskiĭ.

However with the outbreak of the Russian-Turkish War in 1877–1878, the publishing house *Ekinchi* was accused in its steady pro-Ottoman sympathies and the newspaper was officially illuminated by Russian government (Ibid., 14). Nevertheless he continued fighting for implementation of his idea. Ismail bek Gasprinskiĭ asked Zardabi to bless the publication of the Tercüman newspaper, that later played an important educational role in the life of the Muslims of Russia.

Spread of Turkic Ideas in Azerbaijan, Ottoman Turkey and among the Crimean Tatars on the Edge of 19th–20th Centuries

As a whole in the process of forming the Turkic idea there was a process of sharing knowledge between the Crimean, Turkish and Azerbaijani thinkers. The common Turkic social activist enlightener and publicist Ismail Bek Gasprinskiĭ was the first to put forward and develop the idea of enlightenment and consolidation of all Turkic and Slavic people of Russia. He published the newspaper *Tercüman* in Russian (Cyrillic alphabet) and Turkic (Arabic alphabet) languages in Bakhchisarai (Crimea) since 1883 until 1905. After 1905, the newspaper was published only in Arabic and in 1918 it was closed by the Bolsheviks and was not published. The wife of Ismail Gasprinskiĭ Zuhra Akchurina from Simbirsk became the first female editor and journalist among Russian Turks. The idea of education has found a response among the Crimean, Volga-Ural, Central Asian and Azerbaijani Turkic and Russian intelligentsia and clergy. Gasprinskiĭ also took the first steps towards the unification of all Turkic languages by cleansing the simplified form of the then Turkish language from Persian and Arabic borrowings. According to his plan, this language was to become the single language of all the Turkic peoples of the world.

Gasprinskiĭ as well as G. Zardabi tried to instill in the Turkic masses the thoughts about the need to master the European sciences and culture of the Turkic peoples. Gasprinskiĭ read the works of Gertsen, Chernyshevskii, Belinskiĭ and Pisarev. Having visited Paris, he worked for the Russian writer Ivan Turgenev. On the way home Gasprinskiĭ visited Istanbul, where he studied the Ottoman language. The newspaper *Tercüman* was also distributed in Istanbul. On the pages of *Tercüman* one could see the names of well-known representatives of the Turkic intelligentsia, such as Yusif Akchura, Fuad Köprülü, Zia Gökalp, Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, Zakir and Shakir Ramievs, Ahmed Hamdi Maksudi, Rizeddin Fakhraddin Narimanov, Ibragim Bek Kocharli, Alekber Bek Rafibeyli, Nariman Narimanov and many others.

The ideas of Gasprinskiĭ project formed the basis of the modern Turkish language, which replaced the Ottoman language under Kemal Atatürk. The next step towards the consolidation of the Turkic peoples was the publication in 1902 of the journal *Türk* in Cairo. The idea of Pan-Turkism as an alternative to Islamization was substantiated on the pages of the journal.

From Gasprinskiĭ's point of view all-Turkic and all-Islamic unity is the only means that can save not only its small Crimean Tatar people, but all the Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire from their already beginning absorption and assimilation by the gigantic Russian masses.

On the one hand, the confrontation of Russification was a prerequisite for him to preserve the nation, achieved through the Europeanization of the education of the Turkic Tatars. On the other hand, the future could only be achieved through the modernization of Islam. Thus, the national and religious in Gasprinski's doctrines were closely intertwined. With his ideas of modernization and a new approach to Islam, Gasprinski actually laid the foundation for the further development of Turkism. Gasprinski's doctrine was developed continued and raised to a new height by the largest Tatar historian and politician Yusuf Akchura.

The very first scientific and theoretical rationale for Pan-Turkism became the article by the Tatar from Kazan Yusuf Akchura "Och Tarzi Seyaset" (Three types of politics), which was published in 1904. Akchura's article is a kind of manifest of Turkism. In this work, the author first identifies the three directions of the political life of the Ottoman Empire that have developed in his opinion, which could develop further:

- a) Assimilation and unification of nations submitted to the Ottoman government and the creation of the Ottoman nation as a result;
- b) The political union of all Muslims, given the fact that the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire was considered a nominal head - a caliph of Muslims of the whole world;
- c) Formation of a political Turkic nation based on ethnic factor.

Reflecting on these problems, Akchura came to the conclusion that "the work of creating the Ottoman nation is a futile occupation". As soon as the Ottoman state begins to implement this policy, Christian states will resist this with all their might. And only the idea of 'Turkic unity', according to Akchura, had a truly bright future. It is interesting that the policy of Turkic unity pursued by the Ottoman Empire, according to Akchura, should not have met with hard external resistance:

As for the external obstacles, then, compared with similar obstacles in the politics of Islamism, there are fewer of them, because only one Christian state, namely Russia, has Muslim subjects of Turkic origin. Therefore, based on the need to protect their interests, only this state will try to prevent the unification of the Turks. Understanding perfectly the prominent integrating role of Islam in the life of the Turkic peoples, Akchura nevertheless preferred the idea of Turkism. In his opinion, religions can maintain their political and social significance only by uniting with ethnic groups, helping and even serving them.

Thus, in his work, Yusuf Akchura appears as a consistent supporter of the idea of Turkic unity, which was to unite the Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire as a single state.

Akchura's speech marked the transition of Turkism into the new phase, namely, from cultural-enlightening (at Gasprinskiĭ) to political Turkism - Turkculuk. The third, largest representative of Turkism in the Russian Empire could be considered like-minded Gasprinskiĭ and Akchura Azerbaijani scientist Ali bey Huseinzade (1864–1940) (Giliazov 2002, 27–28).

Ali bey Huseinzade became the first Azerbaijani thinker who was actively interested in the ideas of Turkism and their political relevance for the Turkic peoples. In 1904, after the publication of the article “Three Types of Politics” by Akchura, Huseinzade entered into a polemic with Akchura, considering the separation between Islamism and Turkism somewhat artificial. In his later articles published in the newspaper *Hayat* (Life) in 1905 and the journal *Fuyuzat* (Fertility), he formulated three principles necessary for the survival and progress of the people: Turkism, Islamism and Europeanization. According to him, “this path means that we should be inspired by Turkic feelings, believe in Islam and should enrich ourselves with the fruits of modern European civilization”. Four years later, in 1908, an article “Turkuleshmek, Islamlashmak, Zamanlashmak” (Turkization, Islamization, Modernization) by the Azerbaijani thinker Huseinzade was published in which these ideas were further developed (Balaev 2012, 86). Moreover Huseinzade was the first in the Turkic world to put forward three of these principles, which were subsequently developed and supplemented by Zia Gökalp (1876–1924) in his collection of articles “Turkicize, Islamize, Modernize”. The main postulate of Zia Gökalp was a phrase that he actually took from his Azerbaijani like-minded Huseinade (1864–1940): “We belong to the Turkic nation, to the Muslim religious community and European civilization” (Balaev, 2006, 88).

Period of an Active Political Cooperation of the Azerbaijani, Turkish and Crimean Turkists at the Beginning of the 20th Century

On 8 April 1905, prominent figures of the Turkic-Muslim population of Russia gathered at the apartment of the publisher of the newspaper *Ulfat* in St. Petersburg by Abdurrashid Ibragimov. According to some reports Gasprinskiĭ, Alim Maksudi, Binyamin Ahmed, as well as Baku

representatives A. Topchibashev, A. Huseynzadeh, A. Agaev, F. Vazirov were among them. On 15 August, the Constituent Congress of Muslims of Russia, which was attended by about 150 representatives from the Caucasus, Crimea, Kazan, the Urals, Turkestan and Siberia, nevertheless took place. The chairman of the congress was I. Gasprinskiĭ. The resolution adopted by the congress calling for the unification of all Muslims of Russia within the framework of a single movement was prepared by Ali Mardan bey Topchibashev.

The Third Congress, chaired by A. Topchibashev (16–21 August 1906, Nizhny Novgorod) was important for the Turkic-Muslim population of Russia. The secretary of the Congress was Y. Akchura (GARF, f. R5325, op. 4s, d. 482, l. 3 ob.).

After the royal manifest of 17 October 1905, the Muslim-Turkic population of Russia for the first time received the opportunity to participate in government. Having been elected to the State Duma of Russia, Muslims created the Muslim Faction under the chairmanship of A. Topchibashev.

The observer of the Muslim press in the newspaper *Russia* M. A. Shakhtakhtinskiĭ made a proposal to the Muslim faction about the need to publish the newspaper in Russian reflecting the interests of Muslims in St. Petersburg.

The congress of Muslim intelligentsia and clergy was held 15–25 June 1914 in St. Petersburg. The chairman of the congress was State Duma member K. Tevkelov and his deputies – I. Akhtyamov and A. Topchibashev, secretaries – M. Bigeev and G. Maksudov. The congress discussed issues such as the attitude of the government to the spiritual affairs of Muslims, the right to choose women and the situation of Muslim schools in Russia. A. Arsharuni and H. Gabidullin in the book *Essays on Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism in Russia* on the significance of this congress write that no solidarity between pan-Islamists and pan-Turkists was achieved at any congress. All Turkic newspapers: *Tercüman*, *Yulduz*, *Vakt*, *Kuyash*, *Il*, *Igbal*, *Caspian* and others covered the materials of the congress. They wrote about a single ideal of the national movement of the Turkic-Muslim population of Russia.

The French newspaper *Le Temps* dated 14 December 1915 wrote that the representatives of the 20 millionth Turkic-Tatar population of Russia, having visited Hungary, presented a memorandum to count Tisza. The memorandum indicated the need to restore the Kazan Khanate and neutralize the territory between the Volga and the Caspian Sea. Among the representatives mentioned were such well-known ideologues of Turkism

as Akchura – editor of the *Turk Yurdu* journal and Huseinzade. However, the defeat of Austria-Hungary together with Germany and Turkey in World War I did not make it possible to implement this plan.

In journal *Turk Yurdu* edited by Y. Akchura M. Rasulzade writes about the significance of this journal:

The journal *Turk Yurdu* was also established at that time. As the most popular organ of national Turkic ideas it was attended by prominent representatives of all Turkic nations and was widespread among the intelligentsia of all Turkic people, ... society ‘Turk Hearths’, which at one time served as the real burning center of a new idea, kindling the ‘sacred fire’ of Turkism in the hearts of the younger generation... (Rasulzade 2010, 15).

The period of the Libyan War between Italy and the Ottoman Empire (1911–1912), is rich in facts of a manifestation of national identity. At that time, almost all the propagandists of the Turkic ideology of Russia, including Akchura, Zeki-Validi Togan, Rasulzade, Huseinzade, Agaev and many others, gathered in Istanbul around the *Turk Yurdu* and the outbreak. An article by M. E. Rasulzade “Iranian Turks” dedicated to the Turk of Southern Azerbaijan was printed on the pages of the journal (İagublu 2015, 61–66).

In 1913–1914 the book of Togan *History of the Turks* was published. Keprylu-zade Mehmet-Fuat became famous in the field of Turkology and soon gained pan-European fame. According to Rasulzade, the author of the book *Fundamentals of Turkism* Gökalp

became not only a publicist and literary propagandist of a new ideology, moreover, he became the founder of a well-known sociological school and became a shining center of the whole movement (Rasulzade 2010, 17).

February Revolution and Its Outcomes in the Development of Turkic Ideas in Azerbaijan

Generally the views of Azerbaijani democrats mentioned above were especially strengthened with the February revolution. It was the phase of the end of the monarchy and the beginning of the national liberation movement. Suddenly the masses realized that they can achieve the national sovereignty. If initially the ideas of Turkism were their main ideological force, after February the idea of creating autonomy of Azerbaijan and later independence became the main course of their policy.

The national party Musavat becomes the vanguard of the movement with the slogans: ‘Long live the democratic republic!’, ‘Long live the autonomy of Azerbaijan’³. Musavatists struggled not only in Azerbaijan and Caucasus, also in Ukraine, Turkestan, Ural and Krum. According to the archives datas, Musavat Party used to be active everywhere the Azerbaijanis settled (İagublu 2018, 31). For the first time, the idea of territorial autonomy was brought up for discussion by Rasulzade on the Congress of Muslims of the Caucasus in Baku, 15–20 April 1917 and later in May on the All-Russian Muslim Congress in Moscow.

The Conception of Europeanization and Mammad-Emin Rasulzade: Theory and Experience

The Contribution of the European Enlighteners to the Turkic Studies

If in my previous article I tried to demonstrate ‘The contribution of Azerbaijani enlighteners to Oriental Studies’, now I would like to consider the significance of European scientific discoveries for the development of Turkic Studies. Turkology as a scientific discipline emerged as one of the directions of Orientalism of the 19th century in such European countries as France, Germany, Great Britain, Denmark, etc.

Thus, a Hungarian scholar of Jewish origin, an orientalist, traveler, polyglot Armin Vamberi (1832–1913) studied in depth the culture and literature of the Ottoman Empire. At the age of 20, Vamberi, together with Baron von Eötvös, traveled to Istanbul. Moreover, thanks to translations of the works of Ottoman historians, Vamberi also received the degree of corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

In 1858, he published a Turkish-German dictionary, and later wrote several more works on linguistics. In 1861, Vamberi returned to the city of Budapest. Having received several thousand guilders from the academy in the same year, he dressed as a dervish under the name Rashid Effendi and traveled to the countries of Central Asia. He conducted certain linguistic studies and shared them in the book *Journey through Central Asia* (1863). As you know, in the middle of the last century, the main part of the territory of Central Asia was part of three large states – Khiva, Bukhara and Kokand.

Everyone knows that the Hungarian language belongs to the Altai root, but to which particularly – Finnish or Tatar

³ The first information about this rally and the federalists’ programmatic requirements was published in *Achyg Sez*.

– this is still a question that needs to be resolved. This question, which is interesting for us Hungarians, both from the scientific side and of special national interest, was the main reason for my trip to the East. By practical study of living languages, I wanted to know exactly the degree of similarity between the Hungarian language and Turkish-Tatar dialects, which I had already seen through a weak glass of theoretical study... (Vamberi 1874, IV).

Since the end of the 19th century many participants in national uprisings in Europe took refuge in Ottoman Turkey, the liberating ideas of the West should have been heard by Turkish society. Among these fighters was a Polish emigrant Konstanty Borzęcki (1826–1876), who came from the clan of Polish nobles. He participated in the Polish uprising against the Russian Empire. After the suppression of the uprising, he immigrated to Turkey, adopting the Muslim name Jalaleddin Mustafa Pasha. Subsequently, Akchura in his review “The History of Turkism” cites Mustafa Pasha’s book *Les Turcs ansiens et modernes*. In this book, Mustafa Pasha develops the theory of ‘Tauro-Ariennism’, according to which the European and Turkic peoples are representatives of the same race.

An invaluable contribution to the development of Turkology was made by the famous book of Leon Cajon on the history of the Turkic race, the fundamental works of V. Barthold on the history of Turkestan, and the dictionary of Turkic dialects by the famous Turkologist Friedrich Wilhelm Radlov (1837–1918). The latter conducted not only valuable studies on the grammar of Turkic languages, but also made a huge contribution to the study of Turkic beliefs and traditions (Radlov 1888, 26). Albert von Le Coq as the member of German scientific expeditions for several years described ancient and medieval objects. He has published several books on the archeology of East Turkestan. At the beginning of the 20th century he discovered and explored murals of warriors from several archaeological sites in Xinjiang (Borisenko, Xudyakov 2017, 125–32).

Of course, all these works of the European orientalist-Turkologists reached the Turkic intelligentsia and caused a certain reaction among them. In particular, Huseinzade, Akchura (GARF. F. R5325, op. 4s, d.482, l. 3 ob), Gökalp (Balaev 2006), Rasulzade (Rasulzade 2010), Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Ushakov 2018) noted in their writings all these achievements of European studies in the field of Turkology and its influence not only on development of scientific theory, but also on the socio-political movement of the Turkists.

Influence of Pan-Slavism

The famous Turkish scientist and thinker Gökalp wrote:

at that time the Turkish youth studying in European universities were familiar with the philosophical and sociological theories of J. Stuart, Mil, G. Spencer, A. Bergson, Nietzsche, A. Fülner, Schopenhauer and others. So, the doctrine of pan-Germanism had a huge impact on the formation of the ideology of pan-Turkism (Rasulzade 1930, 41).

However, while in Turkey Gökalp considered the process of the influence of Pan-Germanism on the development of Pan-Turkism, in neighboring Azerbaijan, the leader of the Azerbaijani democratic movement Rasulzade linked the development of the ideas of Turkism with the influence of Pan-Slavism on them. Rasulzade left behind a rich scientific and journalistic heritage – more than 20 works of various character: translations of historical and literary works from Farsi and Russian, *Modern Azerbaijani Literature* published in Berlin in the 1930s, *Modern History of Azerbaijan*, *The Collapse of Revolutionary Socialism and the Future of Democracy*, and many other works. There were also works dedicated to the study of the origin and development of Pan-Turanism and Turkism among them.

In this chapter of the article, I would like to introduce the reader the judgments of Rasulzade in his collection *On Pan-Turanism. In connection with the Caucasian problem*. This book was published in Paris in 1930. According to the publisher, “in response to the speeches of a part of the Russian press on the issue of Pan-Turanism, Mr. M. E. Rasulzade had published a number of articles at the time and had their own speeches in the form public reports”. Some of them are included in the contents of this collection. The author of the preface of the book – Noe Jordania⁴ – calls this book the primary source from which the European reader first gets acquainted with the ideological trends among the Turkic peoples and with the political programs of their leading fighters for culture and freedom. According to Jordania,

The author extremely vividly with great talent and knowledge of the matter reveals these trends and leading them to similar trends in the Christian world, leads the reader to a valuable and instructive conclusion – the unity of world

⁴ Jordania Noe – Chairman of the Government of the GDR in 1918–1921.

culture. It turns out that the East, which the West still cannot understand in any way, is developing in the same ways as the last (Rasulzade 1930, V).

Indeed, in this study, Rasulzade gives an important place to Czech ideologists František Palacký (1798–1876) and Karel Galichék (1821–1856), as the most prominent representatives of Pan-Slavism. Comparing their positions, he is trying to use the experience of Czech panslavists with reference to the national liberation movement of the peoples of the Turkic race in general and Azerbaijan in particular. Rasulzade prefers the ideas of Galichék. Why? As it is known, Palacký assumed a great Slavic empire under the rule of great fraternal Russia. As to pan-Slavism, which has long served as the leitmotif of the foreign policy of tsarist Russia, it was born not in Russia, but among Slavic peoples subject to Austria-Hungary. The Czech Republic was the cradle of this ideology. The great romantics of Pan-Slavism like Palacký, Josef Šafařík, and others appeared precisely here. The early pan-Slavists from this Czech galaxy thought that Russia would come to the aid of the suffering brothers ... and the liberated Slavs form the great Slavic empire.

Romantic or early pan-Slavists, in turn, were students of their persecutors of the pan-Germanists. Nevertheless, Pan-Germanism led to the creation of a unified German empire under the leadership of Prussia, and the fate of the Slavs was decided differently.

Gradually, along with Czech romantics Czech realists appeared. One of them was Galichék. Remaining faithful to the Slavs he as it were in contrast to the so-called romantic illusion, set out the slogan “the liberation of the Czechs will be carried out by their own forces”. “The All-Slavic reality is based on the reality of individual Slavic peoples”, “Sitting back and waiting for Russia to come and save us, the task may not be easy, but not glorious” – these were the main slogans of this Czech realist. The slogan of the ‘great Slavic state’ was replaced by Galichék to the ‘Slavic Federation’. This was the beginning of the ideology of Czech democratic nationalism and the creation of Czechoslovak Republic led by Masaryk (Rasulzade 1930, 7, 13, 56). Of course, these conclusions of Czech realists had a huge impact on the ideology and theory of Rasulzade.

On the other hand, Rasulzade continues to argue, considering the experience of other countries, because Pan-Slavism did not prevent Russia from dividing Poland three times, and Bulgaria, obliged by its liberation of Russia, fought against it. Why did Germany manage to unite, and the Slavic peoples went wild? Because, in Germany, there were the necessary

prerequisites: common national culture, economic interests, geographical unity and organization of the Prussian core. According to Rasulzade, the Slavs did not have these conditions.

As for the World War I, the author views it as a grandiose historical test, from which only those states with a national origin were brilliantly successful. In this world battle of peoples, the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires were defeated. An imperialist state, striving to keep peoples under its power against their will, can no longer be realized.

To gather different peoples under a common name and to manage these diverse elements on the basis of the same rules and laws – although is attractive, but at the same time deceiving program. Even the idea of creating a single state covering all the Turks of the world is also a pipe dream. Even the idea of creating a single state covering all the Turks of the world is also a pipe dream. We find that the only clear and really applicable policy is national policy. The real state of the modern world does not allow us to commit an unacceptable sin to be utopian in politics. That is the meaning of history, the command of science, mind and logic. Accordingly Rasulzade begins to be firmly convinced that “The unity of only one race was not enough to create a single state”. That was the main conclusion reached by the author.

During Rasulzades’s practical activities at the congress we could observe how the politician departs from the slogan ‘United Turkic Nation’ highlighting the concept of ‘national self-determination of individual Turkic peoples’. As for the ideas of Turkism, Rasulzade concludes: “First we must separate, and then unite”... The leader’s ideas were brought to life by him and the rest galaxy of the Azerbaijani thinkers. Now they had more radical and revolutionary task before themselves - proclaiming an independent state.

Turkic and European Trends in Azerbaijan after the Proclamation of ADR

Azerbaijan as ‘only Muslim Country that Deserved Trust of Europe’

The Azerbaijani Democratic Republic was proclaimed in 28 May 1918. Most probably that the main achievement of ADR’s government was establishment of its Parliament. Perhaps it became the main reason for the second significant achievement of ADR and the beginning for the next step – international recognition. Creation of Azerbaijani Parliament took place in serious domestic political circumstances. It is known that the Great Britain’s troops were deployed in Baku since Armistice of Mudros. At that

time Baku was forced to welcome this condition because of a serious threat from both the White and Red governments of Russia. In 19 November 1918 the Commission adopted a law on the formation of Parliament. This step was taken to create a coalition government, which was one of the main requirements of the British command in Baku (Gasany 2010, 217–24). However in spite of the obligatory character of this decision Azerbaijani government accepted such require with a great enthusiasm and brought this idea to life with a special talent. Azerbaijan Republic became the embodiment of justice and first parliamentary democracy in the East. French scientist G. Brocher highly appreciated the work of this parliament. Moreover he underlined granting women the right to vote in ADR's Parliament as a very significant achievement which put Azerbaijan among the most advanced nations of the world.

Simultaneously Azerbaijani democrats conducted the wide propaganda of national history and culture among the European society. After proclamation of independence the young government of ADR began the struggle for international recognition of the republic. As it is known these events in Azerbaijan coincided with the important historical case of that period – Paris Peace Conference. Azerbaijani delegation considered this conference as the unique and promising chance to represent their country on international arena. Thus in purpose of popularization of national science, culture, and generally the socio-political position of Azerbaijan this delegation carried out a grandiose scientific and journalistic work in the frame of the Paris Peace Conference.

During the short period of the summer and autumn of 1919 a number of the articles about Azerbaijan were published in the journals *L'Europe orientale*, *L'Image*, *Les Peuples Libres*, and newspapers *Revue du Monde Musulman*, *Revue Contemporaine*, *Le Temps*, *L'Humanite*, *La Dépêche Colonial*, *Le Dernieres Nonvelles de Midi*, *Le Croix*. The January issue of the journal *L'emage* (1920) was entirely dedicated to Azerbaijan. Prof. Brocher published 2 articles about Azerbaijan in the *Journal de Genève* and 2 more articles in *Les Peuples Libres*. He sent a few more articles to British and American newspapers. I would like to especially underline the publication called *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination and the Republic of Azerbaijan* by Brocher (Ibid.). The author highlighted such important points as intellectual potential of the country, its natural resources including oil production, and large capacities of agriculture, viticulture, grain growing, tea growing, rich deposits of iron and copper ore. Describing the development of oil industry author noted that “oil revenues cover all expenses of the state” (Ibid.).

Since September 1919, *Bulletin of Information about Azerbaijan* was issued. The editor of the Bulletin was the famous French Orientalist Lucien Buvat, friend of the Azerbaijani thinkers and Azerbaijani people. In 1919, in Paris, the book of J. Hajibeyli *Azerbaijan – the First Muslim Republic* was published in Paris which read that the Azerbaijanis were a divided nation due to the injustice of their historical fate. He described the problems of the Azerbaijanese after conclusion of Turkmenchay Peace Treaty (1828) when the conceptions of Northern and Southern Azerbaijan arose for the first time.

In the newspaper *Revue du Monde Musulman* the same Hajibayli published articles about ethnic clashes in the South Caucasus as well. Book of Hajinsky Economic and financial situation of Caucasian Azerbaijan and the brochure with interesting statistical data on the economy of the Republic under the title *Azerbaijan in figures* were published in French in Paris (Gasanly 2010, 442–45).

As for domestic situation in ADR, one year after the establishment of Azerbaijani Parliament English military journalist Scotland Liddell wrote in one of his reports:

British troops are not needed in Baku. Azerbaijan can take care of itself. I was told that I would find the streets covered with blood and witness terrible events. Instead, I found peace and silence, order and calm. ADR is an example for all other nations of Transcaucasia (Wilson 2018, 127–28).

Such circumstances were the result of the sound foreign and domestic policy of ADR government.

On the other hand the victory of the Reds on the military fronts of Russia became apparent by the beginning of 1920. This fact stipulated a sharp change of the position of Paris Peace Conference to the Azerbaijani delegation. As a result on 15 January 1920 during the conference Secretary General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs Gilles Cambon will solemnly handed to Topchubashev the agreement on recognition of ADR de-facto. As Rasulzade commented: “among all the republics formed on the fragments of the Russian Empire, Azerbaijan became the only Muslim country that deserved trust of Europe” (Rasulzade 1990, 57).

Turkic Ideas in Azerbaijan after the Proclamation of ADR

Although the influence of European civilization was quite popular among Azerbaijani thinkers, nonetheless, since 1918 Azerbaijan as independent

state turns into the center of Turkic culture very soon. Probably this fact was stipulated by defeat of the Ottoman Empire as well (Akchura 2018, 2).

Thus, the main slogans of ADR were the revival of national history and culture, proclamation of Turkic language as the state language by the decree dated 27 June 1918. On this occasion outstanding Azerbaijani public figure and writer Y. V. Chemenzemenli (Yusif Bek Vezirov)⁵ wrote:

Thank God that we have our history, literature, music, theatre, and other cultural assets. If we write about this, then we will become aware of ourselves and will provide an opportunity to realize us to others...

Since then all regions, cities and other settlements retrieved their former names. For example, by the decision of the government dated 30 June 1918 Yelizavetpol was renamed back to historical name of Ganja and Karagin was retrieved its ancient name Jabrail. Most of the cities and streets were renamed in honour of prominent Azerbaijani figures, poets and writers.

Therefore Rasulzade consider the studying of national history as well as the language, poetry, culture. The author even begins to study the religion forms of poetry since the Safavid epoch (Ibid., 147).

Writing about language of national poetry, he concludes: Current form of modern Azerbaijani verse and its language go back directly to poetical creativity of Safavid era. Referring to restoration of the historical right of the nation to self-determination author wrote: "Azerbaijanis are Turks by ethnicity, Muslims by religion and belong to Oriental culture..." (Rasulzade 2010, 22).

On the other hand the author wrote:

What is the nation? I am sure that the nation is found on the base of the unity of language, historical ties, customs, and traditions. Sometimes, when the Turk asks the Tatar about his nationality, the Tatar answers: I am Muslim. I think this statement is mistakable. As there is no Christian nation, so there is no Muslim nation. In the big house of Muslims there should be separate rooms for Turks, Persians and Arabs (Mahmudov 2005, 147).

⁵ Yusif Bek Vezirov was the first diplomatic representative of the ADR in the Ottoman Empire (1887–1943).

At the same time, as it was promised by Rasulzade, the ideas of Turkism, were realized in the most vivid way during existence of the ADR making Azerbaijan the centre of Turkic unity. On the initiative of the Musavat party in December 1919 a political club 'Turkic hearth' was opened. Turkic Nights concerts were also held. They were attended by Tatars, Ottoman Turks, Azerbaijani and Turkish poets, artists and performers.

On 7 August 1919, the first General Meeting of the Union of Turkic Teachers was held electing the Temporary Central Bureau of Teachers of Azerbaijan and Dagestan. On 23 August it was renamed to the Union of male and female teachers of Azerbaijan. As the multi-ethnic country, Azerbaijan also planned to organize special sections for non-Azerbaijani teachers in the Union. In the years of existence of the ADR the Baku State University, Azerbaijan State Theatre, Society of theatre workers, the Union of writers 'the Green Pen' were established, the project of the State Turkic Opera and Drama Theatre was developed.

Conclusion

Thus, by the end of the World War I, the development of Turkic ideas in Azerbaijan went a certain contradictory way. The beginning of the spread of Turkic ideas in Azerbaijan dates back to the middle of the 19th century. Gradually, under the conditions of a difficult economic situation the ideas of Turkism began to turn into the main ideology of the masses that could unite the Turkic peoples in the fight against the discrimination policy pursued by tsarist Russia. Moreover, already from the end of the 19th century, the well-known Azerbaijani publicist Hasan bey Zardabi, working with Gasprinskiĭ, along with Islamization and Turkization, paid great attention to Europeanization. Getting acquainted with the works of Hertsen, Belinskiĭ, Pisarev and others, they tried to instill in the Turkic masses the thoughts about the need to master European sciences. The appearance of socialist ideas in the works of German thinkers Marx and Engels, and then Russian revolutionaries, was clearly reflected in the activities of Rasulzade, especially in the initial period of his propaganda of proletarian thought in Iran (Mamedli 2009; Rasulzade 1992; Rasulzade 2001). The bourgeois revolution that overthrew the tsarist regime of Russia in February 1917, and then the socialist revolution that destroyed the bourgeois regime, caused a decisive turn in the direction of Turkism in Azerbaijan. The overthrow of entire regimes and empires inspired hope in the Azerbaijani democrats. It would be called the subjective reason for this turn. On the other hand, there were objective reasons. The first is the collapse of the vast Ottoman

Empire, which for a long time was the embodiment of the central core of the ideas of Turkism. The second is this unsuccessful experiment of state unification of not only races, but also peoples. Even the creation of a single Transcaucasian Sejm⁶, the lack of unity between its members and the presence of centrifugal moods showed the weakness of similar union. To the point, the name of the Sejm was introduced by Rasulzade and it was also borrowed from the European model of the Polish Sejm. Gradually, among the Azerbaijani democrats, there is a reluctance to dissolve among other Muslim peoples and a firm focus on independent achievement of independence. One of the great exceptional applications of the theory of Europeanization in practice by the Azerbaijani Turkic democrats was the proclamation of a parliamentary form of governing in Azerbaijan⁷.

Some researchers call the transition from the concept of ‘a unified Turkic nation’ to the concept of ‘national self-determination of individual Turkic peoples’ as the transition from Turkism to ‘Azerbaijanism’ (Balaev 2009, 46–47). However, this transition did not prevent Azerbaijan from becoming the political and cultural center of the Turkic world in 1918–1920.

Moreover, all these processes were reflected in the theory of Azerbaijani thinkers, since Turkism was a form of self-expression of the Azerbaijani people not only within the Tsar and later Soviet empires, but also within the Persian Empire and subsequently Iran.

Thus, we could observe the evolutionary development of Turkic ideas in Azerbaijan from the beginning of 19th century till the end of World War I. It consisted from several stages: from ideas of clean Turkism or the idea of the union of all Turkic people to proclamation of individual independent Turkic state using the theoretical methods and experience of Europe.

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⁶ Sejm – was convened in Tiflis on 10 February 1918; consisted of members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, elected from Transcaucasia, and representatives of political parties of Transcaucasia.

⁷ In the late 19th century, France became the first parliamentary republic worldwide (see Konstitutsia 1957, 436).

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AZERBAIJANI INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN THE PRE-WAR PERIOD

Irada Baghirova

Abstract: The most urgent issue, widely discussed among Azerbaijani intellectuals in the early 20th century both at home and abroad, was the equation of the rights of the Muslim population of the Russian empire with the Christians in areas of education, state and military service, as well as in the affairs of the clergy. In this sense, a petition campaign which began in 1905 after the revolutionary events that shook the whole Russian Empire was characteristic for the time. The authors of the first petitions addressed to the authorities of the Russian Empire were outstanding public figures, graduates of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Sorbonne universities. These petitions were essentially the first national program for the reconstruction of the Caucasus, and in particular, Azerbaijan, addressing the legislation, restrictions for Muslims in pedagogical activities, admission to higher education institutions, and introduction of accessible primary education in native language.

A great influence on the shaping the views of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia was provided by the events of the Russian revolution of 1905–1907, Constitutional revolution in Iran under Qajar dynasty of 1905–1911 and the Balkan Wars, in which the Ottoman Empire participated. Many of them emigrated to Iran at that time and even took part in the revolution. Then, after its defeat, they fled to Turkey, where they became active participants in the Turk Ozhagi (Turkic hearthstone) group, which united a jet set of the Türkic intelligentsia. Subsequently, upon the return of these figures to their homeland, this debate was continued on the pages of the national press.

Modernization processes along with industrialization and urbanization had led to drastic changes in the social structure of Azerbaijani society and the emergence of new social powers on the historical arena in the early 20th century. National intellectuals had become the organizer and the major factor in the process of Azerbaijani Turks' nation-building. It was precisely these national intellectuals at the turn of 19th–20th centuries who played a crucial role because the Azerbaijani nation became conscious of its social, political and national rights.

The priority while shaping the Azerbaijani nation was given to the work on asserting the national identity through the pattern of the identity of the European nations. The Azerbaijani intellectuals had to execute this work in the rather intricate circumstances of religious identity dominating people's self-consciousness. Therefore, the process of asserting national identity was realized step by step: the evolution beginning with Pan-Islamism ideas worked toward a universal Turkic identity, proceeding afterward—to the consciousness of Azerbaijani Turks of themselves as being a distinctive and self-sufficient nation.

The Azerbaijan National Movement has passed two stages in its development. The first stage covers the period from the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century until the February revolution of 1917; a feature of this stage is the emergence of the idea of the cultural revival of the Azerbaijani people through the development of their native language, education, and enlightenment. At this stage, a significant place in the nation's program movement is occupied by the problem of achieving equality of the rights of the Muslim with Slavic-Christian peoples of the Russian Empire.

The second stage of the national movement began after the February revolution in Russia when the Provisional Government guaranteed equal rights to all nationalities living in Russia. It was during this period that the national movement openly entered the political scene, political parties began to function legally, and they openly held Muslim congresses. We can consider the third period as the victory of the national movement, expressed in creating national statehood and the proclamation of the first Azerbaijan Democratic Republic on 28 May 1918.

In this article, we will look at the prewar period, i.e. the first stage of the national movement, when the educational movement of the late 19th century began to transform into open demands. This was because of the revolutionary events in Russia, which began with the 'bloody Sunday' of 1905 (shooting of protesting workers in St. Petersburg), spreading over the whole territory of the empire, including Azerbaijan.

The Petition Campaigns

The most urgent issue, widely discussed among Azerbaijani intellectuals in the early 20th century both in the country and abroad, was the equation of the rights of the Muslim population of the empire with the Christian in areas of education, state, and military service, and the affairs of the clergy. In this sense, a petition campaign that began in 1905 after the revolutionary events that shook the whole Russian Empire is characteristic for the

time. The petition campaign, initiated by representatives of the liberal wing of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia in 1905, began with the request of an equation in the rights of Muslims with the rest of the population of the Russian Empire.

The authors of the first petitions addressed to the authorities of the Russian Empire were outstanding public figures—Ali Mardan Topchibashev, Ahmed bey Agaev, Ismail Ziatkhanov, Farruh Vezirov—graduates of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Sorbonne universities (AMEA TIEA a.e. 940, 12–14). These petitions were essentially the first national program for the reconstruction of the Caucasus, and in particular, Azerbaijan that addressed the legislation, restrictions for Muslims in pedagogical activities, admission to higher education institutions, and introducing primary education in native language. The demands put forward in the petition became the program of activities of the entire Azerbaijani national movement until February 1917.

In a petition written by Topchibashev and submitted to the Nikolas II, there was a particular demand for the representation of Muslims “in all legislative and other representative institutions that would be formed in the empire”, and the right of employment in public service. The petition also contained several other requirements – extending to Muslims freedom of conscience, speech and press, freedom of assembly and union, inviolability of person and housing, introducing basic compulsory and free primary education with teaching in native language, etc. (Seidzade 1991, 13–14). The need to introduce local governments in the Caucasus, and the reform of the judicial system was touched upon in the petition. However, despite the promises of Prince Illarion Ivanovich Vorontsov-Dashkov, the Caucasian Governor, only a tiny number of these requests were implemented in particular, they permitted the publication of several newspapers and magazines in the native language. Naturally, such a response could not satisfy the Azerbaijani society, and the petition campaign continued. In June 1905, Topchibashev wrote a new petition and introduced it to Vorontsov-Dashkov. Once again, it focused on the need for “the equation of the Muslim population to political, civil and religious rights of the indigenous Russian population” (*Baku*, 21 June 1905, 3).

The governor promised to promote the opening of schools in national language and the publication of newspapers and magazines and to abolish certain censorship restrictions (*Kaspi*, 19 June 1905, 2).

By that time, they had received permission to publish the *Haiat* (Life) newspaper, edited by Agaev and Guseynzade, and a little later – in 1906–1907, *Irshad* (Guide) newspapers and *Fiiuzat* (Blessing) magazine (*Istoriia Azerbaïdzhana* 1963, 616)

On the pages of these bodies, along with the *Caspiĭ* (Caspian), all directions of the Azerbaijani public thought, including rather bold speeches in defense of the rights of Muslims, were reflected. Many of them carried the proximity of the program of the Constitutional-Democratic Party created in Russia in 1905 to the needs and worldview of Muslims.

The Struggle for an All-Russian Muslim's Rights

Seeing that their petition campaigns and individual speeches had a minimal effect, representatives of the Azerbaijani liberal intelligentsia sought to establish close contacts with the Muslim population of the rest of the Russian Empire, hoping with the creation of a single party to achieve great results in the struggle for their rights. They supported these aspirations by the Crimean Tatar and Kazan intelligentsia, which was the initiator of the creation of the All-Russian Muslim Union that was constituted later in the party.

Azerbaijani leaders made considerable efforts to unite the Muslim peoples of the empire in the fight against Russian colonialism. The leaders of the Muslim peoples realized that, for several objective and subjective factors, it would be very difficult for a single nation to defend their national identity and preserve their cultural heritage and historical values. In the years 1905–1907, three All-Russian Muslim Congresses were held in Nizhnii Novgorod and St. Petersburg. At these congresses, a Muslim Constitutional Party, called Ittifagi-Muslimin (Muslim Union), was formed. Topchibashev was the author of the charter and the program of the All-Russian Muslim Union. The resolution of the Second Congress of the Union (January 1906) defined the following goals of this organization, the main ones being:

- 1) The unification of Russian Muslims in a single movement;
- 2) Establishment of a constitutional monarchy based on the proportional representation of nationalities;
- 3) The legal equality of the Muslim and Russian population, the abolition of all laws and management practices that discriminate against Muslims;
- 4) The cultural and educational progress of Muslims, etc. (*Vserossiiskii musul'manskiĭ s'ezd* 1906, 12).

At the same congress of the party program, comprising 75 points was adopted. The program of the party in its general political part coincided with the program of the Russian liberal Cadet (Constitutional Democratic) party. As already noted, the state system according to the program should be a constitutional monarchy. The ministry appointed by the monarch must be

accountable to the people's representation, i.e. by parliament (*Kavkazskaia rech'*, 6 December 1906, 5).

In local government, according to Article 30 of the program, all local affairs, including the police and internal security, must be fully transferred to the local administrative authorities. Zemstvoes (local governments in Russia), whose rights were to be extended (Ibragimov 1926, 98) were recognized the best institution for this purpose. The economic part of the program recognized the inviolability of property. The agrarian question recognized "a need to increase land use by compulsory alienation of all land, including private ownership, with a reward issued at a fair, non-market price" (Ibid., 100).

The program reflects the specific requirements of Muslims in Russia. This concern, as already noted, above all, the realization of real equality of all the peoples of Russia, including Muslims, and in fact, implementing the principles of political and civil liberty proclaimed by the Tsarist Manifesto on 17 October 1905 (*Kavkazskaia rech'*, 6 December 1906) Articles 46–53 of the program also demanded the reorganization of the school system and the need to study in primary schools in their native language, the publication of newspapers and magazines in the national language, etc., i.e. implementation of the foundations of national-cultural autonomy. They paid special attention in the program they made to questions of religion and demands to grant all Muslims of Russia the right to freely profess the religion of Islam, the construction of mosques and madrasas, etc. There was a protest against the government's Russification policy of Muslims (*Vserossiiskii musul'manskiĭ s'ezd* 1906, 46–53).

At the Third Congress of the All-Russian Muslim Union, they formed the Central Committee, which was supposed to deal with the issues of party legalization and election campaigning. However, despite the very moderate nature of the demands of the party's program, the Russian Senate twice rejected a petition for its legalization.

Activities of National Leaders in the Russian State Duma

In Soviet historiography, the movement of the Muslim peoples of Russia at the beginning of the 20th century is characterized as pan-Islamic. However, in Russia the ideas of Muslim unity were of a pronounced progressive nature and had nothing to do with the notorious pan-Islamism. This movement was not about creating a single Islamic state but about social progress, cultural development and the national liberation of Muslims. The creation of such an organization of Muslims alarmed the Russian authorities. The *Ittifagi-Muslimin* party was denied legalization; in many places, Muslim

newspapers were closed, and they harassed the leaders of the movement (*Russkaia mysl* 1909, no. 7, 47).

Left without a single-center, the Muslim movement in Russia ceased to exist until 1917. The representatives of individual national movements, including Azerbaijani leaders, concentrated their efforts on solving the national problems of their people.

With the onset of the reaction after 1907, under the conditions of repression and persecution the leaders and activists of the national movement were limited for engaging in political activity. However, the autocracy suppressed the struggle of the Azerbaijani people for their national rights. Azerbaijani deputies were active in the State Duma, in the first convocation of which they were elected in 1906. Topchibashev, Ismail Ziyatkhonov, Abdurahim Akhverdiyev, Zeynal Zeynalov and others became deputies of the First State Duma (*Pervaia Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Duma* 1906, 129, 135).

Khalil Khasmamedov, Mustafa Mahmudov, Zeynalov and Fatali Khan Khoysky were elected deputies of the second Duma (*Chleny Gosudarstvennoï Dumi* 1907, 450, 452, 456–58).

All the deputies of the Caucasus, Volga region and Central Asia formed the Muslim faction in the Duma. The State Duma was a legislative body in Russia, established by Nikolaï II. The powers of the Duma were finally determined by the “Basic State Laws” of 23 April 1906. They elected the Duma for five years, and they gave the Emperor the right to dissolve it. The Duma could adopt laws proposed by the government and approve the state budget. Between sessions, the emperor could single-handedly pass laws, which were then subject to approval by the Duma during the sessions. The State Duma was the lower house of parliament. The Council of State, which was supposed to approve or reject laws adopted by the Duma played the role of the upper house. In the absence of a party body, the Muslim faction served as a leading center that also carried out legislative functions. Topchibashev was elected chairman of the faction in the first Duma.

The victory of these deputies caused great enthusiasm among the Azerbaijani population. Famous publicists, writers, poets published in the press their congratulations and wishes to the deputies. The poet Magomed Hadi Shirvani wrote: “Our Happiness depends on you (deputies), we expect a lot from you: complete freedom, the happiness of the motherland, general amnesty; you need to protect the rights of the people of your nationality” (*Fiiuzat*, no. 10, 20 February 1907, 27). The *Fiyuzat* magazine edited by Alibek Huseynzade placed great hopes on the

Duma and called on Azerbaijani deputies to unite in the Muslim faction, regardless of the parties, to ensure equality and protect the rights of all Muslims (Ibid., no. 11, 3 March 1907, 9–12). In the Second State Duma, which opened on 20 February 1907, all Azerbaijani deputies, except for Zeynalov joined the Muslim faction next to the Cadets. However, the Second Duma and the first did not survive for long and was dispersed by the tsar on 3 June 1907. The new electoral law issued by Nicholas II severely curtailed the representation of national minorities in the Duma. According to the new law, only one deputy could be elected from the entire Azerbaijani population. They pinned high hopes on a single Azerbaijani representative. Hashimbek Vezirov wrote in his newspaper *Taza-Khayat* (New Life) that if Muslim voters choose worthy candidates, then 1–2 people will do for them in the Duma as much as 50–100 deputies (*Taza khayat*, 18 Oktober 1907, 3) Because of elections held in October 1907, Khasmamedov was re-elected from the Azerbaijani population of the three provinces to the Third Duma. He entered the Muslim faction and took an active part in defending the rights of Muslims in Russia (*Ukazatel'k stenograficheskim otchëtam Tret'eï Gosudarstvennoï Dumy* 1907, 17, 29).

The Third State Duma, as is known, for the first time worked the deadline set by law, and in 1912, they announced elections. The Azerbaijani press, as far as its capabilities allowed, launched a campaign, the leitmotif of which was to appeal to the local population to choose the most worthy candidate with progressive convictions. The situation with the pre-election campaign among the Azerbaijani population was significantly complicated because the tsarist authorities closed the Azerbaijani newspapers one by one, motivating it with the suppression of pan-Turkish propaganda, which allegedly appeared in them with the beginning of the Balkan Wars. Newspapers that continued to go on, such as *Baky Khaiaty* (Baku's Life), did not tire of agitating for the choice of a progressive candidate.

They elected lawyer Mamed Yusif Jafarov from the Azerbaijani population to the Fourth State Duma, which worked from 1912 to 1917.

Even though the number of Azerbaijani deputies decreased after the adoption of the reactionary law of 1907 to a critical minimum, they actively used the parliamentary rostrum to meet the demands made during the petition campaign of 1905. They have repeatedly advocated the equalization of Muslims in political and civil rights with the rest of the population of the empire, introducing compulsory and universal primary education in their native language, the creation in Azerbaijan of an institution of elected judges and a court with jurors, etc.

The Fourth State Duma existed until 26 February 1917, when the next social revolution finally destroyed the monarchy in Russia. Despite their incapacity, all four Russian Dumas was one of those sources that undermined the autocracy stone, revealed all the ulcers of society showing to everyone the essence of each of the parties and factions represented in them and laying the foundations of parliamentarianism, not only in Russia but and in her former colonies. It is characteristic that almost all Duma deputies—Azerbaijanis became members of the future parliament of the independent Azerbaijan Republic.

Turning to the pre-war period and the activities of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia in their homeland, it should be noted that after 1907, the national movement completely shifted to cultural and educational activities, mainly engaged in the cultural reorganization of the Azerbaijani society, enlightenment of the masses, their education in the national patriotic spirit, etc.

During these years, they created many print publications and schools in the native language in Azerbaijan, and cultural, educational, and charitable societies began to function. By the number of periodicals in the national language, Azerbaijan has become a leader among the Muslim peoples of the empire. According to Alexandre Bennigsen, from 1875 to February 1917, 172 Muslim newspapers and magazines were published in the Russian Empire. They published most of them in Azerbaijani (60) and the language of Kazan Tatars (63). Over 66% of publications published in the press (435) were also published in Azerbaijani and Tatar languages (Bennigsen 1964, 49–50). The most widely read of them was the satirical magazine *Molla Nasreddin*, published by Jalil Mammadguluzadeh and enjoying incredible popularity throughout the Caucasus, Central Asia, Iran, and even India.

Cultural and charitable societies — *Nijat* (Rescuing), *Neshri-maarif* (Enlightenment), *Safa* (Pleasure), and others — played a significant role in the political education of the Azerbaijani people and in raising its cultural and educational level. They organized schools, libraries and reading rooms, evening courses for the eradication of illiteracy, staged theatre performances, etc. Azerbaijani politicians actively used these societies to spread and popularize among broad masses of national ideas, scientific and political knowledge. At the initial stage, it was the cultural and educational societies, along with the press organs, that were the main organizing centers of the national movement.

Women's Issue as an Object of Debate

In the study period, the so-called women's issue was also the subject of discourse. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, in connection with the changing sociopolitical situation, women's equality gained the greatest relevance and embraced many countries of the East. In the Caucasus and Central Asia, where the processes of modernization of society took place, this most complex problem, directly related to the economic, legal and ethical aspects of public life, and other issues of reform movements, was solved in religious law. Therefore, the first task of the national intelligentsia was to legitimize the equality of women by the Koran, i.e. correct reading and proper interpretation of issues relating to women. They tried to change the status of women as the main figure in the family, to regulate with Islam the role of women and mothers in the upbringing of the younger generation. And because of solving these problems, the importance of women's education was considered, and women's political equality was also actualized.

Muhammed Aga Shahtakhtinskiĭ, a well-known Azerbaijani enlightener, regarded men's polygamy and women's isolation as one of the principal causes of stagnation in the social life of Muslim peoples. In his opinion, polygamy not only "depraves and perverts the family", making a tyrannical slaver out of a man, but also "does telling harm to the physical and intellectual ability of a nation". Isolation turns a woman into a slave and insults her human dignity, switching her off public life. He regarded forced marriage as a social crime. "Islam is a religion, and polygamy and isolation of a woman are traditions and customs", he wrote. "Islam can only be guilty of tolerating them" (*Rossiia*, 17 August 1907, 5).

Comparing the conditions of women in the East and Europe, Shahtakhtinskiĭ noted that in Europe a woman was free and she understood and carried out her obligations to the family, while in the East a woman could neither help her husband nor bring up the children (*Ibid.*).

In 1902 Ahmed bek Agayev issued a brochure named *a woman in Islam*, where he co-gently proved that in the Koran there is not a hint of depreciation of woman's dignity or restriction of her civil rights, emphasizing that Muhammad's religion would have not achieved success without the help of women (*Kaspiĭ*, 9 May 1902, 2–3). Agayev and Topchibashev also held in their articles it was not Islam that was guilty of the conditions Muslim women were in, but its interpretation by the clergy who had distorted it in their interests and to please despotic rulers (*Ibid.*). Agayev considered that the salvation and progress of Muslims lay "in the hands of a freed and brought-up woman", a well-educated one. Probably, they had identical views on the low status of women, which, according to Firudin Kocharli,

a staunch Azerbaijani reformer, was not caused by Islam proper, but by its ministers—mullahs, who, in his opinion, were “the main disseminators of woman’s isolation and of rejection of her independence” and “who, in their sermons calling her *nagis*, an imperfect and imbecile creature, at the same time showed her guile, slyness, and unfaithfulness” (*Novoe obozrenie*, 20 December 1895, 4). According to Kocharli, enslavement is alien to Islam; Islam highly appreciated the woman’s human dignity, which she had been deprived of before, and granted her a wide range of rights and authorities; in the early Islamic period, they represented her in the people’s council and was a preacher, a teacher, and a sister of charity. He noted that the does not at all demand that a woman be covered with a veil from head to foot, but only orders her to hide “some parts of the body..., so that not to be an object of temptation”; therefore, said Kocharli, explanation of the true meaning of the verses about the woman’s veil is the obligation of the Muslim reformers.

Huseyn Minasazov, a well-known enlightener, and writer of political essays considered the involvement of women in the active public life the most important condition for social progress. Together with Shahtakhtinski, Minasazov not only condemned oppression of women and the limitation of her rights but demanded that matrimonial and family relations be legally confirmed.

Unless the gender issue is settled’, he wrote, and as long as the Muslim woman remains in the shameful status of a slave, ... all our big phrases concerning the Muslims’ familiarization with the universal culture and their being advocates of progress, civilization and all their attributes, such as personal freedom, freedom of speech and belief and so on, all these phrases will smack of insincerity and sheer boasting (*Zakavkaz’e*, 8 June 1907, 6).

It should be noted that the magazine *Molla Nasreddin* (about which we have written above), the most popular one not only in the Caucasus but in the whole Muslim East, occupied the leading position in discussing this issue, defending decisively the rights of Muslim women. Almost all the numbers of the magazine condemned orthodox ministers of the religion and discussed various aspects of the suppression of woman’s rights in family and society, with a focus upon the problem of enlightenment and education of a woman (*Respublika*, 7 April 2006, 3). The popularity of the magazine also grew due to the use of simple language in it, understandable to ordinary people and bringing a lively jet into the relatively complex and monotonous style of the Muslim press.

However, the practical implementation of all these ideas was realized by the outstanding Azerbaijani educator, the editor of the first newspaper in the Azerbaijani language, Hasan bey Zardabi. Zardabi received the high title of “the father of the Muslim women of the Caucasus” for his appeal early in 1896 to the governor of Baku for permission to open a one-group school for Muslim girls (Zardabi 1962, 19).

After it gave them permission, Zardabi and his wife Hanifa Hanum opened a Muslim women’s vocational school in the same year, they made the curriculum which follows that at Russian-Azerbaijani schools (Muradova 2007, 13). Zardabi insisted on increasing the number of hours and broadening the curriculum in Azerbaijani and raised a question about the establishment of schools in the remote districts of the city. He considered the enlightenment of the Azerbaijani woman a serious factor in her struggle for equal rights, improving the teaching and upbringing of all the growing generation:

However many schools for men were opened, we would not achieve the desired goal. Women have left apart from science and education; at the same time, a woman plays a huge role in the upbringing of the younger generation (*Antologiya pedagogicheskoi mysli Azerbaidzhanskoï SSR* 1989, 279).

The charity foundation of Haji Zeynalabdin Tagiyev supported Zardabi’s vocational school for women, together with the first school in Transcaucasia for Muslim girls opened in Baku on 6 October 1901. Agayev, one inspiration for creation of the school in Baku, wrote that Tagiyev’s purpose was to bring up a new Muslim woman, who would combine in her the traditionally appealing features of the oriental woman with the attributes of the European civilization, and who, in his words, could “use freedom without doing harm to the family and society” (*Kaspiï*, 9 Oktober 1905, 4).

Apart from that huge role the vocational school played in the enlightenment of the Azerbaijani woman and her involvement in the social and cultural life, it became an example for imitation in many regions in Russia and even in neighboring Iran. In the first year of study at this school, most of the schoolgirls were freed from payment. Teachers at the school were Vasilia Musabekova, Sabira Abdurahman, Adilia Shahtakhtinskaya and Sariia Ahmedova – the wives and daughters of well-known enlighteners. Sona hanum Tagiyeva played an important role in the establishment and functioning of the school, doing all she could to help the pupils. In 1906, the first 15 Azerbaijani girls graduated the school with a certificate of

primary education (Suleymanova 1999, 180). It was just a beginning, and several Azerbaijani district and province towns, such as Gyanja, Lankaran, Sheki, Nakhchivan, Shusha, and Agdam, followed Tagiyev (*Azərbaydzhan tarixi* 2001, 199).

In 1905–1917 the issues of women's education were also being discussed at Muslim congresses and in the program of the 'İttifagi-Muslimin' party, the largest liberal organization for the Russian Muslims from Azerbaijan, Crimea and Central Asia, and the banks of the Volga and the Ural (Vserossiiskii musulmanskii s'ezd 1906, 12).

As the party could not function legally, the main program regulations, including those on the issues of women's education, were read from the rostrum of the State Duma by a Muslim fraction. The Muslim fraction not only struggled for women's education but also proposed to the State Duma for granting Muslim women an electoral right, which was unusual even for the Christian European countries. This resulted in hours-long debates within the fraction where people feared that resolutions contradicting the centuries-old order of life in the Muslim society could avert the masses from the fraction (*Kaspiı*, 21 March 1907, 3). After long consultations with various Muslim religious instances, the fraction concluded: the electoral right should be granted to women, but electoral meetings should be held separately (*Progress*, 28 March 1907, 4). It was a serious victory by the reformation movement in the struggle for women's social rights in public life.

Thus, in the early 20th century, the issues of education in women's equality of rights were in the reformation's focus movement; the reformers came to a common conclusion that it was necessary to work out a general program and to take steps aimed at creating special schools and educational institutions. It was an important condition for the reforms, as the future of the peoples of the Caucasus depended on the level of women's education and their self-consciousness.

In the first decade of the 20th century, the social and cultural reforms entered the political sphere, gradually moving beyond the frames of enlightenment. The Caucasian and intellectuals and progressists were strongly influenced by Russian and western enlightenment and political thought. Refracted in the local's prism reality, it gradually gained its specificity following the material and spiritual demands of the society. In this respect, the economic and political crisis of the early 20th century was one cause for the growth of social protest against the existing orders, involving all the society, from peasants and workers to representatives of the highest classes. The Reformation movement gradually passes from the

enlightenment phase to the political stage, leading to differentiation inside the intellectual elite.

The Formation of the First Political Organizations and Their Role in the National Movement

A great influence on the formation and views of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia was provided not only by the events of the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907 but also by the Constitutional Revolution in Iran ruled by the Qajar dynasty of 1905–1911 and the Balkan Wars, in which the Ottoman Empire took part. Many of them—Muhammed Emin Rasulgade, Mirza Bala Mamedzade, Muhammed Baghir Akhundov, and others immigrated to Iran and even took part in the revolution. In 1909 Rasulgade began to publish the newspaper *Iran-I-nou* there, which became the first newspaper of the European type in Iran and played a huge role in the consolidation of revolutionary forces (Azimzade 1924, 12).

The Azerbaijani political organizations *Hummet* (Aid) and *Mujahid* (Patriot), which emerged in Baku in 1904–1905, in 1906 began to send agitators to Iran to conduct propaganda among the local population, and above all among Azerbaijanis. Soon this help became more specific: volunteers and weapons were sent there. They were active in 1908 in connection with the Tabriz uprising. In Baku and Tiflis, Help Committees for Iranian Revolutionaries were formed. Meshadi Azizbekov headed the Baku Committee, and Nariman Narimanov headed the Tiflis Committee (Magerramov 1987, 18). The number of volunteers from the Transcaucasia, most of whom were Azeris, reached 800, of whom 50 died while defending Tabriz. After the suppression of the Tabriz uprising, a new revolutionary center emerged in January 1909 in the city of Resht. The members of the *Hummet* party Akhundov, B. Kasumov, M. Talibov, and others arrived here. Revolutionary power was temporarily established in Resht. During the suppression of the Resht uprising, they killed Akhundov. The editor of *Iran-e-know*, Rasulgade, placed in the newspaper a large obituary dedicated to Akhundov, calling him a true patriot of his people and a great friend of Iran (Ibid.).

In early 1908, toward the Tiflis branch of *Hummet*, Mir Bagir Mir-Heydarzadeh left for Southern Azerbaijan and brought a letter from the leader of the revolution Sattar Khan to Tiflis. According to reports of the Russian consul in Tabriz Miller, “the instigators and instructors of the uprisings are our subjects Caucasian” (ARPAÏSSA, f. 456, a.e. 18, 101–102). After the suppression of the revolution in December 1911, they introduced martial courts in Tabriz and Resht, about 200 volunteers

escaped, they arrested many, and Rasulzade and Seid Hasan Tagizade fled to Turkey (Räsulzadä 1992, 7). In Turkey, where they became active participants in the *Türk Ozhagi* (Turkic jet set) group, which united the best renown Türkic intelligentsia. Here, the most urgent topics of the formation of the Turkic nations, the philosophy of national unity and the possibility of creating a single Turkic language for the peoples of both the Russian and Ottoman empires were the subject of discussions.

For the understanding of the activity direction of the society enlisting the names of the members of this society chaired by Zia Geyalp would be enough: Agayev, Huseynzade, Yusuf Akcura, and others (Mehmetzade 1991, 43). There constantly held discussions about turning into reality the slogan of ‘Turkization, Modernization, Islamization’, and Rasulzade was not a bystander. Having suffered a strong disappointment in revolutionary activities, first in Russia and then in Iran, Rasulzade gradually came to ‘romantic pan-Turkism’ (his expression—I.B.), and later – to Turkism, more committed to the preservation of common cultural values than the utopian idea of ‘Turan’ (Rasulzade 1985, 23–25). His acquaintance with the works of a recognized authority in the Islamic and Turkic world, the philosopher Sheikh Jamaladdin Al-Afghani (1836–1897) played an important role in the evolution of his views. In the journal *Türk İurdu* published by the community, Rasulzade immediately after his arrival from Iran published a series of articles under the general title *Iranian Turks*, which covered for the first time the situation of Azerbaijanis in Iran, their struggle for independence and constitutional order (Räsulzadä 1992, 9). In the same journal Rasulzade published excerpts from the fundamental work of Jamaledin Al-Afghani *Megaleti-Jemaliye* (The beauty of the word) entitled *The Philosophy of National Unity and the Essence of the Unified Language*, in translation from the Persian. The fundamental postulate of this work was the statement that there is no human happiness and prosperity outside the nation. A nation cannot exist without a single language, which can be formed only when it is widely used by all classes and strata of a nation (Bogushevich 1961, 47). According to Al-Afghani, there are two factors connecting people in a nation — the unity of language and religion. But the religious factor is not post-genomic, because one nation can change religion throughout its existence. The language is not subject to such changes, and for thousands of years, it keeps its primordiality, only improving the form (Mehmetzade 1991a, 44). The philosophy of Al-Afghani in its time had a great influence on the prominent figures of the Turkic world Ismail Gasprinsky, Akchura, Huseynzade. Under the influence of this philosophy, Rasulzade changed his views in many respects, putting the priority of the national question over the factor of Islamic unity.

The Musavat Party, which became the ruling party of the first democratic republic, begins its activities in Baku. They elected the leader of the party Rasulzade, who was still in exile. At first glance, it might seem that the party's program was preaching the ideas of pan-Islamism, calling on all Muslim states for unity and restoration of their state independence (Guseinov 1927, 72). However, the party's program did not offer any concrete ways of implementing the 'universal welfare of Muslims'. The countries whose independence is yet to be restored were not indicated in the program either.

The political situation that had formed in the east at that period dictated the unification of Muslim countries. Joint efforts from Russia and Great Britain destroyed the revolution in Iran and the foundations of a constitution it had laid. The Balkan War that started in 1912 under the guise of the liberation of Slavic peoples from the Turkish yoke went with the direct Russian military and political interference. The state of the Young Turks, which by that time had suffered considerable losses in the Italian-Turkish War in 1911–1912, had to resist almost all European empires patronizing this or that country from the Balkan League. Under these conditions, the Muslim world, particularly the Turkic-speaking population of the Russian Empire, sympathized with Turkey, which was natural and explainable. The *Musavat* party was not an exception: in connection with the First Balkan War, it published an appeal to all Muslim countries, calling upon them to support Turkey, whose independence and progress would ensure salvation for the Muslim world (*The History of Public and Cultural Reformation in the Caucasus and Central Asia /19th—Early 20th Century/* 2013, 250). The appeal emphasized the desire of Western countries and the Russian Empire to destroy the former power of the Ottoman Empire through the mainstreaming of the Balkan issue and the outbreak of war. The appeal called on Muslim nations to rally to protect the Young Turk revolution and the Ottoman state (Ibid.). The text of this appeal proves that uniting the Muslim peoples was not the main goal for the *Musavat* party, but above all the instrument of confronting the enslavement of these peoples by the West and especially the Russian Empire, to which, as the proclamation shows, the pro-Turkish part of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia did not feel big love. There is no reason to talk about the existence of a more or less developed program of pan-Islamism, at least among Russian Muslims. Even the officials of the tsarist secret police, who by definition of soviet historians Arshalužs Arsharuni and Haji Gabidulin, were forced to admit that in all cases of the national liberation, agrarian, revolutionary movement among the Turkic-Tatar

peoples there was a common recipe — pan-Islamism (Arsharuni and Gabidullin 1931, 7–8).

The 1913 amnesty declared on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty's rule returned Rasulgade from Istanbul to make him an unchallenged leader of the *Musavat* party. By that time, his political views had considerably changed. Rasulgade's articles issued shortly before and in the course of the First World War resulted in a reorientation of the party's political program, which switched from the Islamic unification to a struggle for the national rights of the Azerbaijani and other Turkic peoples.

Arriving in Baku, Rasulgade plunged into an atmosphere of heated discussion on the literary Azerbaijani language, which re-opened in the pages of the national press. Opponents divided into two camps, calling themselves 'Osmanchilar' and 'Azerichilar'. The first of them, appearing in the pages of the *Fiyuzat*, and then in *Yeni Fiyuzat* (New Blessing) and *Shalale* (Waterfall) journals, were supporters of the so-called 'Ottoman' Turkish language, which in their opinion could be the sole exponent of the literary and scientific heritage of the nation, and also a factor uniting the Turkic peoples. This point of view was defended by Khalid Sabribeyzade, Huseynzade, Najaf bek Vezirov, and others (Mehmetzade 1991a, 44).

This position reflected their point of view regarding the ideology of Turanism. Turanism as a concept denied a qualitative nature of ethnic differences between various Turkic nations, comprising them into unique ethnos. Nevertheless, Turanism as an ideology had played a decisive role in the awakening of Turkic nations, including Azerbaijanis, for a sovereign national life and had contributed to the release of Turkic consciousness from the grips of an all-Muslim consciousness. The "Turk nation" had become a peculiar transition period from religious identity to Azerbaijani national identity.

Adherents of the opposite position, 'Azericilar', were prominent Azerbaijani enlighteners Firudin bey Kocharli, Omar Faig Neimanzade, Uzeir Hajibeyov, Minasazov, Rashid Melikov, and Eynali Sultanov, who spoke in the newspaper, *Yeni Iqbal* (New Destiny), and in the Russian-language press (ARDA, f. 46, a.e. 4, 11). They supported the pure Azeri language, understandable to the broader readership. Rasulgade with his characteristic activity was involved in this debate, proposing his solution to the issue and organizing the *Yeni Lisan* (New Language) movement. He spoke on the pages of the magazine *Shalale* with the articles *Language as a social factor* and *'Yeni Lisan Group' and Turkish language*, where he

essentially denied the point of view of both debating parties (Swietochowski 1985, 75). The position of 'Azerichilar' was unacceptable for him because it contradicted the unity of the Turkic peoples, which he was an adherent. He spoke against the 'Osmanchilar', since the Turkish language, with its admixtures of foreign words, could, in his opinion, only conditionally be called Turkic.

Rasulzade proposed a new, purified Turkish language – 'Yeni Lisan' (New language), consisting only of Turkic words and intended to play the role of a common language for all Turkic peoples. It is in this language that he publishes articles in the press and later publishes his newspaper *Achiq soz* (Open word). In the article *National Revival*, published in the journal *Dirilik* (Rebirth), Rasulzade distinguishes between the concept of 'ummah', i.e. religious community, and 'millet'—a nation by which it gives the following definition: "a nation is a human community united by language, religion, literature, history, and customs. Only the religious factor cannot be decisive in determining nationality" (Mehmetzade 1991b, 45)

He defended his views on the problems of national identity in publications on the pages of newspapers, most of which were closed in 1913–1915 'for the harmful direction' (ARDA, f. 46, a.e. 3, d. 398, 7).

This favorite term of the tsarist secret police becomes the main explanation for the closure of almost all Azerbaijani newspapers and magazines during these years. The main reason for such repressions, as noted above, was the Balkan and World War I, which, in the opinion of the authorities, repeatedly increased the threat of the spread of Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism ideas among the Muslim population of the empire.

Back in 1913, i.e. during the First Balkan War, the Caucasian Governor Vorontsov-Dashkov wrote in his report to the tsar that even if there were any demonstrations of regional separatism to be feared, they could come only from Muslims. He emphasized: "... ideas of national self-consciousness are developing among the cultural classes of the Muslim community, which is threatening Russia's interests" (ARPAÏSSA, f. 276, a.e. 8, 7–12).

The Azerbaijani intelligentsia played a significant role in the development of these ideas, founded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by national enlighteners, who were to play an important role both in forming a nation and in creating a future democratic state. Progressive and enlightening ideas among the Azerbaijani intelligentsia arose precisely in the struggle's context of opposing cultures, different religions, and different mentality and were at the same time a kind of bridge-dialogue between East and West. The transit of ideas and achievements went through

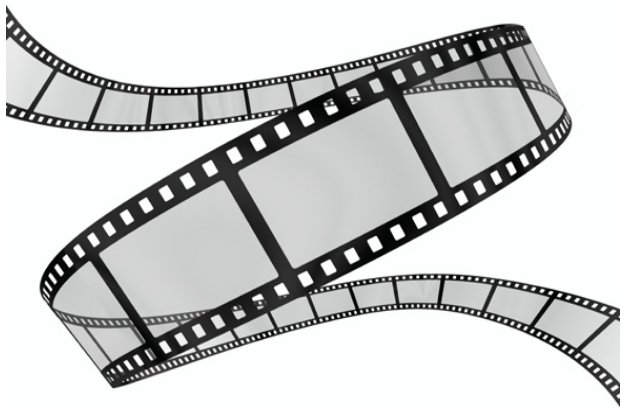
Russia. It was during this period from the middle of the 19th–beginning of the 20th century in the Muslim regions of the Russian Empire that creative and scientific intelligentsia were formed, which advocated reform of education, development of the press, formation of political organizations, demanding equality in all spheres of public life having been a generator and distributor of ideas for a modernizing society. Educated at the best universities in Russia and Western Europe the well-known representatives of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia have become a kind of cultural agents bringing enlightenment to the masses and familiarizing the European public with the culture of the East.

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***IV. VISUALIZATION BETWEEN ART
AND INTRODUCTION OF SCIENTIFIC
ACHIEVEMENTS***

THE MANAKI BROTHERS AND THE GREAT WAR

Atanas Čuposki

Abstract: The paper considers the life and work of the two Manaki brothers – Janaki and Milton, their migration routes from their birthplace, the village of Avdella in Epirus, first to the city of Ioannina and later to the city of Bitola, great cultural and educational centres in that period; their educational paths; their stay in the capital of Romania – Bucharest, where they were appointed royal photographers by king Karol I; the journeys of Janaki to Budapest, Vienna, Paris and London, where he purchased a camera and so the two brothers became the first Balkan filmmakers; their photographic work before, during and after the Great War in their atelier in Bitola; and after their death, the interesting developments of their legacy – an audiovisual heritage which now represents common heritage of the world.

The introductory part of the paper considers the specific historical conditions which resulted from the fact that Macedonia did not possess a state of its own in the Balkans during the ‘Great War’. As a part of the Ottoman sultanate in the period of the Balkan Wars, an overture to the Great War, Macedonia was divided among the three Balkan states: Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. A great number of Macedonians joined the armies of those states for military service during the war on its own soil. On the other hand, the non-existence of institutional cinematography, which would happen thirty years later (after the establishment of the Macedonian state), meant that even film enthusiasts like the Manaki brothers did not manage to leave any concrete cinema recording of a war event, but, luckily, they provided us with a lots of photographic material from that period.

In addition, the paper considers the life and work of the two Manaki brothers – Janaki and Milton, their migration routes from their birthplace, the village of Avdella in Epirus, in present day Northwest Greece, first to the town of Ioannina, the capital of Epirus and later to the city of Bitola, a great cultural and educational centre in that period; their educational paths; their stays in the capital of Romania – Bucharest, where they were appointed royal photographers by King Karol I; journeys of Janaki to Budapest, Wien, Paris and London, where he purchased a camera and so the two brothers became the first Balkan filmmakers; their photographic work

before, during and after the Great War in their atelier in Bitola; and after their deaths, the interesting development of their legacy – an audio-visual heritage which now represents common heritage of the world.

The Situation in Macedonia at the Beginning of World War I

The situation in Macedonia at the beginning of World War I (further: WWI) is the following: the two Balkan Wars that were waged on its territory and for its territory had just ended, and many Macedonians, due to the fact that the modern Macedonian state had not yet been founded were forced to fight in the armies of neighboring countries, so that brothers dressed in different uniforms would look at one another at gunpoint.

This is the epilogue of the wars: Macedonia's geographical territory is split into uneven parts between Greece – 51%, Serbia – 38% (it is in the part of Macedonia under Serbian rule that the Macedonian state will be established later), Bulgaria – around 10%, and Albania, while the Ottoman rulers are completely banished (Stojanov 1969, 376–77; Stavovi-Kavka 2002, 208).

It is in this geo-political constellation that Macedonia faces the assassination of the Archduke of the House of Habsburg and heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand, carried out in 1914 in Sarajevo by seventeen-year-old Serbian teenage-revolutionary Gavrilo Princip. The ensuing turn of events is well-known: each country picks a side and a mere 37 days after the assassination the war began, although only a few years earlier humankind was convinced that war of such magnitude could not occur in the civilized 20th century. However, this was no ordinary war, it was in fact the bloodiest war in the history of mankind in which tens of millions of people were killed, wounded or unaccounted for.

When it comes to Macedonia, around 200,000 people from Macedonia were mobilized in that war – about 120,000 in the Bulgarian army, about 55,000 in the Serbian army and about 20,000 soldiers in the Greek army (Stojanov 1969, 386–87).

WWI on Macedonian Soil

Thus, in the summer of 1914, war broke out and with it, a year later in 1915, camera crews arrived on Macedonian territory to report on the events on the front. German cameramen and their allies arrived first, and then the cameramen of their opponents – those of the French and British troops and their allies. Military operations were being filmed, as well as the actions behind the lines and the suffering of the innocent population. The projections are often sensationalistic or serve as propaganda.

Nevertheless, considering that WWI was a trench war, life in the urban centers that were not close to the front was relatively peaceful. This means that cinemas were also working. Hence, Bitola, i.e. Monastir, a city which was an important regional economic and cultural centre of Ottoman Rumelia during the Ottoman Empire, and a city where consular representatives of several European countries were stationed, was frequently visited by traveling cinemas and also had several permanent movie theatres. Here, by way of illustration, I would like to mention the Ciomu brothers' cinema which operated from 1909 in the hall of the Bitola Theatre, and which occasionally screened mostly French-, Swedish- and American-produced films. The most frequent visitors to this movie theater were members of the intelligentsia, the diplomatic corps and other political figures, military men and businessmen. Due to military operations, the work of this movie theater was suspended in 1915 (Stardelov 2003, 42).

It is interesting to note that military units stationed in Macedonia during WWI brought with them mobile cinemas which although primarily designed to entertain the armies, also allowed the civilian population to see the film screenings. The Macedonian film historiography has discovered that in 1916 the German army was screening films in Prilep in the spacious yard of the Šeskolenovci family, as well as in the Ss. Cyril and Methodius School in Veles, in the village of Lisolai in Bitola and the village of Raica in Resen. In 1917, the Napevci family in Prilep procured a projector from Dresden with the help of their acquaintances – German soldiers stationed in Prilep – and held film screenings in their wooden shed. The first film they showed was *The Lady with Camellias*, preceded by the newsreel *The Appearance of Prilep*, a German-produced reportage (Petruševa 2005, 20–22).

The Macedonian Front

The Macedonian front, also known in historiography as the Salonika front, Balkan front or South front, which stretched along the entire geographical territory of Macedonia for a total frontline length of 415 km, was established in early 1916. Its starting line stretched from Lake Ohrid to the Belasica mountain, east to the river Mesta and along the river all the way to the Aegean Sea. Serbian, Italian, Russian and French soldiers were stationed in the central part of the front and in the left, west wing, while English and Greek armies were stationed in the right wing, from the river Vardar, across Dojran, to the coast of the Aegean Sea. German, Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops were deployed on the opposite side. The focal point of the established frontline in the war which had an extremely

positional character was located in the area of Mount Kozuf, across Dojran and Gevgelija, all the way to Lake Prespa in today's Macedonian state. Thus, the entire territory of Macedonia south of the Veles-Prilep-Bitola line, the Gradsko-Stip-Demir Kapija-Strumica-Dojran line and nearly all of Aegean Macedonia was turned into a vast battlefield (Stojanov 1969, 391–93; Stardelov 1994, 30).



Fig. 1 German cavalry in front of the barracks, Manaki brothers, Bitola, 1916



Fig. 2 Bulgarian officers. Commander Hitrov to the right, Manaki brothers, Bitola, 1915

The activities of the film cameramen began immediately after the establishment of the front, in early 1916, and so the French companies “Pathé journal”, “Gaumont”, “Eclair” and “Leons Film”, the British “Topical Budget”, the German “Messter film” and “UFA”, the Italian “Ambrosio” etc., showed action from the battlefields through their corresponding film services, and recorded images of the trenches, heavy artillery and aviation skirmishes (Botomor 1994, 22). Since countries with considerable cinematographic potential for that time took part in WWI, apart from private film companies, almost all the armies had film departments within their headquarters which filmed military actions as well as background events, so that the cinematographic units of the French, British, Italian, German, Serbian, and Bulgarian armies were active on the ground. The filmed footage was sent to their home countries and then newsreels were made and shown in front of the local audience (Ibid., 24–26; Maslovarić 1994, 101–102).

Bitola – Macedonian Verdun

Historiography tells us that the Macedonian front was one of the bloodiest frontlines where the bitterest clashes were fought in WWI. In late September 1916, the fiercest battles were fought on the western frontline, around the mountain of Kajmakchalan and Bitola. The city of Bitola, also known as Monastir, bore the brunt of these battles. Bitola was one of the most beautiful and most vibrant cities in the Balkans, with white houses situated along the clear waters of the river Dragor, with markets brimming with people from different nations, inns and *bezistans* full of merchants, and ladies dressed in the manner of the ‘French fashion’ which was a synonym for Western-style clothing. However, a shadow would soon be cast over this idyllic picture and Bitola would become the most bombarded city in the Great War, with so many piles of rubble that it would often be labeled ‘the main city of hell’ or ‘the second Verdun’ in reports from the battlefield and in articles coming from ‘The Slaughterhouse of the Balkans’ (Markovski 2008, 37). It would become known as the city where the horrific sound of bombs and their devastating effects resonated daily, and where massive explosions were inevitably accompanied by screams, slaughter and famine.



Fig. 3 Mother with starving children, Manaki brothers, Bitola, 1916

While the armies of the Central Powers were stationed in the city, Bitola was bombed by the Allies' aviation. In 1916, after many fierce battles that left behind thousands of dead soldiers, the German and Bulgarian armies were driven out of the city, and Bitola was divided into four occupation zones: Italian, French, Serbian and Russian. However, German and Bulgarian armies entrenched in Baba Mountain above Bitola, shelled the city with heavy artillery, and their planes showered it with bombs. In the period from 1916 to 1918, Bitola and its residents, as well as those from the villages around Bitola, were subjected to gunfire every day for twenty-two months, and thousands of grenades, firebombs and poison gas rained down on their homes daily (Stojanov 1969, 412). The unexploded grenades which can be found underground even today, are the truest testimony of the concentration of troops and weapons, and the ferocity of the battles.

One million two hundred and twenty thousand soldiers of the Entente armed with 3.500 cannons and 280 aircraft, fought here, and Bitola found itself in the middle, trapped between the armies of the Entente and the Central Powers, in someone else's war (Ibid., 398; Markovski 2008, 37–38). The Allied forces' September offensive of 1918 marked the penetration of the frontline and the beginning of the end of the agony of the residents of Bitola.



Fig. 4 Group of French soldiers, Manaki brothers, Bitola, 1916

The Manaki Brothers

Thus we finally come to the Manaki brothers, names which are on the essential film reading list when it comes to the Balkans. Their arrival in Macedonia is an extremely important event for Macedonian as well as Balkan and European cinema because Janaki and Milton Manaki are the authors of the first film recording and indeed the first shot made in the Balkan Peninsula by native cameramen.

Who were the Manaki brothers – Janaki and Milton?



Fig. 5
Milton and
Janaki Manaki

As is often the case with brothers, they had very different personalities and temperaments. Thus, while older brother Janaki, born in 1878, was even-tempered and studious, a hardworking daydreamer dedicated to art and a book lover, younger Milton, born four years later in 1882, was a temperamental rebel, opportunist, Bohemian, a ladies' man, horse lover, joker, and talented storyteller.

The following anecdote is an excellent example of the brothers' different characters. After they opened their photo atelier in Bitola, Janaki bought a nice wooden cashbox, a 'casella' for keeping money and on it he wrote: "I shall not die before you are full", and upon seeing this, Milton wrote beneath it: "I shall not die before I spend all of it" (Konstantinov 1982, 33). Furthermore, while Janaki was learning about photography and film from French magazines and books to which he was a subscriber, Milton learned from practice. Milton at first worked as a cleaner in the studio, maintaining the equipment but later he started to study photography and quickly became a 'master of photography'. They shared a great love for photography and film.

Ethnic Origin and Early Life

However, when speaking about them one cannot avoid certain controversies following their work. Thus, a Balkan speciality is establishing the nationality of important people, so in the case of the Manaki brothers this is still a topic of contention for Balkan film historians. To be precise, there are claims that they belong to the Turkish national culture because they started filming at the time of the Ottoman sultanate in these areas, to the Greek – because they were born in a village in present day Greece, to the Macedonian – because they filmed most of their work in Macedonia, to the Romanian – because of their Aromanian origins, and also to the Albanian – because they originated from Epirus, they knew Albanian and recorded many events and people important for the Albanian cause, etc. (Stardelov 2003, 240–44)

At least there are no doubts about their ethnicity. The Manaki brothers, or as their last name was originally known as Manakia, are Aromanians, i.e. Vlachs born in the picturesque mountain village of Avdella, on Pind mountain at 1,300 metres above sea level. Their grandfather Ioanuli, a wealthy farmer who was also a moneylender, and their father Dimitri, a farmer, tax collector, boarder and landowner, who was married to their mother Lusha Karaioani from the village of Vlahoklisura, were great fighters for Vlach rights, so together with other Vlach patriots, with the support of Romania, they managed to convince the Ottoman authorities to open a Vlach school and religious services in Avdella (Konstantinov 1982, 18–23).



Fig. 6 Weaving Women, Manaki brothers, Avdella, 1906

The brothers, Janakia, i.e. Janaki and Miltiadi, i.e. Milton were raised in the same spirit, so Janaki, who was interested in painting and frescos even as a child, after finishing elementary school in Avdella and Romanian lyceum in Bitola, with the support of Apostle Margarit, a school inspector in Romanian schools in Macedonia and a great fighter against the Hellenization of Vlachs, was given a job as a teacher of calligraphy and drawing in the Romanian high school in Ioanina in 1899. In Epirus' capital city Janaki also opened a photographic atelier where his younger brother, the naughty Milton, would start working later (Ibid., 24–27). Unlike him, Milton was not interested in school even though he was exceptionally bright, got into fights with his schoolmates, and dropped out of the Romanian lyceum in Ioannina to return home to Avdella and loiter about, riding someone else's unsaddled horses, which was a great source of pleasure, and teasing the pretty village girls. Because of this Milton was sent off to study crafts in the town of Grevena. However, he believed that being a tailor, a saddler and a silversmith was beneath him, so instead of studying, he went to taverns to play draughts, a game that would interest him all his life, and where he met many friends and become the darling of the Bohemian circles (Ibid., 31–32).

Photographic Media

However, the meeting with the photographic medium in his brother's atelier in Ioannina was crucial for Milton and he, even though still restless, learned the craft from Janaki in his studio so that later he became a real master of photography and retouching, due to the fact that he was always there, while Janaki was busy teaching. Encouraged by the freedom-loving ideas of his older brother, in 1900 Milton swore allegiance to the revolver and dagger of the Secret Macedonian-Adrianpole Revolutionary Organization, in front of poet Kosta Dabiža from Kruševo, who would later be part of the Ilinden Uprising. He immediately got involved in the organization's activities and secretly transported weapons to Bitola, which was a real European town at the time and an important Balkan cultural and economic metropolis (Ibid., 35).

In 1903 the Manaki brothers sent photos to Bucharest of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising and the reprisals of the Ottoman army on the civilian population, which were published in the *Univerzul* magazine (Cucui 2003, 112). Janaki, who was actively involved in the Vlach's fight against Hellenization, was on the 'black list' of the Greek guerilla forces for physical elimination and he was not favoured by the Ottoman authorities either. So, he had to leave Ioannina in 1905 because he was involved in a scandal at Vouvousa when the Hellenophile Vlachs disturbed the first Easter sermon in Romanian language for the Vlachs. Also, in 1905 the village of Avdella, the birthplace of the two brothers, was entirely burnt down while the priest and two other inhabitants were killed by the Greek Antartes in order to punish the pro-Romanian attitude of the inhabitants (Konstantinov 1982, 27–28).



Fig. 7 Janaki Manaki
filmed in the atelier
of the Manaki brothers,
Ioannina, 1899

Transfer to Bitola

Because of these reasons, in 1905 Janaki was transferred to the same position – teacher of calligraphy and drawing, but to the Romanian high school in Bitola. At this time, after a number of negotiations, Janaki managed to buy a plot on the main street of the capital of the Rumelia Eyalet and the Vilayet of Monastir, and he relocated his atelier to Širok Sokak, the main street in Bitola, which was now called “Artistic Photography Atelier” (Ibid., 29). The particularly fruitful work of the Manaki brothers in the field of photography dates from this period and in front of their lenses they have consuls, officers, villagers and craftsmen making a series of individual and group portraits, landscapes, important events, etc. With the support of the Macedonian Society in Bucharest, with which Janaki has excellent relations, they also shoot entire series of photos documenting Vlach customs, costumes, architecture, etc.



Fig. 8 Vlach woman from village of Klisura with a baby, Manaki Brothers, Bitola, 1905

Camera 300

In 1906 Janaki and Milton participated in the important photo exhibition in Bucharest, where in the Macedonian pavilion they exhibit their photos of Vlachs in national costume from the Resen village of Istok, the villages of Bel Kamen and Vlahoklisura and Gramos, for which they are awarded special plaques. They were also received by King Carol I, while in 1907, after winning numerous awards and recognitions, they were appointed official photographers of the Romanian royal family (Stardelov 2003, 46–47).

In Bucharest, in the Pavilion of Cinema, Janaki and Milton attended a film screening and were fascinated by the possibilities of the new media. Janaki got a scholarship from the Romanian king which enabled him to visit several European capitals – Budapest and Vienna, while in Paris or in London he bought a camera from “Charles Urban Trading Company”, the “Bioscope” series with ordinal number 300.



Fig. 9 Manaki brothers cine-camera Bioscope № 300

Milton Manaki later remembered those events:

In Romania's capital we found out that in France and England they sold cameras rendering 'living' photos. Janaki already could not get rid of the desire to return to Bitola with a shooting camera. Even in his sleep he was longing for it. While I returned home, he went to London where he purchased a Bioscope camera (Konstantinov 1982, 131).



Fig. 10 Janaki Manaki filmed in front of the audience
with king Carol I, Bucharest, 1906



Fig. 11 Janaki Manaki on the ship while traveling from
Paris to London in order to buy a film camera.
Vomiting due to sickness, 1906

The First Shoot

And slowly we come to that all-important date for Macedonian and Balkan cinema, the shooting of the first film scene in the Balkans by native cameramen. In fact, filmmakers from Western European countries had already come to the Balkans before that to record important events. For example, as early as 1897 in Istanbul Alessandro Promio, the cameraman of the Lumiere brothers, shot scenes from a parade of the Turkish army and a panorama of the Bosphorus, while in Macedonia in 1903 the British cameraman and intelligence agent Charles Rider Noble from the abovementioned “Charles Urban Trading Company” shot eight films about the Ilinden Uprising that were successfully screened in London (Stardelov 2003, 20–23).

However, the frame shot by Janaki Manaki, in his birthplace of Avdella, showing 114-year-old Vlahoklisura-born grandmother Despa weaving, is considered the first authentic Balkan film frame. It is interesting that according to Milton Manaki’s memories, his grandmother Despa, with whom he was exceptionally close, knew a huge number of Vlach folk tales, songs, riddles, sayings and was such a skilled storyteller prompted she could tell a story for almost any prompted word.

If happiness was mentioned in a conversation, she would tell a story about that most pleasant of feelings. If the devil was mentioned, she would also tell a whole novel about him. She was even able to speak at length about a single letter... (Konstantinov 1982, 19).

It is also interesting that grandma Despa, because of her age, is the only person born in the 18th century to be shot with a film camera. Of course many people born in that century were shot with a photo camera, but she is the only one filmed in movement, on a film reel.

Still, this first frame is also the cause of certain disagreements among Balkan film historians. Namely, some of them (Radosh Novakovic, France Brenk, Marko Babac, Dimitrie Osmanli, Giorgiu Egzarhu, Georgi Vasilevski, Ilindenka Petruševa, etc.) based on Milton Manaki’s shaky memories from 1951, believe that the event occurred in 1905. Many other researchers (Pavle Konstantinov, Dejan Kosanović, Boris Nonevski, Christos Christodolou, Marian Tutui, Igor Stardelov, Atanas Čuposki) believe that the date was later, in 1906 or 1907. This issue is, of course, still open for scientific hypotheses, but even when it is solved it will not have any bearing on the value of the Manaki brother’s film oeuvre, which in its quantity and particularly its quality, has no serious counterpart in the Balkans, and without any doubt is at the same level as the most important European documentary films of that era.



Fig. 12 Brother Manaki's grandmother Despa, Brothers Manaki, Avdella, 1906

Ethnographic Films

After shooting that famous first frame with granny Despa in the leading role, the remainder of the Manaki brother's oeuvre is more or less well known. The two brothers, whose film opus is distinctive for the flawless frame composition, a result of their photographic mastery, first shot ethnographic films about Vlach culture. Their shots show weaving women in Avdella, migration of herds and caravans of nomadic Vlachs, Vlach folk dances, an open-air school class in Avdella, celebrations, fairs, religious holidays, weddings, etc. The titles of some of their films speak for themselves: *Weaving Women*, *Summer mountain pasture*, *Vlachnomads*, etc. They shot moving images of the Sarakachens', i.e. nomad Vlachs, transhumance with unique frames of caravans where horses wear pack-saddle loads, of occupations such as sheep breeding and wool processing, and also of some religious feasts such as *Religious holiday 'All Souls' Day (Whit Sunday)*, *the Fair near 'Holy Sunday' church in Bitola*, *Saint George's Day celebration*, when the shepherds bring their herds to the mountains, *The Celebration of the holiday of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius*, etc. (Ibid., 144–50).

Romanian film historian Marian Tutui wrote: “Considering their entire work, their impulse was patriotic but also even scientific as thousands of their photos, as well as eleven films, have titles and explanations indicating a certain ethnographic preoccupation” (Tutui 2011, 116). Many of their photos with ethnographic contents were sold to the Romanian Academy and the film *Scenes from the Life of Vlachs in the Pindus* has been purchased by the Romanian Academy and shown in Bucharest to ethnologists.



Fig. 13 Fair near “Holy Sunday” church in Bitola,
Manaki brothers, 1906/11

Milton Manaki’s modest testimony, reproduced in 1955 by Macedonian publicist Dimitar Dimitrovski-Takets, confirms such a thing:

Within our family including my grandmother and the other housewives we first shot how they were making carpets and quilts with “Camera 300”. We began in a chronological way: from shearing, washing, spinning, dying and weaving the wool up to the wedding

ceremonies when the wife gives to her chosen one handmade artefacts or to the moment when the townsman bargains at the market for the beautiful carpet. If I filmed now the whole thing I would include it in 30 meters of film. But at that time I was wasting several reels, that is several times 30 meters (Ibid.).

The film copies that the Manaki brothers took to Romania during their later visits were edited with subtitles in Romanian and were probably screened for the audiences in Bucharest, as well as for scientific purposes. Captions indicate the authors: Ion and Milton Manaki; the studio: Pindo-Balkan Film - Bitola; and the titles of the episodes of the above-mentioned film, i.e. edited reels: *A Scene of feast at a Vlach fair*, *The National circle dance with the Vlachs in the Pindus*, *Epiphany with the Vlachs in Veria*, *A Scene from the Primary Vlach education in Avdella Village from Epirus* and *Domestic life with the Vlach women in the Pindus*. Today it can be assumed that the Manaki brothers' ethnographic films are some of the first ethnographic films in the world made years before Robert Flaherty's famous *Nanook of the North* from 1922.

Historical Events

The turbulent historical events that followed are excellent material for their camera as well as for their photo camera, so they record numerous parades on the occasion of the Young Turk Revolution and the Hurriyet in 1908, in films such as *Military orchestra parade*, *Coaches and cavaliers*, *Manifestations on the occasion of Young Turks' Revolution*, *Parade of Turkish artillery, infantry and cavalry*, etc., as well as the return of the amnestied Macedonian revolutionary companies to the towns (Stardelov 2003, 122–28).

Then, for 10,000 groschen (the Turkish name for currency in the territory of the Ottoman Empire) and a large amount of gold coins, commissioned by the Interior Macedonian-Adrianpole Revolutionary Organization, the Manaki brothers made a hundred albums with photos of Macedonian voivode and komitas. They went into the mountains in order to take pictures of Macedonian national liberationists and lived with them for a while. There they also made around 50 photographs of Aromanian revolutionaries in the organization.



Fig. 14 Manifestations on the occasion of
Young Turks' Revolution, Bitola, 1908



Fig. 15 Romanian delegation visiting Ottoman Macedonia,
Manaki brothers, Bitola, 1911

Romanian Delegation

In 1911 the Manaki brothers recorded the visit to Bitola and several Bitola villages of a high Romanian delegation led by ex-minister and academician Dr. Constantin I. Istrati. The film was named *A Trip to Ottoman Macedonia* and was shot on the occasion of Istrati's delegation visit. Scientist Constantin I. Istrati (1850–1918) was a professor at the School for Medicine and Pharmacy in Bucharest, had been an academician since 1899, and several times minister (from 1899 to 1917). Later he was also mayor of Bucharest (1913), vice-president of the Romanian Academy between 1907–1913 and its president between 1913–1916 (Tutui 2011, 118).

The visit had an official character as the group of scholars and jurists lead by ex-minister Dr. Constantin I. Istrati had come to Macedonia to check the situation of the Vlachs after they had obtained cultural rights through the Hurryet, i.e. the sultan's decree regarding freedom of the nationalities in the Ottoman Empire, on the invitation of Theodor Capidan, at that time headmaster of the Romanian high school in Bitola and later on an outstanding dialectologist. As Romanian film historian Marian Tutui pointed out, the composition of the delegation includes unique moving images of some persons of consequence for the Romanian culture: geologist Gheorghe Murgoci, the founder of the Astronomical Observatory in Bucharest, admiral Gheorghe Urseanu, physicist and astronomer Nicolae Coculescu, archaeologist Vasile Pârvan, literary historian Iosif Popovici, geologist and later mayor of Bucharest Emil Protopopescu-Pache etc. The 27 members of the delegation visited Kumanovo, Prilep, Magarevo, Bitola (where they spent Easter), Malovište, Gopeš, Ohrid, Struga, Voden (today's Edessa), Skopje, Kruševo and Veria between –20 April 1911. In the film edited by Manaki brothers only their arrival in Gopeš, Resen and Bitola is shown. In Gopeš the delegation is welcomed by the Vlach population and by a brass band. In Resen, in a small square, Niyazi Bey, one of the leaders of the Young Turks Revolution, and a great crowd greet them. Dr. Constantin I. Istrati's academic reports later indicate that the Romanian Academy purchased the film before 1913 when Macedonia was still an Ottoman territory, so, it can be assumed that this film was made at Istrati's request or at least was purchased later and shipped to the Romanian Academy as were the albums of photos signed and left by Janaki. The name 'Ottoman Macedonia' could have been used until the end of the second Balkan War; therefore the film could have been edited and screened in Romania until 1913 (Ibid.; Stardelov 2003, 136–39).

The Funeral of the Metropolitan (Archbishop)

Aimilianos of Gravena

The Manaki brothers also made a documentary film named *The Funeral of the Metropolitan (Archbishop) Aimilianos of Gravena*, in 1911, and this film was made quite professionally, developed and edited by the Manaki brothers themselves, with Greek subtitles, which suggest that the film was possibly screened in Greece (Tutui 2011, 118; Stardelov 2003, 141–44).



Fig. 16 The Funeral of the Metropolitan Aimilianos of Gravena, Manaki brothers, 1911

Sultan's Visit

However, the Manaki brothers' most important film is of course the documentary reportage from 1911 of the visit of the penultimate Turkish sultan Mehmed V Reshad to Thessaloniki and Bitola, whom they had known long before he became a sultan, as Janaki had taken his photos in 1905 in Istanbul, when he was held captive in the sultan's palace by his older brother, the hateful sultan Abdul Hamid II, who was in power at the time. Mehmed Reshad V reached the throne as a result of the victorious Young Turks' Revolution. In 1911 he visited the places where the revolution had started. For this purpose, Janaki and Milton travelled

to Thessaloniki where they recorded the arrival of the Sultan by boat. The film starts with the images of the ship in which the Sultan comes, accompanied by other ships and boats on approaching the harbour, the pier and the street where the imperial suite is situated, as well as a brass band. The Sultan arrived from Istanbul on board the Barbaros Hayredin on 28 May and spent three and a half days in Thessaloniki; on Monday 30 May was on his way to Skopje, where he arrived the next day; on Thursday 2 June he was in Prishtina while on Tuesday 7 June he returned to Bitola and on Saturday was back in Thessaloniki. The film continues with the images of the Sultan's journey by train on the route Selanik–Monastir, his reception at the railway station in Monastir, i.e. Bitola, as well as events held in honour of his well-attended visit to Širok Sokak, a parade and a brass band in front of the administrative building of the Bitola Vilayet as well as the Tumbe Hotel and Coffee shop that hosted him (Stardelov 2003, 139–41; Tutui 2011, 121–22).

The shooting is mostly done from above, from the balcony of the Manaki brothers' house, which still exists today. General Shefket Bey, already known to the Manaki brothers as they had photographed him, opens the door of the carriage so the Sultan can descend. The film *Turkish Sultan Mehmed Reshad V visiting Thessaloniki and Monastir (Bitola)* can be considered as a genuine newsreel probably made for a wider audience, from the perspective of loyal subjects of the reformed empire after the Young Turks' Revolution. A curious event took place while shooting: Milton Manaki turned his receiver on and started to film Sultan Mehmed V as he was leaving the municipality building. Unable to understand the odd machine – camera in Milton's hand, attendants of the sultan intervened and tried to restrict the shooting, but Sultan Mehmed V interposed and Manaki brothers continued filming. It's also interesting that today this documentary film gives the impression of being shot by multiple cameras, whereas only a single camera was used during the shooting. For this exceptional work that same year the Manaki brothers were honoured as official photographers of the Ottoman Sultan in addition to getting monetary compensation.



Fig. 17
Turkish Sultan Mehmed Reshad V visiting
Thessaloniki and Bitola, 1911

Screenings

In 1911 the Manaki brothers screened their films in Skopje and this was their only known public screening during the time they were active. The Italian Carlo Vaccaro had opened the cinema theatre Excelsior in 1909 in Skoje, equipped with a Bioscope projector. In a leaflet about his screenings on 3–6 August 1911, Vaccaro announced in Turkish, with Arab characters, Bulgarian, Serbian and French the projection of several films featuring *The Revolution in Constantinople – The Victory of the Young Turks*, *Sultan Mehmed Reshad V's voyage to Thessaloniki* and *Sultan Mehmed Reshad V's return from his journey to Roumelia*, because those three films made by the Manaki brothers were of interest to the entire Ottoman state at that time (Tutui 2011, 113).

Balkan Wars and WWI

In the years to come their camera lens would capture scenes from the Balkan War and WWI. In 1913 with the Treaty of Bucharest the town of Monastir (Bitola) where the Manaki brothers lived was occupied by the Serbian army on 6 November 1912. In this period Milton and Janaki took over 200 photographs capturing these events. In addition to the great number of portraits of Serbian officers and soldiers, they also photographed important political figures of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In 1913 they filmed the entrance of the Serbian heir to the throne, then prince Alexander Karadzordzević, to Bitola, and in 1929, when he was a king, they would become his court photographers, before he was killed by a member of the above-mentioned Interior Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Vlado Chernozemski – in 1934 in Marseille.

During WWI, in the period of the withdrawal of the Serbian army from Bitola and the arrival of the Bulgarian officers there was an inspection of the Manaki brothers' atelier and the Bulgarian officials found three shotguns that Milton had bought. This resulted in Janaki being interned in Bulgaria. Janaki opened a photographic atelier in Plovdiv and continued to work there between 1917–1918, but also bought property in the Bulgarian village of Straia and started breeding horses there.



Fig. 18

Brother Manaki's atelier demolished during the bombing in Bitola, 1917

Because of the bombing of Bitola in the WWI Milton constantly travelled through Korčë to Thessaloniki. However, in 1916 the photography work revived for a short period when Bulgarian and German officers became clients in his atelier. In this period Milton took a wide range of portraits of Bulgarian, German, Serbian, French, Italian officers and soldiers and Russian volunteers. But in the second half of 1916 the city of Bitola was again occupied by Serbian and French soldiers. This resulted, as has already mentioned, in the bombing of the city by German and Bulgarian forces. The bombing struck the atelier of the Manaki brothers, destroying their camera and other equipment. In 1919 Milton and Janaki, who had returned from internment in Bulgaria, repaired the atelier together and restarted work.

It is interesting to note that Milton Manaki himself in his last interview, given three months before his death on 5 December 1963 for Radio Skopje, states that after the battle of Kajmakchalan in November 1916, they filmed *Francuzite kako dojdoo tuka* (How the French Came Here), i.e. the entry of French troops in Bitola. Unfortunately, this material does not exist today.

So, one can ask a question: where are the military columns that alternately occupied the city: German, Bulgarian, French, Serbian, Russian, Italian; where are the famous generals who led the armies: Sarrail, Leontiev, Guillaume, d'Espérey, the Admiral Sir Thomas Herbert; where are the dire consequences of the bombing of their city, the dismembered bodies of old men, children and women who they met daily in the streets; the long lines of refugees leaving the city...? What remains unclear in their long-lasting and rich body of work is how the Manaki brothers, as people from the film industry and fully aware of the importance of the events they chronicled, did not leave behind a more lasting record on film of WWI, the war which literally wreaked havoc on their city Bitola. Especially because, as established photographers with a considerable professional experience, they chronicled with their camera the armies staying in the city, the officers in new uniforms, German and Bulgarian boots on the cobblestoned streets of Bitola, the military activities behind the lines as well as civilian life, but not the goings-on on the front. Especially because, even after the war ended, they continued to follow the events associated with the war: the establishment of military cemeteries and the commemorations in memory of the victims.

There are several more or less plausible assumptions regarding this situation. According to the first thesis, the main cameraman was actually the older brother Janaki, and their filming activity diminished when he was interned in the Bulgarian city of Plovdiv from 1916 until the end of the war,

as a result of the hidden weapons and ammunition that were found during a raid of their photo studio carried out by German and Bulgarian soldiers.

According to the second thesis, the Manaki brothers had made some films, but these were destroyed in a fire that swept through their photo studio during a bombing in 1917, when many cameras and other equipment were destroyed, as well as many photographs and photographic plates. It is a known fact that after the destruction of the studio, the younger brother Milton during these trying times of war, was forced to take up trade, selling grain, horses and pigs. It is their difficult financial situation that has inspired the third thesis according to which, the recorded materials were sold to one of the armies that were staying in town. According to the fourth thesis, based on testimonies from eyewitnesses, a large part of the brothers' material was destroyed because it was buried underground in order to be protected. In fact, the scenes Milton Manaki filmed were hand-developed by him in a makeshift laboratory. This gruelling work was too time-consuming, and since he always filmed more than he was able to develop, he kept the filmed footage for better days. Unfortunately, time took its toll – due to the poor quality of the film reel at the time, much of the material was destroyed. Was there footage of WWI among the destroyed materials? No one can confirm this.

According to the fifth thesis, the Manaki brothers were no film amateurs, as they are usually perceived by the scientific community. They were, as in the case of their photography, true professionals who worked for money, on commission, or only when they saw an opportunity to sell the materials they filmed, primarily because film reel was expensive and hard to come by. This theory affirms that this is how their ethnographic films about the life of the Vlachs in Macedonia were filmed, as well as the footage of the visit of the Romanian delegation of high-level political representatives to Bitola, and the Sultan's visit to Thessaloniki and Bitola, which were commissioned in advance by the Romanian royal court and the Sultanate of Istanbul. Let us not forget that the Manaki brothers were the official photographers of the Romanian king from 1907, and of the Turkish Sultan from 1911. According to this assumption, the Manaki brothers did not believe that footage of war destruction could be interesting enough for someone to pay for it.

It is interesting that immediately after the war ended, they also filmed the visit of the Greek King Constantine I to Bitola, or more precisely the meeting of the victors, war allies, in the film *Welcoming of the Greek King Constantinos I and Heir to the Serbian Throne Paul by Serbian General Bojovic*, in Bitola, in 1918.



Fig. 19 Janaki Manaki's self-portrait, Plovdiv, 1916/18

Film Distributors

In 1921 the Manaki brothers, financially and emotionally drained from the wars, as a new project made a decision to expand their activity by opening a cinema. For this purpose they bought a film projector and made an outdoor cinema on the Širok Sokak street and on 26 August 1921 opened a cinema garden in Bitola in partnership with Dimitar Georgijevski and Costa Ciomu. They held their first film screening in the newly opened summer cinema Manaki, and for this occasion they printed posters and hired 'čalgija orchestras' to accompany the silent films. After some difficulties in 1923 they opened the first cinema theatre in Bitola called Manaki, again in partnership with Georgijevski and Ciomu, with 373 seats in the stalls and 200 more in boxes at the first floor. Between 1923-1935 in the repertoire were films like *Mayerling/ Tragoedie im Hause Habsburg* (1924, Alexander Korda), *A Sainted Devil* (1914, Joseph Henabery, starring Rudolf Valentino), *Lucrezia Borgia* (starring Lillian Hyde), the western *The Eagle* (1918, Elmer Clifton, starring Monroe Salisbury), *The Circus* (1928, starring Charles Chaplin), *Rin Tin Tin and His Owner and Friend, Mr. Lee Duncan* (1928) and *Ben Hur* (1907, Sidney Olcott). According to their apprentice, Mihail Zega, they also screened comedies starring Harold Lloyd and Buster Keaton, as well as *Bride of Frankenstein* (1935, James Whale). Zega remembered that at Easter 1928 the Manaki brothers had debts and in order to pay 7,000

dinars necessary for purchasing *Ben Hur*, Milton had to borrow money. They advertised through printed posters as well as through improvisation of some scenes with actors Mihail Zega remembered: “For the film the *Lost Son* we put a Gypsy boy on horseback, we used drums and wrote on cloth. In this manner we went through the whole town of Bitola. It was a kind of living advertisement”. He also remembered an advertisement for which they hired drummers that were yelling in Serbian verses: “Rin-Tin-Tin is the best film, only at ‘Manaki’. Everyone will enjoy it!” (Konstantinov 1982, 155–62; Tutui 2011, 119; Stardelov 2003, 77–81).

It can be estimated that they screened 1,500 pictures in the cinema theatre in its 15 years of existence. After 1930 they rented the cinema theatre to Riste Zerdeski from Prilep. On a Sunday night in 1939, during the screening of the French film *Marked Girls / Prisons de femmes* (d. Roger Richebé), a fire destroyed the building. Zerdeski and the bank were insured so that only the Manaki brothers had losses. Although they owned several assets they could not get enough liquidity and consequently were declared bankrupt (Tutui 2011, 120).

Another matter from this time remains unclear and it certainly deserves some investigation. Namely, why did the Manaki brothers not show their own films in the cinema, instead basing the repertoire on French and American movies?



Fig. 20 The construction of the “Manaki” cinema, Bitola, 1923

Wedding Films

Their next movies included three films which had been commissioned and paid for: the weddings of Hagi Gogu of Veria, of Petar Geras in Bitola, and the wedding of the first Macedonian artist, their above-mentioned close friend and collaborator Riste Zerdeski-Zerde in Prilep. It is quite possible that these films were also screened in Macedonia.

Their assistant Mihail Zega remembered that the chocolate manufacturer Petar Geras from Bitola hired Milton Manaki to shoot his wedding on 21 November 1926 and paid with a cheque. Milton and his assistant developed the film and found out that the negative had survived the transport by motorcycle so that their job was successful. Unfortunately, the Manaki brothers did not keep the film and had also handed the negative to Geras, but luckily, this film, under the name *City Wedding in Bitola*, is now present in their collection of film materials, which is not the case with the other two above-mentioned wedding films (Ibid., 118).



Fig. 21 *City Wedding in Bitola* (The wedding of Petar Geras),
Manaki brothers, 1926

In 1928 the Manaki brothers sent a letter to the Marshal of the Serbian Royal Court with an appeal to be named as official royal photographers due to the credibility they had earned as photographers of the

Romanian king and Ottoman sultan. And, as was mentioned before, their request was accepted and in 1929 they were invited by the office of the Serbian royal court.

During this time, and earlier, many apprentices and assistants passed through the Manaki brothers atelier and they learned the craft of taking photos: their cousin Bazbuki, Janguli Polarec, Tome, Evangelis Talburas, Miha Zega, Dimitraku Kakardaku, Panče Stojanovski and Filip Karabatak.

Milton continued with his jokes and lifestyle. Despite his financial difficulties, he walked along Širok Sokak ‘dressed up like a count’, rode a bicycle and a motorcycle, and did not part with his immaculately groomed favourite white mare. He was a friend of the comedigrapher Branislav Nushić, who was the chief of the Regional headquarters during the entrance of the Serbian army in Bitola, and later with the educated Ohrid bishop Nikolaj Velimirović, who would later on be declared a saint – St. Nikolaj of Ohrid. Milton also socialised with the pretty singers who came from various parts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to perform in the Bitola taverns “Grand”, “Royal”, “Bosna” and “Bums” (Konstantinov 1982, 43). He kept this up until he got married in his later years with Vasiliki Dauka from Avdella.



Fig. 22 Milton Manaki with his cine-camera Bioscope № 300

Separation

Milton stayed in Bitola and kept the studio while Janaki, after the death of his wife Anastasia and the re-occupation of Bitola by the Bulgarian army in 1941, which had caused him problems earlier, left Bitola with his son and moved to Thessaloniki to teach at the local Romanian commercial high-school. He died in that city after the war (Ibid., 30–31). The two brothers had not been able to see each other anymore as World War II continued, followed by the Civil War in Greece, as well as the Cold War. Milton had become a citizen of communist Yugoslavia and Janaki a Greek citizen.

Milton remained active and with his photo camera recorded scenes from World War II and the period after the war, when Bitola was visited by the most important political figures in Macedonia and the *Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* at the time: Lazar Koliševski and Josip Broz-Tito. His photo atelier operated until 1961, although in a reduced capacity, and he died in Bitola in 1964 (Ibid., 57–58).



Fig. 23 Portrait of Janaki Manaki



Fig. 24 Portrait of Milton Manaki

Honours

As the first filmmaker in the region in 1957 Milton Manaki received an award and the Organization of Yugoslav Film Makers made him an honorary member. Also, in 1958, a documentary film *Camera 300*, directed by the Croatian Branko Ranitović was made, and was dedicated to him.

There were also documentaries about the Manaki brothers made in Greece as well. In 1978 Nikos Zervos and Christos Christodolou made a TV documentary followed two years later by another from Theodoros Payannis. In 1988 the first Greek film documentary about the Manaki brothers was

made, called *the Manakia Brothers* and directed by Kostas Andritsos (Tutui 2011, 124).

Also, the plot of the famous Greek director Theo Angelopoulos's fiction film *Ulysses' gaze* from 1995, winner of the Grand Prize at the Cannes Film Festival, featuring the famous actors Harvey Keitel and Maia Morgenstern in the leading roles, revolves around the fictional and metaphoric quest for a lost, undeveloped reel of film taken by the Manaki brothers before the Balkans were split by the forces of nationalism. The film imagines a Greek filmmaker who travels from Athens to Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and finally risks his life during the siege of the town in order to watch an old film by the Manaki brothers. The critics considered the film a journey in search for a lost vision and innocence having as pretext the lost film of the Manaki brothers. The film opens with the images of their grandmother spinning wool.

In their honour in their home town of Bitola where Milton Manaki resided for 60 years until his death, the Manaki Brothers Film Festival was organized and the main prize of the festival is the 'Golden Camera 300', named in honour of the legendary camera of the Manaki's.

Deposition of the Legacy

When it comes to the Manaki brothers, most of their photographic and film opus is kept in the Republic of Macedonia. They took an impressive number of photos and they remain the most important photographers ever in the Balkans. Janaki was actively involved in photography for at least 41 years, Milton for 65 years. The photo materials and the family documents of the Manaki brothers were purchased by the Historical Archive in Bitola, which houses 17,854 photos and photographic plates. More than 1,000 photos are kept by the Library of the Romanian Academy and the Peasant's Museum in Bucharest, while some other thousands in private collections in Romania (Stardelov 2003, 189–92; Tutui 2011, 119).

The film materials, a total of 42 titles and 1460 meters of negative flammable film, through the Yugoslav Cinematheque in Belgrade and the State Archive of then Socialistic Republic of Macedonia, arrived at the appropriate location and are archived today in the Cinematheque of Macedonia, an institution which made efforts to protect them on several occasions, with support from UNESCO, and made copies of films. Some film material can also be found in Belgrade and Bucharest. In 2013 in Budapest the materials were digitally restored in various formats and even though they had already been screened at various renowned festivals of silent and documentary films, in 2015 they were presented at the Cannes Film Festival as part of the Pavilion of Southeast European countries.

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All photographs kindly provided by the Cinematheque of North Macedonia

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCHES IN GEORGIAN PHOTO AND CINEMA ART (THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY)

Manuchar Loria

Abstract: The Society of Amateur Photographers was established in Tiflis at the close of the 19th century. Despite art photographers were focused on the portraits and architecture, family photos were also in topical subject-matter. The period of beginning of photo art development was characterized by priority of non-Georgian origin nationals residing in Georgia. Thus, the remarkable cultural impact of Vladimir Barkanov, Aleksander Engel, Dimitri Ermakov, Konstantin Zanis, and Eduard Klar should be considered. Aleksandre Roinashvili (being the first Georgian photographer, who took pictures, interesting from geographic and ethnographic points of view) played an important role in history of Georgian photo art. The lifestyle of Georgian people was the mainstream of his creative work. Generations of Georgian filmmakers created unique cinematography, which takes its roots in 1908–1910, when the pioneers of Georgian cinema – Vasil Amashukeli, Aleksandre Didvelovi and others began producing of documentary pictures of Georgian lifestyle. Thus, the first Georgian movie *Kristine*, made on the basis of the short story of the prominent Georgian writer Egnate Ninoshvili, should be especially noted because of ethnographic sketches shown in the film. It should also be noted, that the further periods of Georgian cinema development are also characterized with deep interrelation of film making with the national literature and ethnographic elements. Thus, as the conclusion we may summarize, that photography and the films of the noted period developed on the basis of the world experience and the local traditions, and currently they provide an important source of visual anthropology.

Introduction

The paper deals with the importance of Georgian writers for the study of Georgian ethnographic heritage, as well as with the branch development, documentaries and development of photography in Georgia. The first chapter is in Georgian writers in ethnography, cinematography and documentaries, dealing with the creative work of Georgian writers and their contribution to ethnographic heritage creation and development.

The first part of the 20th century was especially interesting in the context of development of ethnography, ethnology and their formation as the independent scientific branches. Fruitful activity of Tedo Sakhokia, the prominent ethnographer and lexicographer, was especially important for Georgian ethnography from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Sakhokia, who studied at Genève University and then at Sorbonne University, was a real participant of European ethnological processes implementation and actively covered ethnological issues in Georgian media. Special interest is also caused by Sakhokia's museum activity, which resulted in creation of ethnographic collections. According to Giorgi Chitaia, "T. Sakhokia was well trained, competent and clever researcher". He wrote and published many ethnographic papers in the Georgian, Russian, French, English and Italian languages. He was a very effective in collecting ethnographic data. Ethnographic collections, created by Sakhokia, are kept at different museums: Georgian State Museum (Tiflis), Russian Ethnographic Museum, Museum of French Anthropological Society (Paris), etc. He participated in several international ethnographic conferences. His methodology of ethnographic field research was tuned to the leading European methodologies of that period. Sakhokia was an expert of German (F. Grebner) and Russian (N. Nadezhdin, K. Kavelin) ethnographic achievements. The first ethnographic papers by Sakhokia were published in Paris and Tiflis media (Chitaia, Sakhokia, 1950, 3–4; Shamiladze, Miminoshvili 2009, 393–99).

The turn of the 19th–20th centuries was marked by new events in history of Georgian ethnology. It was the time when the leading European and American countries established the centres for ethnological studies and research, ethnographic societies, ethnographic chairs at the world famous universities. The further development of ethnography abroad and in Georgia was provided with appropriate theoretical and methodologic backgrounds, created and promoted by highly qualified experts. Naturally, it was necessary to establish and to lead a group of such professionals under the management of highly qualified expert. Exactly at that time, a prominent Georgian scientist and public figure, Ekvtime Takaishvili, appeared at scientific field. He greatly contributed into the following branches of Georgian historiography: history, ethnography, archeology, folklore as well as into the interdisciplinary sciences: numismatics, epigraphy, source studies and other. In 1884 Takaishvili became the member of Caucasian Department of Archeological Society and from 10 April 1905 he performed the member's and secretary's duties. On 4 February 1922 he was elected full-fledged member of French Numismatic Society and from 13 November

1925 – full-fledged member of Asian Society. Further, during the period of emigration to Europe, he was also elected to different highest cultural and scientific societies. He also established and arranged different scientific-literatural and cultural societies, for example he established Georgian History and Ethnography Society in 1907 (Megrelidze 1989, 53–55; Shamiladze, Miminoshvili 2009, 409–22).

Ivane Javakhishvili, an outstanding Georgian researcher, started his scientific career in the beginning of the 20th century and greatly contributed into establishment and development of fundamental directions of a new Georgian historiography and its interdisciplinary sciences. As the example, let us bring the following: despite he highly estimated importance of source studies of ethnographic data, Javakhishvili strictly required to keep elementary scientific norms, providing the status of source of reference for such data. Despite the researcher could have the approach of fixation of ethnographic data, Javakhishvili created conclusive methodological approach published in *The Rule for collection of historical data of internal industry and minor trade* (Javakhishvili, 1976–1992). Chitaia, the representative of the scientists of the beginning of the 20th century, who headed by Javakhishvili actually established and developed Georgian Studies and new Georgian Ethnology as well as the other disciplines, deserves a special attention. Chitaia is also related with creation and establishment of the modern Georgian Ethnological School and establishment of its methodological principles. He determined the main scientific problems of development of Georgian ethnography, providing the generations of Georgian scientists with directions of Georgian ethnography development. According to the aims of Georgian ethnology, facing the challenge of creation and establishment of the independent scientific school, from the very beginning of its creation, the research of Georgian lifestyle, material and spiritual culture, social relations was implemented, providing a full scale field ethnographic works as well as the camera researches and studies, resulted in provision of opportunities of implementation of scientific analysis of a wide range ethnographic material of Georgian ethnographic data. It shall be noted, that Chitaia was one of the first scientist who started scientific research of the above mentioned problems who created the school of Georgian ethnology and during decades headed the first cohort of Georgian ethnographers (Gegešize, Čitaia 1980, 4–5; Cagareishvili 1985, 170–71; Shamiladze, Miminoshvili 2009, 438–53).

The wide range of cultural and everyday lifestyle values, presented in creative works of Georgian writers creates and finally makes background for Georgian lifestyle, determines its national identity and personality. The

part of the paper on cinematography and documentaries presents the roots and origin of Georgian cinematography and documentaries. Cinematograph (or the electric movie theatre as it was called in those times) firstly appeared in Tiflis in the beginning of the 20th century. Cinema was among the greatest inventions of those times and the Lumière brothers' know-how soon became popular among Tiflis residents.

The first movie screening was performed on 16 November 1896 at "Satavadaznauro theatre" on Sasakhli street. Tiflis newspaper *The Tsnobis Purtseli* announced, movie screening performance at 8 pm and the ticket price was quite expensive. By 1904, several movie theatres functioned in Tiflis: "Illusion" in Mushtaid Park, "Scythian" and "Uranium". Georgian cinema took its first steps and mainly French movies prevailed on screens.

By 1915, "Apollo" was the most famous one among eight electric movie theatres functioning in Tiflis. It was the first electric movie theatre in Tiflis, opened on 12 April 1909 on Mikhail Avenue. Its building was constructed in the modernist style and nowadays there are only several movie theatres constructed in such style all over the world. It was the biggest movie theatre of Europe and the Russian Empire of those times. The facade of three-storied building was rectangular with arched window and giant Ionic pilasters. The compositions of molded swags and coronals are the distinguishing features of the modernist style of the building. The interior was also performed in the modernist style. According to unconfirmed reports, the "Apollo" project belonged to the prominent architect Leopold Bilfeld. But it is uncontroversial that a rich German person was the customer and the first owner of the building. The installation of the electric movie theatre was provided by "Reish" company and Carl Vilsis and architectural decoration – by Czech craftsmen A. Novak and Carl Souhek. Despite the fact that the movie theatre was opened in 1909, the interior design was completed only in 1914. According to Carlo Moretti, an Italian constructor, the German owner transferred "Apollo" to the ownership of Italian the Rich brothers. Then, Aramiants, the philanthropist, also owned "Apollo" and other movie theatres in Tiflis. In Soviet period the movie theatre was branded and renamed "Oktomberi". The movie theatre was reconstructed in 1990 and the old name "Apollo" was restored.

The first Georgian feature motion picture *Kristine*, made on the background of the same name short story and the first documentary movie *Akaki's Voyage in Racha* and *Lechkhumi* (biography, film creation history and importance, ethnographic and geographic aspect) are discussed in this part of the paper (Rukhadze 2012; Abulashvili 2016).

The second chapter deals with activity of photographers, acting in Georgia in the research period, presents their brief biographical data and profoundly studies the contribution of Georgian photographer Aleksandre Roinishvili and foreign origin photographer Dimitri Ermakov. A brief history of photography development is also presented

On 7 January 1839, physicist of Parisian Academy of Sciences, Louis Arago, declared that Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (known as Louis Daguerre) in partnership with Nicéphore Niépce invented the technique of image creation – silver-plated copper plate to the vapor given off by iodine crystals, making a coating of light-sensitive silver iodide on the surface. The plate was then exposed in the camera. It was a great invention of this period.

As the master photographers consider, the producing of the portraits or natural images in the terms, shorter than painting, was the primary aim of photography, which finally formed pictorial photography as a separate independent branch of photographic art. Promotion of photography in Georgia starts from this period. Society of Caucasian Painting was established in Tiflis in 1894, promoting and providing constant exhibitions and ensuring arrangement of appropriately furnished and equipped photo studios and pavilions. This part of the paper deals with the photographers of that period, their activities and importance for development of photography in Georgia.

I) Georgian Writers – Ethnography, Cinematography and Documentaries

Georgian writers were always actively involved into the process of demonstration of Georgian ethnographic heritage. A wide range of cultural values, displayed in creative work of Georgian writers, created and backed lifestyle and habits of Georgian people, determined national identity (Robak'ize 1981, 6–9, 11, 33–37).

Ilia Chavchavadze (1837–1907)

Among Georgian public figures of the 19th century, who made significant contribution into development of Georgian historical science and ethnography, the role of Chavchavadze shall be specially noted. Chavchavadze, in line with a great contribution into research of the general problems of Georgian history, also promoted development of ethnographic science in Georgia. He was a full-fledged member of Moscow University based Imperial Society of Natural Sciences, Anthropology and Ethnology. On 12 March 1908, the Society dedicated its special meeting in memory of

Chavchavadze. Chitaia and Aleksi Robakidze paid special attention to the role and place of Chavchavadze in development of Georgian Ethnographic Science. Valerian Itonishvili dedicated a special paper related with ethnographic heritage of Chavchavadze. He stated the nation formulae: "Our ancestry gave us three divine treasures: the homeland, language and religion, we shall keep them for our future generations". Chavchavadze's letter "On the research of Folk Customs and Traditions", published in 1887, under Georgian ethnographers classification, became a frame document. He researched everyday lifestyle and spiritual features of Georgian people, making comparative analysis of Georgian and other world cultures (Chitaia 1940; Itonishvili 1963).

Vazha-Pshavela (1861–1915)

Vazha-Pshavela's contribution to development of Georgian historical sciences and ethnography is invaluable one. According to Vazha-Pshavela, History, is not a science, researching only the Kings, wars and public figures, because each of the events, described by the historian also teaches us something. Thus, "History is written not for the past, but for current times". History warns us and teaches how to avoid possible mistakes. History shows the aims and simultaneously the results of the aims. We also see the mistakes, and simultaneously with mistakes we also see victory". The poet supports 'Critical–Historical' method, widely spread in the 19th century, the method required application of the critical approach applied to research of historical issues "it is necessary firstly to analyze the document and then the opinion shall be shaped". Thus, according to Vazha-Pshavela's opinion, the major method, acceptable for the historian is "the document first and the conclusion – further". Vazha-Pshavela greatly contributed to the ethnographic research of Pshav-Khevsureti and Ertso-Tianeti and he knew these regions very well. Vazha-Pshavela not only collected and kept unique ethnographic data, but also researched it. For example: according to Vazha-Pshavela, the local residents of Pshav region lived in the both banks of Pshavi Aragvi river, from Zhingvali to the mountainous regions, their houses and stations were spread up to the river Idri. Historian called the Pshavs 'Pkhovelebi', but very brief notes are left about their everyday lifestyle and religion. We only know that King Mirian and Saint Nino summoned 'Pkhovelebi' and other residents of mountainous Georgia to adopt Christianity, but they refused. The 'Pkhovelebi' surprised Pompey with their bravery – noted Vazha-Pshavela (Lomašvili, Važa-Fšavelas 1986; Važa-Fšavela 1964).

Aleksandre Kazbegi (1848–1893)

Ethnographic lifestyle of Georgians and North Caucasians hill people, their cultural heritage, values and reach national traditions are displayed in reative work of a prominent Georgian writer Kazbegi. Al. Kazbegi in line with Vazha–Pshavela were the pioneers, who significantly displayed Georgian traditions and spiritual heritage in their creative works. Kazbegi’s creative work provides a rich description of everyday lifestyle, customs, traditions, values, heritage and other ethnographic material. His historical–ethnographic etudes cover the residents of mountaneous Georgian regions – Mokheveebi, Mtiul–Gudamakruli, Khevsurians, North Caucasian people – Osetians, Cherkessians, Chechens and Ingushes. The residents of Khevsureti region were under a special interest of Kazbegi. Let us discuss several aspect, related with it. The writer knew their lifestyle very well because of a tight contacts with the local population, he also knew literature, describing their life. Kazbegi described geographical characteristic features of Khevsureti region, its climate to display the features of the local residents. He also explained the factors, ensuring agrarian peculiarities of the region, which influenced upon the traditions of the local population: “there are rich summer pastures in Khevsureti region, providing effective cattle breeding. Therefore, the local population is actively involved in such activities preferring it to soil management”. Material culture of Khevsureti region also attracts attention presented with special clothes and their design. The writer provided description of their dresses in the period, when nothing was known about it and he mentioned that men and women have similar outer garments, which is called ‘Chokha’ in Georgian. According to Kazbegi “their everyday dress is called ‘Juba’, similar to ‘Chokha’. Men wear Tushians’ caps, sometimes made from leather. Women wear shauls decorated with silver”... (Itonisvili 1989, 200–93; Kazbegi 1950, 52–57).

Davit Kldiashvili (1862–1931)

In line with the classics of literature, Kldiashvili, the representaative of a new Geogian literature, also greatly contributed to establishment and development of Georgian ethnographic science. Kldiashvili carefully studied and researched the life of Georgian people and vitally described their interests, opinions, lifestle and the conditions in which they lived. His short story *Solomon Morbeladze* indicates life of Georgians in difficult economic conditions. Solomon is a nobleman, who, due to cash–strapping, acts as the marriage broker to eran money.

Other short stories and plays, written by Kldiashvili also create a strong realistic images of a new lifestyle: *The Congregation*, *The*

Misfortunes of Kamushadze, Samanishvili's Step-Mother, etc. Dealing with ethnographic heritage of Kldiashvili, it shall be specially noted that his memoirs, describing ethnographic topics, demonstrating material and spiritual life of Georgian people. It shall also be noted, that the writer paid a great attention to exact fixation of ethnographic images in his memoirs. Let us present an extract from one of such examples:

there was a two-story house, located in the big yard. A big wooden balcony was arranged at the second floor of the house. A big and long kitchen was placed near the house, there also were pens for chicken and cattle, bread shop, vine cellar, a separate cabin for corn (Kldiašvili 1995, 7–15).

In such manner Kldiashvili described a house located in a small village Khomuli in Imereti region. Kldiashvili's opinion papers and memoirs makes us sure that he also knew methodology of representation of ethnographic events and facts very well. Everyday lifestyle and culture, described by Kldiashvili may be considered as the best example of fixation of ethnographic data in Georgia.

Egnate Ninoshvili (1859–1894) and the first Georgian feature film “Kristine”

Creative work of Ninoshvili (1859–1894) is specific focus of the best humanistic–realistic, purely realistic and people–realistic traditions of Georgian literature of the 19th century. From his youth he passed a way of the uncompromising struggle and protest. After his dismissal from the religious seminary (without a right of restitution) he was forced to find out the ways to earn money as rent-seeker, head of the office and telegraph clerk, typographer and personal secretary, finally as the stevedore and worker. He got a rich life experience, travelling to different regions of Georgia and France, which significantly influenced his creative work and critical thinking. He was one of the most popular writers of the period and also of the leaders of “Mesame Dasi” (the first social-democratic party in the Caucasus, based in Tiflis, Georgia), established in 1893.

Ninoshvili started his literary career in 1887. His short stories are characterized by description of objective reality and fake romanticization of reality is blamed (Riot in Guria) as well as idealization of the peasants. He also described diversification of the peasants resulted in class struggle of and futility of Georgian bourgeoisie (Lake Paliastomi, Simona), fake education of Georgian nobility and bureaucracy (The knight of our times,

Kristine, Mose Mtserali). Backed by Ninoshvili's creative work we may conclude that not only the top part of the nobility, police bureaucracy and bureaucracy were corrupted, but the whole society needed reformation and reconstruction. The writer tried to inspire humanistic values in Georgian society of the last decade of the 20th century and to support the people in need (K'ik'oze 1965, 329).

Ninoshvili died at the age of 35, on 12 May 1894. Georgian society deeply lamented his death. Many memoirs were published in Georgia periodic press, many newspaper articles were dedicated to his timeless death. Akaki Tsereteli called Ninoshvili "the first shot in the battle for future spring". On 18 May 1894 – the day of the writer's funeral, people of all regions of Georgia visited village Chancheti cemetery. One of the floral tribute of the coffin was from Chavchavadze, the editor of Iveria.

In regards with Georgian cinematography, *Kristine*, the first Georgian motion movie, produced according to the short story of the same title, written by Ninoshvili, the prominent Georgian writer of the second half of the 19th century, should significantly be noted. The film contains several ethnographic sketches. It should be also noted, that Georgian cinematography, at the further stages of its development, often implemented cinematization of the national fiction and ethnographic moments.

Germane Gogitidze was fond of film making idea. He liked theatre also and opened it in Ozurgeti in 1914 and soon reshaped it into motion-picture theater "Illusion". There, at the motion-picture theatre, watching one Italian movie, he decided "to make a movie to show beauty of our country, which is not less attractive than Italy is". As the background of the future movie Gogitidze selected a popular short story *Kristine*, written by a famous Georgian writer Ninoshvili. The choice was not surprising because Ninoshvili's creative work was very popular among the residents of Guria region. Gogitidze invited his friend Aleksandre Tsutsunava at film director position, taking also into consideration his experience in establishment of Georgian opera directing (he also became scriptwriter of the movie). Tsutsunava studied theatre director profession at the Moscow Academic Art Theater and was taught by Konstantin Stanislavsky and Valdimir Nemirovich-Danchenko. Dmitry Shevardnadze, graduated from Munich Arts Academy, public figure and patriot was invited to hold movie production designer. Aleksandre Shugerman, military documentaries cameraman was invited to become the cameraman of the movie. Film production started in 1916. Filming was implemented in Tiflis and Guria region. The process of filming was completed in 1917. The first run of the film *Kristine* was at "Apollo" cinema, in May 1919, at the anniversary of declaration

of Independent Georgia. Gogitidze demonstrated the film in all regions of Georgia. At places, not provided with electric power Gogitidze applied a special plant, installed at his lorry (T'eatri da c'xovreba 1917, 16). This is a history of the young woman living in the village who was sexually assaulted by a nobleman. Kristine, being rejected by her family and the village, decided to commit suicide, but she was saved by passer-by who took her to Tiflis. Kristine started to work at brothel house in the city and her life was getting worse and worse: Kristine lost herself into drinking, she became a beggar and finally died alone at hospital. The film shows Georgian town and village and the whole range of ethnographic features of conservative society. It should be noted, that Antonina Abelishvili, the leading lady of the movie, performed only this role and made history of the first Georgian cinema actress and the main character of the first Georgian motion movie, describing a story of tragic life of an unhappy woman (K'ristine 2017; Bekauri 2017). The destiny of the female characters in Georgian cinema starts from *Kristine*, they are unhappy, oppressed, mainly the mothers of killed children. It seems, that Georgian cinema represents a woman as the means of reproduction or as the women, who, due to disgraceful behaviour are cast out from the society. *Kristine* symbolically started patriarchal manner of Georgina cinema and it is also symbolical, that the first actress disappeared without a trace (K'ristine 2017; Bekauri 2017).

The film contains several ethnographic sketches, features of social life and some aspects of Georgian mentality of those times. It should be also noted, that Georgian cinematography, at the further stages of its development, often implemented cinematization of the national fiction and ethnographic moments.

Akaki Tsereteli (1840–1915) and the First Documentary Movie

Fortunately, the first Georgian documentary movie keeps voice and image of outstanding Georgian classic writer Tsereteli (Gogadze 1954, 18–19; Dolidze 1981, 304; Žvania 1990, 54–55).

This famous Georgian writer, prominent public figure and one of the leaders of national–liberation movement was born on 21 June 1840 in village Skhvitori (currently Sachkhere region). He died in the age of 74 on 8 February 1915. Tsereteli spent his childhood in village Svane at peasants' family. From 1852 he studied at Kutaisi Classic Gymnasium, from 1859 he continued his studies at the Faculty of the Eastern European languages of St. Petersburg University, which he graduated in 1863 holding the candidate's degree.

Tsereteli started to write poem from his youth, in 1859 he became an author of several published poems, in 1860 his lyrical poem *A secret card* was published and soon spread in the form of song also, promoting a great popularity to its author.

His greatly contributed to establishment and active cultural and educational activities of “The Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians”, as well as in establishment and promotion of Georgian Drama Society, development of Georgian media, opinion-based journalism, establishment of monthly magazine *Akaki's Monthly Collection* (1897–1900). He was also the editor of satirical magazine *Khumara*, and was arrested because the magazine's anti-tsarists and pro-national policy.

Together with Chavchavadze, Tsereteli headed national-liberation movement and promoted it by his activities, calling Georgian people to spiritual renaissance. He started a new stage of development of Georgian verbal folklore, and in line with Chavchavadze, Tsereteli became of one of the reformers of Georgian literary language.

Georgian people in Tsereteli's lifetime recognized him as the people's poet. Georgian people liked his poetry, social and public activities and awarded him a title of the ‘Uncrowned king’.

His creative work greatly influenced upon spiritual culture of Georgian people. Let us bring one example of music folklore. Tsereteli paid a great attention to Georgian folk songs, gospels and musical instruments: chonguri, salamura, etc. According to Tsereteli, “Folk songs, in line with other oral heritage (fairy tales, etc) are the parts of the people history”. He also published a separate paper, related with Georgian gospel and the issues of its restoration Georgian folk medicine was also in the focus of Tsereteli's interest. As the poet noted, there were effective folk healers, who treated with honey, different herbs, hartshorn, etc. “It was an old Georgian way, when specially trained persons treated the patients with the folk songs, gospels, chonguri” (Ceret'eli 1960, 220).

The Journey of Akaki Tsereteli to Racha-Lechkhumi, the first Georgian documentary movie, was produced more than one hundred years ago, when Vasil Amashukeli, the camera man, captured the journey of Georgian poet in 1912.

Amashukeli was born on in Kutaisi 14 March 1886. From youth he was fond of fine arts. He graduated from Vasil Balanchivadze Art College. Further he, supported by Balanchivadze, continued his studies at one of the Arts Colleges in Moscow. He was only 16 years old young boy, when he met a ‘Miracle of the 20th Century’ – cinematography and immediately became its follower. In 1903–1904 Amashukeli carefully studied projection

equipment at “Electric” cinema and soon became film shows promotion. At the same time, he desired to produce his own movies.

In 1905, Amashukeli visited Baku, where his brother Mamuka served at the local Drama Theatre. Baku Georgian Theatre was headed by Kote Meskhi, who opened “Electrobiograph” cinema and promoted his son-in-law, famous teacher Ivan Gepner, to hold cinema manager position. Meskhi and Gepner invited Amashukeli to cinema engineer position.

It is obviously, that only foreign movies could not attract the viewing public attention and interest, it was necessary to think about own newsreel footages, which topically would be more effective and attractive for the local audience. Therefore, Gepner and Amashukeli visited Moscow to purchase appropriate film making appliances and equipment at “Gomon” studio, where, backed by the expert Dimitri Volkov, Amashukeli improved his film making skills.

In 1908–1909 Amashukeli produced and presented short documentaries: People outing at the seaside, Work at oil field well, Swimming meet, Gubin Regiment Parade with participation of Captain Simon Esadze, Images at Baku Market, Coal carriage by Camels, Ship Discharging, Oil pumping...

Pavle Mepisashvili and Tikhon Asatiani opened “Radium” cinema in Kutaisi in 1910. They invited Amashukeli to hold position of motion picture operator, who arranged and equiped a new cinema. At the same time, Amashukeli, who turned back to his native town Kutaisi, with great relish produces short documentaries: Farm work, Excursion to the Ruins of Bagrat Cathedral, Khoni silk dyeing plant, Lado Meskhishvili Jubilee, Akaki’s Trip to Kvemo Imereti – Kvitiri and Mukhiani... Amashukeli died on 2 December 1977.

The National Archive of the Ministry of Justice keeps not only the film but also Amashukeli’s memoirs describing the process of producing of *The Journey of Akaki Tsereteli to Racha–Lechkhumi*. The National Archive also preserves the photo shot during the journey as well as the movie about Amashukeli, in which he shared the details of the film production with the students.

Amashukeli’s memoirs and the film shots depicting the poets journey clearly show how the local population of Racha–Lechkhumi celebrated the visit of the poet in July–August, 1912.

The camera man describes how the aged poet was excited by the people, expressing their respect and love at feasts specially dedicated to the poet.

Especially Akaki liked perkhuli (one of Georgian folk dances) in Barakoni village, where more than a hundred aged men and women met him dancing perkhuli accompanied by folk song. According to Amashukeli: in the early morning in Barakoni we woke up from the sounds of perkhuli and folk songs performed at 'Modinakhe' Fortress, illuminated by the summer sunlight. When we came to the balcony, we saw Akaki watching ancient perkhuli. More than a hundred of white-haired men and women embraced one another and made a big circle dancing perkhuli and performing folk songs.

The audience was excited with the voices of the aged singers. It was a real folk artwork, kept by the local population of Upper Racha from the ancient times. I found the appropriate location and started filming of perkhuli. The poet said: „Do your best to shot a picture of perkhuli, it will be a great shot” (Gogadze 1954, 18–19; Dolidze 1981, 304). It was clear, that Akaki was captivated with the show. Akaki also asked Amashukeli to shot Nikortsminda treasury and fresco paintings.

Setting off to Nikortsminda: due to cloudiness and rainy weather we couldn't shot Khotevi feast. But when the cortege reached Chelishi Monastery the weather changed and I shot the whole monastery and its waterfalls. Reaching Nikorsminda I shot boating on Shaori Lake. When I made the shots of the bas-relief of the eleventh-century Nikortsminda temple, Akaki (who was viewing the ancient monuments) asked me try to shot the Georgian historical monuments also fixing the internal fresco paintings. Despite the travelling by carriage on the bad roads, Akaki had no signs of tiredness. His smiling and joyful face made everyone happy.

Akaki travelled a lot to all regions of Georgia, acquainted himself with people, their lifestyle and deserved love and respect of people. He also continued this tradition even after the jubilee, proving that he knew and loved his people, their needs and problems. It is enough to bring as the example the extract from the address of one of Georgian countrymen Amiran Lomsadze, dated by 1912, during Akaki's trip to Racha–Lechkhumi:

Oh, great Poet and Outstanding Patriot! I, as the representative of Khvanchkara Peasants' Society, greet you in our traditional manner... Our Racha is happy to greet you. Our population knows you, your views and ideas, we know importance of your activities for our people, inspired by your creative work (Maxaraže 1957, 282).

The film was presented in September, 1912 in Kutaisi, with the ‘full house’ notice during 15 day period. With the same success the film was presented in other towns of Georgia. Even nowadays the film with its unique shots causes great interest. The film for the first time ever shows Georgian ethnographic elements – living and industrial buildings, folk transport, dresses, traditions, table etiquette, church architecture. Due to its ideological purpose, artistic–professional level and footage (1200 m. – a rare event for that time), the film is one of the unique monuments of the world documentary production of the period (Gogadze, 1954, 18–19; Dolidze 1981, 304).

II) Georgian National Photography

1. Photographers of Non–Georgian Origin

In March 1895 the Society arranged photo exhibition at artist Artavazovi’s house, which was located in the city centre, where one room was fully allocated for the exhibition. More than 150 photos were exhibited there. Later, photo exhibitions were arranged regularly, focusing on the portraits, architectural photos and family portraits. The family albums were the articles of luxury of that time (Abulashvili 2017; Gersamia 2010).

The Society of amateur photographers was established at the end of the 19th century in Tiflis. The portraits (including family ones) and architecture were in the main focus of their interest. At the beginning of Georgian photography, the photographers of non–Georgian origin prevailed. Thus, artwork of Barkanov, Engel, Ermakov, Zanis, Klar and Nikitin played an important role in the development of the national photography.

Vladimir Barkanov (1826–1892)

Barkanov was a member of the French Society of Photography (1870–1875), listed as a photographer from Kutaisi. In 1872, during the polytechnic exhibition was held in Moscow, he presented 163 copies of Caucasus as well as the photo collection of ancient Georgian Old Testament from the Gelati monastery. The next year, Barkanov’s photo series were part of the World exhibition in Vienna where he got the certificate of merit. The same year, he moved to Tiflis and opened a photo studio, located at the Erivansky square. The modern European equipment enabled him easily and quickly to conduct the photographic work in small and natural sizes. During the Russo-Ottoman War (1877–1878), he served as a military correspondent on the Caucasus front, and after its ending he was a professional photographer. His portraits were distinguished by the effective lighting,

and in 1881 he received a Diploma of Progress on the exhibition held in Toulouse. He was also a participant in numerous expeditions, and died in Teheran, in 1892 (Abulashvili 2017, Gersamia 2010).

Alexander Engel (1848–1918)

Regarding the work of Engel, the opening of a photo studio in Tiflis (December 1890) was a significant event. He was already known as a landscape painter, who worked in Central Asia and Northern Caucasus, becoming a member of Russian Imperial Geographic Society in 1879, receiving a silver medal of St. Petersburg's Geographical Society in 1879, and the Diploma of International Congress of Geographers in 1881. He was also an author of album *Railways of Caspian Land*, and opened a photo lithographic studio (1895). Since 1896 he worked as a photographer on Transcaucasia Railway. He was missed in Central Asia during the Civil War in 1918 (Abulashvili 2017, Gersamia 2010).

Konstantin Zanis (1864–1947)

Zanis's life began in Alexandropol (Gumri, Armenia), and in 1878 his family moved to Tiflis. He approached the technical high school and was fascinated by the walls plaster – cast hanging and the shelves, the copies of antique sculptures. After graduating from the college, he worked as a turner, in a private photo–studio, and invited to the silk–breeding station in 1890. At the First Caucasian Exhibition of the Society of Amateur Photographers in 1897 he presented urban streets and individual buildings, genre–scenes, and was awarded with the bronze medal. In 1901 he got the minor gold medal at the Caucasus Exhibition. At the medal for his creative work was engraved: “For the Labour and Knowledge”. In 1908, Zanis was appointed head of the Military–Topographical Department of the Caucasian military region, where he continued to work during the Soviet period. He had friendly relations with the other photographers took a part in the activities of associations, photo–exhibitions etc. In 1936 he was awarded with the title of ‘Hero of Labour’ (Abulashvili 2017, Gersamia 2010).

Eduard Klar (1861–1922)

Originating from Poltava, who's father was an owner of a dress store, the young Klar moved to Tiflis in 1893, and rented a former photo studio of the famous photographer Barkanov. Later, he opened own photo studio in the city centre, and became a photographer of Opera theatre. His photos were distinguished by elegance and taste, so many local and visiting actors were photographed in his studio. Klar was awarded for his merits with a

bronze medal on the First Caucasus Photo Exhibition in 1897, and with a golden medal in 1901 on the Jubilee Caucasus exhibition. Klar also used to take drawing lessons by the famous painter Gigo Gabashvili, as well as he was a violin player too. In 1916 'Georgian Artists Society' leaders initiated Klar to take a unique portrait of the painter Niko Piroshmanishvili (Abulashvili 2017; Gersamia 2010).

Dimitri Nikitin

Nikitin worked in Georgia for almost 20 years, but there is a lack of information on the photographers from the 19th century. In 1863, he served as an assistant in a Hospital, and became an official of emergency tasks, while he was also photographing. In 1874 Caucasus Arts Society was formed in Tiflis, aiming to develop the artistic work in the region. The Society established a permanent exhibition and considered the idea of opening a pavilion for photography. All of that enabled the amateur and professional photographers to communicate with each other, to share experiences and discuss the problems of photography at the time. Nikitin, Barkanov and Ermakov were sent to the Caucasus front in the Russian headquarter, in purpose to create photo chronicles of the Russo-Ottoman War (1877–1878), and their photos were used for the sketches and engravings published in the illustrated magazines. Albums of military photos made Nikitin famous. From technical point of view, the photos were static. He used to choose backgrounds for Russian soldier's portraits, where details of the national garments and weapons were visible. Another characteristics of his photos was his attempt to make the image clear-cut and deep in perspective when shooting positions of army. Nikitin displayed photos on exhibitions, and made several albums: *Collection of ethnographic and archeological photos*, *Ani* etc. (Abulashvili 2017; Gersamia 2010).

2. Georgian Photographers

Photography, from the moment of its invention in the second half of the 19th century, similarly to all other European countries, also rapidly developed in Georgia. The same period was also characterized with a rapid industrialization processes and development of different relations. At the same time, it was a period of significantly risen interest towards different sciences, especially towards ethnography, making practical activity easier than in past. The first museum practice in Caucasian region is related with one of the first photographers and significant public person Aleksandre Roinishvili. The photos created by him and other authors

present an important part of collection after Ermakov. It shall be noted, that S. Janashia History Museum hosted photo exhibition of the 19th century Georgia.

Eighty photos, printed by silver plate method present a small part of Ermakovi's photo collection of the 19th century. Collection, which is an important part of not only photo arts, but of the whole Georgian cultural heritage, consists of nine thousand photos, about fifteen thousand glass negatives, three thousand stereo photos and one hundred and twenty-eight albums. After Ermakov's death in 1918 the archive was purchased by the Society of Georgian History and Ethnography and Tbilisi University, later in 1930 it was given to the museum (Ermakovi 2011).

Aleksandre Roinishvili (1846–1898)

The significant contribution to the history of Georgian photography was made by Roinashvili, the first Georgian photographer, who created interesting geographical and ethnographic material. He was the first professional photographer in Georgia who acted in 1846–1898. He played a very important role in creation, promotion and development of Georgian photography. He took photos of different topics, paying special attention to the views of historical monuments and portraits of Georgian public persons and writers – Chavchavadze, Tsereteli, Kazbegi, Nikoladze and others. He also created the first graphical portrait of Shota Rustaveli, widely spread among Georgians. In the same manner he also promoted the photos of prominent Georgian kings, writers, public figures and spiritual leaders.

Roinishvili was the first Georgian photographer who owned his personal studio (1846–1898). Khlamov promoted and supported studio “Rembrandt” in Tiflis. Roininshvili dreamt to create Georgian museum and collected unique data for it. In 1880–1889, Roinishvili visited different regions of Georgia. He also made walk voyages to Dagestan, spent eight years in Temir–Khan–Shura (currently Buinaksk) and searched for Georgian ethnographic data. During his travels he made interesting geographic and ethnographic research. Roinishvili was in close contact with the famous historian and archeologist D. Bakradze, who shared the idea of mobile Georgian museum establishment.

In 1887 he organized mobile museum of photography, which in 1887–1888 promoted exhibitions of Caucasian ethnographic vales in many cities of Russia and Caucasus (Saratov, Astrakhan, Samara, Moscow). The photos and stereoscopic photos, depicting Georgian material monuments, in line with unique ancient arms, numismatic collections

and other material of Georgian and Caucasian culture were exhibited there.

After the death of Roinishvili, his property, under his will was awarded to Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians (a charity founded by a group of leading Georgian intellectuals in May 1879 in order to promote a cultural renaissance among the peasantry of Georgia). Very soon his photo studio was closed and the vast majority of photos and negatives were sold, museum pieces were given to different museum. In 1905 his studio and negatives became a property of a famous photographer of Tiflis, Ermakov (Bolkvadze 1968, 67–72; Tabidze 1962).

Dmitri Ermakov (1846–1916)

Photo collection of Ermakov is a rare example of the full collection, kept in its entire volume. This fact increases its historical importance and esthetic significance. The National Museum of Georgia keeps 25819 photos, 15536 plate glasses and 119 photo albums. Collaboration between Georgian National Museum and Nederland Photo Museum in 1999–2010 resulted in restoration, conservation and inventory reconciliation of this unique collection (IPN 2014).

He was born in Tiflis in 1846. The process of photography making invented in the second half of the 19th century in Europe, was also spread in Georgia. Several photo studios were established in Tiflis in that period. It is possible, that he started to study photography at Ananuri Military Topographic Academy. At that period, photography was an integral part of curriculums of Military Academies and was applied to create topographic photos and atlases. He completed his studies at Military Academy in the sixties of the 19th century and started commercial photo production from the seventies of the same century. He opened his studio in Tiflis in line with already existed ones – Henry Hapts’ and Roinishvili’s.

Ermakov travelled a lot visiting Caucasian regions, Turkey, Iran, Middle Asia and Russian Empire in order to ensure fixing of the ethnographic images and geographic places. His photo collection contains not only his, but possibly photos of the other photographers. As a professional photographer, collector and researcher, he made series of Svaneti Mountains, architectural monuments of Abkhazeti, Baku oil fields, architectural and ethnic images, Turkish cities, etc. He sorted the photos to the topical albums and sold them. He was recognized not only in Georgia, Russia and Europe, but also in Iran. He was appointed the photographer of the Shah of Iran and became a teacher of a famous Iranian photographer Seri-Ugin.

During Russo–Turkish War of 1877–78, Ermakov was enlisted in Photography Division of Caucasian Army, but the photos, depicting war are not kept in his archive.

Ermakov actively participated in archeologic expeditions. Executing Bakradze’s task, he greatly contributed into expedition to Abkhazeti. In 1910 he made 1500 negatives in the frames of Takaishvili headed expedition to Svaneti, depicting cultural monuments, nature and everyday lifestyle of Svaneti and its residents.

The collection of Ermakov contains many photos, depicting Batumi, its port, ships entering and leaving Bay of Batumi, taken in 19th–20th centuries. The photos are available at digital collection of the webpage of the library of the National Parliament of Georgia (see website of the library of the National Parliament of Georgia).

The photos of architectural monuments, taken by Ermakov are also interesting, being not only pure documentary photos, but the photos, underlining the nature and cultural importance of the monuments taken. Tiflis photo series, made by him are unique. It is not possible to imagine Tiflis of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century without the photos of Ermakov. He kept historical, ethnographic and geographic information of the city for the generations. He is one of the pioneers of photography in Georgia and his collections give us opportunity to feel the places of attraction of Tiflis through the centuries (Rukhadze 2013).

As the photo attachment we present several photos by Ermakov, depicting activities, anthropological portrait, city views, and national dress, which are kept at the digital archive of the library of National Parliament of Georgia.

Conclusion

Chavchavadze, Tsereteli, Vazha–Pshavela, Kazbegi, Kldiashvili and other prominent Georgian writers greatly contributed to documentaries’ creation, creation of theoretical and methodological principles of ethnographic science. Their creative works fixed centuries long cultural peculiarities of Georgian people, examples of material and spiritual culture, as well as the features of social relations. The social order to make movies, depicting Georgia was satisfied by movies *Kristine* and *The Journey of Akaki Tsereteli to Racha–Lechkhumi*. Both films are related with the prominent Georgian writers Ninoshvili and Tsereteli. The documentaries display lifestyle of Georgian villages and cities, features of material culture, lifestyle of unprotected people, peasants, customs and traditions. The creators of these films were the pioneers who created the

sources of Georgian documentaries film making and both movies have a distinguished place in cultural life of Georgia of that period, providing a background for the further development of film making.

The activities of Javakhishvili and Takaishvili were important for shaping and resolving ethnographic problems. Sakhokia' activity presents the initial interpretation of ethnographic data and filed research results as well as the brilliant example of generalization of ethnographic data. Sakhokia, backed by education got in Europe, returned to Georgia and enriched Georgian ethnographic science with his high class research. Chitaia is important for determination of the aims and results of the ethnographic research in Georgia, he also introduced new research directions in the twenties of the 20th century, Chitaia is considered the founder of Georgian Soviet ethnographic school.

A significant role in development of Georgian cinema and photography was played by the world cinematography and photography. Georgian representatives of this filed successfully applied education got abroad and experience shared by their foreign colleagues, interrelations with academic circles for photography, also taking into consideration national peculiarities. The contribution of the European photographers Barkanov, Engel, Zanis, Klar, Nikitin, Ermakov, Kozak, Grinevich and others shall be especially marked. Roinishvili, the first Georgian photographer who owned a photo studio, also played an important role in development of photography in Georgia.

Georgian photography was changed from the beginning of the 20th century – cameral photos were replaced with realistic ones. The social context of the photos was also increased, the photos got the function of the documents depicting different aspects of social life.

The analysis of ethnographic, cinematographic and photographic data of the research period results in the following conclusion – the development of visual anthropology in Georgia takes its roots in the first part of the 20th century. It was noted, that Georgian documentaries makers actively produced their films from 1912 to the 1930s. Their work was fruitful and covered almost all fields of social life: Autumn March, Rtveli, Abkhazeti, Ajaristan, Georgian Jews, Flamy Kolkheti, general census of population Tbilisi, Ugubziara, Solt to Svaneti and others (Gogadze 1954, 18–19; Doliže 1981, 304; Žvania 1990, 54–55).

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**“I AM A NANSEN ARTIST”
ARCHAVIR CHAKATOUNY (1882–1957)**

Mariyana Piskova

Abstract: The paper is a biographical narrative about Archavir Chakatouny (1882–1957), an Armenian who spent his later life as a Russian emigrant in France. His life is presented by tracing his artistic development that started with the Armenian drama troupe in Baku in 1905–1910 and continued at the Moscow Art Theatre where he learnt from Konstantin Stanislavski and became close to Yevgeny Vakhtangov. He was invited to Moscow by Akop Usunyan, a representative of the “Khanzhonkov and Co.” film company, who suggested that he play the role of Kazbich in the movie *Bela*, based on Mikhail Lermontov’s work. The success of the movie was tremendous and in 1913 Chakatouny was personally offered a new role by Aleksandr Khanzhonkov – that of Shamil in the movie *The Capture of the Caucasus*. Other successful film roles followed in 1914.

The First World War interrupted Chakatouny’s film career; he was sent to the Caucasus front and took part in the Great War conflicts in Sardarabad (1918), which were of great importance for Eastern Armenia. After the war, Chakatouny assumed a totally different role: he participated in the administration of the newly proclaimed independent Republic of Armenia. In the period 1918–1920, he was Commandant of the capital of the Armenian Republic, Yerevan; he was also in charge of mobilization and the fight against deserters.

When Armenia became a Soviet Republic, Chakatouny left his native land forever. He moved to Constantinople for a while where he was involved with the Armenian Amateur Theatre, and subsequently worked in Sofia and other Bulgarian towns (1922–1924). Finally, he came to Paris where he performed in various plays and became one of the most famous actors in the last years of silent film (1924–1934). He founded the French cinema make-up school. This paper is based on archive documents and publications, Chakatouny’s personal memories and correspondence, as well as on visual sources.

This article is an attempt to present a biographical account of Archavir Chakatouny (1882–1957), an Armenian actor who spent his later life as an emigrant in France. It traces his artistic development on the scenes in Caucasus and unfolded in early Russian cinema. Later, in Paris, Chakatouny

enjoyed remarkable success in the silent cinema of the 1920s and early 1930s.

Despite his huge popularity and the recognition Chakatouny received as an actor, film director and founder of the French make-up school, his longing for the Caucasus never left him. At the end of his life, he even reproached himself for having “left Armenia as a deserter”. What lay behind this frustration and exaggerated self-esteem, and who Chakatouny actually was, can be discovered in an archive at the Yerevan Museum of Literature and Arts. It consists of personal documents brought from Paris and given to the museum by Chakatouny’s family.

It All Started in the South Caucasus, and According to the Russian Perspective – Transcaucasia

The South Caucasus is a region of great geopolitical importance, and where historically the interests of the Persian, Ottoman and Russian Empires coincided for a long time. In the period spanning the end of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th centuries, Russia conquered the South Caucasus and as a result the principalities and kingdoms of Georgia, the khanates of Azerbaijan along with Armenia became parts of the Russian Empire. Seen from the Russian perspective, the South Caucasus became known as Transcaucasia, and the North Caucasus as Ciscaucasia. Today, the South Caucasus encompasses Armenia and most of Georgia and Azerbaijan. Thus, two cultural worlds – Christian (Georgians and Armenians) and Muslim (Azerbaijani) – coexist.

From Childhood to First Theatre Performances

Archavir Chakatouny was born on 19 February 1882 in Alexandropol, today Gyumri in Eastern Armenia and at that time part of the Russian Empire¹. Archavir spent his childhood in Transcaucasia where his father, Vagarshak (Ivan) Chakatouny (1843–1892), was the governor of both Alexandropol and Novobayazed *uyezd* (region). Vagarchak Chakatouny descended from a noble family in Eastern Armenia. In the last years of his life, he served as governor of Gandzak (today Ganja in Azerbaijan) (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 82, 2).

¹ After the Russo-Persian Wars of 1804–1813, Chakatouny’s home town of Gyumri became part of the Russian Empire and in 1837 was renamed “Alexandropol” after Empress Alexandra Feodorovna (the wife of Emperor Nicholas I). At the end of the 19th century, the city became an important railway junction linked to Tiflis (1898), Kars (1899) and Erivan (1900). At that time, Alexandropol was the third largest and most important commercial and cultural centre in the South Caucasus after Tiflis and Baku.

The archive containing Archavir Chakatouny’s personal documents includes a memory of his father. Archavir described him as extremely devoted and conscientious in his work, which Archavir believed was the cause of his illness and untimely death. In the last days of his father’s life, the whole family gathered in Echmiadzin.² However, Vagarchak Chakatouny’s last wish was to be buried in his home town of Shahriar. The only way to transport the body along the road to Shahriar was on a stretcher. When the residents of Shahriar heard this, they organized men from several adjacent settlements and all gathered to form a row along the road. This is how Vagarachak Chakatouny made his final journey of 21 km: by being passed from one pair of hands to the next. As Archavir noted in his 1950s memoir, this had been his father’s will and desire. Archavir Chakatouny recalled and followed his father’s final wishes: to be a good Armenian and useful to his people) (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 82, 5).

In addition to the high administrative positions held by Vagarachak Chakatouny, Archavir’s father showed artistic talent and was the founder of the Vagarashad Theatre in Yerevan. In contrast, information about Archavir’s mother is extremely scarce. His memoirs reveal only her origin, but even her name is not mentioned. However, Archavir described her parents (his grandparents) as the best people in Echmiadzin. His grandmother came from an old, established family that had moved from Kishinev many years ago. Archavir described “the absolutely splendid life in his grandfather’s huge mansion in Echmiadzin”, stressing that he owed “the respect for the Armenian church” to his grandfather, who would take his grandchildren to church every Sunday (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 82, 3).

Home tutors and governesses (Molokan Tanya of Elenovka, Maria Moiseevna, Mnatsakan Rafaelovich and Azerbaijani nanny Gonya) were in charge of Archavir and the upbringing of his brothers and sisters. The father of the famous film director and actor Amo Beknazaryan prepared Archavir for school performances. Archavir Chakatouny studied at a Russian private school for two years (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 86), and graduated from the Yerevan Boys’ High School in June 1898 (Natsional’nyy f. 511 op. 3, d. 975, 22). He studied at the Tiflis Mihailov Military School, where he first played *Othello* with great success) (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 87).

² The cultural and religious centre Echmiadzin (Vagharshapat) in western Armenia is the location of the Armenian Apostolic Church and residence of the Catholicos of All Armenians.

He went on to do his military service in Baku, where on 15 February 1905 bloody riots broke out, known as the ‘Armenian-Tatar clashes’³. The period between 1905 and 1907 was characterized by massive riots against the state power, the Russian Empire. Tensions rose in response to the policy of Russification in the Caucasus. The local population resisted by petitioning for the return of property belonging to the Armenian-Gregorian Church; for the right of schools to reinstate the Georgian language as the language of tuition; for equal rights for the Caucasian Muslims in line with those enjoyed Russians, etc. Promises by Emperor Nicolas II followed, who pledged to review the legal status of the peoples ‘of different origin’ and ‘of different religion’. However, it was only after the Baku conflict of February 1905 that the final decision was made and the position of deputy was restored. These events had a dramatic effect on Archavir Chakatouny’s biography. Because of his refusal to obey an order to shoot Armenians hiding in a church in Baku, he was tried by a military tribunal. His uncle, Gevorg Chakatouny, was able to save him, but Archavir was forced to leave military service (Bakhchinyan 2012, 24). In 1906, he married the granddaughter of the great Armenian writer Khatchatur Abovyan,⁴ Victoria (Vartan) Abovyan. Their son Eric Chakatouny, who grew up to become an engineer, was born. Their marriage was dissolved in 1910.

Chakatouny Offered a Film Role in Pyatigorsk, North Caucasus

Chakatouny replaced his military service by joining the Armenian theatre company in Baku. He appeared on stage in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Rostov and Ekaterinodar (Krasnodar). According to a memory in his personal archive, during a theatre tour in the North Caucasus in the summer of 1912, he and Merope Sahaki Kantarjian (Siranuish), Ovanes Zarifyan and Satenik Adamyan were spotted by Akop Uzunyan, a representative of the film company “Khanzhonkov Cinema and Co.”, in Pyatigorsk. It was then that Chakatouny was invited to play Kazbich in the film *Bela* (1913), based on Mikhail Lermontov’s novel *A Hero of Our Time*. He initially hesitated to accept the proposal, due to the still existing disapproval of the cinema in those years, but two factors played a decisive role in his consenting

³ The Armenian-Azerbaijani clashes of 1905–1906 took place in the Yerevan, Elizavetopol and Baku governorates, and later in Tiflis. According to the contemporary European press, the conflicts were provoked by the Russian authorities and divergent attitudes to the Russian Revolution of 1905.

⁴ Khachatur Abovyan (1809–1848) was a writer, poet and advocate of modernization. He is recognized as the founder of modern Armenian literature.

to the offer: his personal meeting with Aleksandr Khanzhonkov, and the opportunity to go to Moscow and join the Art Theatre (Rizayev 2009, 161).

Chakatouny subsequently played in the film *The Conquest of the Caucasus* (1913), in the role of the leader of Caucasian resistance to Imperial Russia Imam Shamil (1797–1871)⁵. By the end of 1913 (see fig. 1), he had appeared in a third film, *Haz-Bulat*, and in 1914, in *Jealousy* (Khanzhonkov 1937, 151–53). In the latter two films, Chakatouny appeared together with the star of Russian cinema at that time, Ivan Mozzhuhin (1889–1939). From this earliest period, Chakatouny’s name was associated with several other Russian films: *Runaway* (in which he played the role of Selim), *Ismail Bey*, *Storm* and others (Bakhchinyan 2012, 25).

Through his cinema work, Chakatouny saw his great dream come true: he found himself in the Moscow Art Theatre. There he was accepted into the circle of the most famous artists and directors of that time in Russia. He was a frequent guest at the home of Alexander Yuzhin,⁶ where the Moscow artistic intelligentsia used to gather (Rizayev 2009, 162). Chakatouny studied the acting method of Konstantin Stanislavsky and became close with Yevgeny Vahtangov. As he himself stated, “I studied the art of drama in the Moscow art temple” (Rizayev 2009, 162). An exceptionally talented actor, already well trained and with handsome features, Chakatouny was equally desired on the cinema screen and the theatre stage, and a promising future opened before him. In 1917, he married Nina Melik-Agamalyan.

World War I – the Caucasian Front

The outbreak of World War I interrupted Chakatouny’s artistic career and abruptly changed the direction of his life. He returned to Armenia to participate in the war. The documents linked to Chakatouny are few, so they do not present this period of his life clearly. It is noted that he participated in the hostilities on the Caucasus Front, namely in the crucial Bitlisko, Sardarapatso (24–26 May 1918) and Bash-Aparnsko battles that prevented the movement of Turkish troops into Eastern Armenia. Initially, he served as an ensign, but in 1914 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. Archavir Chakatouny was wounded twice in this war and was honoured for his military achievements.

⁵ Chakatouny went to Tiflis to prepare for the role; there he studied documents concerning Shamil in the military archive.

⁶ Alexander Ivanovich Yuzhin (Sumbatov) (1857–1927), a Russian actor, playwright and public figure. From 1909, he took part in the management of the Malyi Theatre in Moscow; from 1923–1926 he was director.

Yerevan – the First Independent Armenian Republic (28 May 1918 – 2 December 1920)

After the war, Archavir Chakatouny did not return to acting. Instead, he took part in building the Armenian Republic. In Tiflis, on 28 May 1918, the Armenian National Council – led by the national-revolutionary party *Dasnaktsyutyun*⁷ – declared an independent Armenian republic, known as the First Republic of Armenia. At that time, the Republic's territory encompassed the former Yerevan governorate, the Kars region and part of the Elizabetopol governorate of the Russian Empire. In June, parliamentary elections were held, and parliament convened for the first time on 1 August 1918. Armenia's first Prime Minister, Hovannes Kajaznuni, was elected on 3 August. On 25 September 1918, Archavir Chakatouny was appointed Commandant of Yerevan. At that time, the situation in the Armenian capital was extremely difficult due to the large number of refugees coming there, many of whom were ill and starving, as well as the numerous Armenians who had been made homeless. At the same time, the government faced serious foreign policy problems. Finding a solution for Yerevan's food provisions in those years was almost an impossible task. Nevertheless, a large number of archival documents give evidence of Chakatouny's successful efforts and resourcefulness. They include the story of a cunning trick: the solemn award of a false decoration to a Persian khan from the town of Maku⁸. In return, Chakatouny managed to buy 30 wagons of wheat from the khan for the starving people of Yerevan (Bakhchinyan 2012, 25).

Another anecdote reveals Chakatouny's talent: by reciting the monologue of Uriel Acosta⁹ before military men who were expecting the train with their enemies, he managed to prevent an escalation of conflict and bloodshed in Yerevan (Bakhchinyan 2012, 25). Chakatouny also organized the celebration of the first anniversary of independent Armenia on 28 May 1919. But in the next year, with the establishment of Soviet rule in Armenia in December of 1920, he and other members of *Dashnaktsutyun* who had participated in the government and administration of the first Armenian

⁷ *Dashnaktsutyun* was founded in 1890. Its original programme aimed to achieve autonomy for Western Armenia within the Ottoman Empire, while its wider goal was the liberation of Western Armenians. *Dashnaktsutyun*, also known as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), played an important role in the formation of the First Republic of Armenia in 1918, which however fell under Soviet rule in 1920. Its leadership was exiled, and in 1921 ARF's activity in Armenia was banned.

⁸ Today a town in Iran (West Azerbaijan Province).

⁹ From the play *Uriel Acosta*, a tragedy by German playwright Karl Gutzkow (1811–1878).

Republic were left with only one choice: to continue their lives outside the Soviet sphere, far from Armenia.

Emigration – through Constantinople to Bulgaria

Constantinople and its Armenian theatre marked the beginning of Chakatouny's life as an emigrant. But a 'love affair with a woman from Belgium' (Bakhchinyan 2012, 25) put an end to this period in his life, and in March 1922 he settled in Bulgaria. Chakatouny's stay in Bulgaria is described without many details as 'passing through the Balkans', and provide no further details. But for Chakatouny, Bulgaria held a special place in his memory, not only because of his professional success on theatre stages in Plovdiv, Rousse, Varna and Sofia (see fig. 2). In Bulgaria, he found himself living in a friendly environment and in a world similar to his own. After leaving Bulgaria for France in November 1924, he wrote a letter to his best friend, actor George Stamatov, one day after his arrival in Paris:¹⁰

... My dear Zhoro! Here I am in Paris. We arrived yesterday morning at 9 am and after 15 minutes I sat down to write to you. Thank God we are in good health! ... My dear Zhoro! I am so tired of what I have seen here in one day that I adore Vienna, Tiflis and even Moscow... But this city is cruel! My dear, I feel so sad and homesick for Bulgaria very, very much! If I could, I would go back there, God damn! We are eastern people and we need our quiet peaceful life with carts and shish kebab, with our soup... (Tsentrallen f. 1513K, op. 3, d. 3, 35).

And later, in one of his memoirs, Chakatouny went back in time “looking at my dear Bulgaria”:

And I decided to go back to Bulgaria the next day, where I had huge success, where I played for two years and eight months on my favourite stage... Where the mountains and the rivers remind me of my so precious homeland. Where the people love art and respect the artists. Where the language is almost like my native Russian. But my wife began to convince me that for my talent and abilities a different type of employment was needed; that, indeed, Paris

¹⁰ Georgi Stamatov (1893–1965) was a Bulgarian actor, director, pedagogue and Chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Artists from 1929 to 1932.

was stormy like a sea, but one wave can lift me and I will be able to devote myself to international art (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 87).

Paris

Ironically, Chakatouny arrived in Paris in November 1924, when France recognized the Soviet Union and diplomatic relations between the two countries were re-established. At that time, two Russian cinematographers who had emigrated after 1917, Ivan Mozzhukhin and Victor Turzhanski (1891–1976), had already gained popularity in Paris. They were among the first to give Chakatouny a helping hand; thus, he found himself among avant-garde filmmakers at the centre of European cinema of the 1920s and early 1930s (see fig. 7–8). He made friends and maintained work-related contacts with the renowned French film directors René Clair, Julien Devivier, Jean Epstein and Abel Gance, and with the director and critic Germaine Dulac. However, until the end of his days, his closest friend was Julien Devivier.

Chakatouny performed main roles in a total 21 films, and played a few minor roles in other films. He achieved his artistic peak.¹¹ Among the films starring Chakatouny are:

1. *Le prince charmant* (The role of Prince Charming), 1925, director Viktor Tourjansky
2. *Michel Strogoff* (The role of Ivan Ogareff), 1926, director Viktor Tourjansky (see fig. 3)
3. *L'home a l'Hispano* (The role of Lord William Meredith Oswill), 1927, director Julien Duvivier
4. *Napoleon* (The role of Pozzo di Borgo), 1927, director Abel Gance
5. *Jalma la Double* (The role of Colonel Yerba), 1928, director Roger Goupillieres
6. *The White Devil* (The role of Shamil), 1930, director Alexandre Volkoff (see fig. 6)
7. *La chatelaine du Liban* (The role of Djoun), 1934, director Jean Epstein
8. *Napoleon Bonaparte* (The role of Pozzo di Borgo), 1935, director Abel Gance (see fig. 4)

¹¹ In *Cinemagazine*, Chakatouny in 1927 was described as a top-class actor with magnificent schooling.

Success gradually changed Chakatouny’s attitude to Paris. In a memoir he wrote:

My new life started in Paris. In the cinema, my debut was brilliant – *Napoleon* (1927), *Mikhail Strogoff* (1925), *The Man with the Hispano* (*L’homme à l’Hispano*) and the other films brought me fame, money and success. The stranger who arrived yesterday has become today’s movie star. My name is in all the newspapers. I had great success everywhere. The women would run after me, men envied me (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 81, 5).

“A Great Artist has Come to Bulgaria – Andranik Chakatouny”¹²

At the apex of his artistic career, Chakatouny refused major roles offered by famous directors one after another. He did not go to London to film the megaproduction *Maharaja*, and turned down a role in Germaine Dulac’s film *The Nile*. He refused to go to Berlin where he was offered a fee of 48,000 French francs for the film *Volga Volga*. All because he was determined to make his film about Andranik Ozanyan, commonly known as Andranik¹³ (see fig. 5).

In his biographical reminiscences, Chakatouny noted that during the shooting of the film *Matteo Falconi*¹⁴ he heard news of the death of General Andranik in distant America (31 August 1927). At that time Chakatouny was filming at Napoleon’s home in Ajaccio, Corsica. And while expressing the aspirations of the freedom fighter Matteo Falconi, he himself made a decision “to eternalize the name of Andranik, to resurrect both Andranik and the sufferings of his people on the screen, to continue Andranik’s work”. He exclaimed emotionally, “then may the dead rise again and all the people see what it is to be an Armenian, what a warrior is” (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 81, 6).

In less than a year, Chakatouny managed to set up everything needed to make his dream movie. The funds were provided by an Armenian emigrant in Paris, Armenak Khampartsoumian. Since a film studio was necessary,

¹² This is how the Bulgarian magazine *Nasheto kino* (Our Cinema) announced the start of the filming of *Andranik* in its issue 108 of 28 June 1928.

¹³ Andranik Toros Ozanyan (1865–1927) was active in the Armenian National Liberation Movement and participated in the First Balkan War. In 1919, he emigrated to Europe and finally the United States. A controversial personality, he was a forbidden subject in Soviet historiography.

¹⁴ Information about this movie is extremely limited. Judging by the title, it was probably based on Prosper Mérimée’s eponymous novel which reflects 19th century events in Corsica and takes up the themes of patriotism, duty and betrayal.

a French company was established under the name “Armena Film” and registered in Montmartre at the address Rue du Faub, 53. The founder and director of “Armena Film” was Khampartsoumian, and Chakatouny was artistic director (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 142).

In June 1928, Chakatouny arrived in Bulgaria with a French film team to shoot the outdoor scenes. Filming took exactly one month; Chakatouny was the director, scriptwriter and performed two roles, one of them being the main role of Andranik. Chakatouny explained:

I went to Bulgaria where I was very busy and I was alone. Wild mountains, people who do not care about cinematography; due to the low budget I had no assistant (a film director has at least three assistants). I played two roles: of Andranik’s father and Andranik himself. I do the make-up and at the same time I am an artist teaching the inhabitants of the village in the wild mountains of Shipka how to play and live. All this means performing for 31 days with no sleep and rest; I literally spend sleepless nights watching the sky and wondering whether it will be sunny or not tomorrow, but the worst of all is not having the necessary set to be able to watch the results from the daily shooting in the evenings (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 85, 16).

The premiere of the film *Andranik* in Paris was in early 1929. The French press reported on the event in vast detail. Chakatouny, already popular due his talent as a theatre and cinema actor, became highly valued as a film director after the debut of his film.

Such a good technician, i.e. director, and a talented artist, Chakatouny has released an exciting film. The rhythm rises to the most dramatic heights and the emotionality of some scenes bears true Corneillean character¹⁵ (Rizayev 2009, 170).

Chakatouny’s film was recognized as sincere and natural – qualities that were rare in 1920s cinema. One critic underlined that the film was particularly appreciated because of its lack of annoying inaccuracies, which were

¹⁵ Pierre Corneille, French playwright and poet (1606–1684). Father of the French tragedy (*Medea* 1635; *Cosmic Illusion* 1636; *Sid* 1636; *Horatius* 1640). Corneille revived the French drama, basing it on Aristotle’s principle of tragic drama, i.e. that the tragedy must reproduce important events involving strong personalities whose actions lead to fateful consequences.

often unavoidable in the creation of historical cinema (*Vozrozhdeniye*, 15 November 1929, p. 2). Andranik was described as ‘the Armenian Garibaldi’ (*Pour vous*, 11 April 1929; *Paris-midi*, 12 April 1929, p. 3). However, it was impossible to watch the film in his fatherland, Armenia, at that time. Chakatouny hoped that through *Andranik*

(...) it will become widely known how unfairly the Armenian people have been treated, so humankind will learn about their heroism and all foreign generations will recognize the right to life of the Armenian people and the injustice of other countries (Muzey f. A. Chakatouny, d. 85, 7).

With the introduction of sound to cinema, Chakatouny’s artistic career gradually came to an end, mainly because of his strong Caucasian accent. But another of his great talents was revealed, which continued to connect him to the cinema for a long time. He introduced new make-up techniques and became one of the founders of the famous French make-up school (Angaladyan 2015). Between 1934 and 1947, his name appeared in the closing credits of dozens of films as a make-up artist. He died on 4 April 1957 in Paris, away from the spotlight, in solitude and privacy.

Chakatouny between Transcaucasia and the Heart of Europe, a ‘Nansen Artist’

Archavir Chakatouny, who achieved enormous artistic success and conquered theatre stages and cinemas from the Caucasus to the heart of Europe, was perceived as a ‘Nansen artist’ (Bakhchinyan 2004, 364). Why or what did being a ‘Nansen artist’ mean?

Chakatouny’s life was determined by the refugee crisis that occurred at the end of the First World War. He himself, as already noted, was forced to leave Soviet Armenia. The situation for refugees became even more complicated when Lenin signed the Decree of the Council of People’s Commissars (15 December 1921), which revoked the citizenship of all who had left their homeland after 7 November 1917 without the permission of the Soviet authorities, or had resisted them. Thus, about one 160,000 Russian emigrants became stateless persons.

In June 1921, the League of Nations decided to create the position of a Supreme Commissioner for the Russian refugees. Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930) was proposed for this job. The war had already changed the direction of his activities; this famous Norwegian polar explorer, zoologist and founder of the new science of physical oceanography undertook another social role that made him a Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 1922.

The former Ambassador of Norway to the UK (1906–1908) was now the head of the Norwegian Society for the Support of the League of Nations, and in 1920 he became Norway's first representative at the League.

The first special conference of the League of Nations on the issue of Russian and Armenian refugees was convened in Geneva on 3 July 1922. On the basis of Fridtjof Nansen's report on the situation of the refugees, the Geneva Conference approved the first international legal agreement designed to settle the legal status of Russian refugees on 5 July 1922. It was recommended that the host countries issue refugee identity cards ('Nansen passports') subject to certain requirements: the document should not violate the applicable laws regarding foreigners in the countries concerned, and be issued for one year and then renewed; certificates for the poor should be free of charge unless there were conflicting legal provisions in the host countries; the certificate would not entitle the refugee to return to the country where it was obtained without special permission by that country; the document could allow the refugee to be admitted to another country after receiving an entry visa. These conditions established the certificate as both a document of identification and as a travel permit if the holder was allowed to travel abroad. The certificate was recognized by all the signatories of the intergovernmental agreement and therefore had a more universal character than the former passports issued by the Russian state before 1917 (K'oseva 2002, 118). From 31 March 1924, the Armenian refugees were also entitled to 'Nansen passports' (Yovanovich 2005, 183).

In fact, the Nansen passport provided for the right to move freely from one country to another once a visa was issued. Stamps displaying the face of Nansen were glued into the passport instead of stamps with a coat of arms embodying the authority of the respective state, in order to confirm the legality of the passport (K'oseva 2002, 197).

The Bulgarian Ministry of Interior and Public Health determined guidelines for the issue of the passports in a circular letter to the police inspectorates on 5 October 1926, and ordered them to supply all Russian and Armenian refugees with the new identification documents. The passports were prepared by the Russian Refugees Committee and endorsed at the Police Directorate (Tsentrallen, f. 284K, op. 1, a.e. 5191).

For the time being, no conclusive data have been found confirming whether and when a Nansen passport was issued to Archavir Chakatouny. This might have been in Paris since he left Bulgaria in November 1924 and the earliest Nansen passports were issued to refugees in Bulgaria in the autumn of 1926.

Armenian, Russian, French and ‘Nansen artist’

Chakatouny, along with many other émigré cinematographers and artists in Paris who were recognized as Armenian, Russian, Jewish, etc., was seen to produce works of French cinematography (“performed in France”, “French atmosphere”) (Nosik 1992, 437). According to Boris Nosik, the cinema created by the ‘Russian’ emigrant cinematographers in the 1920s was *French* (or, respectively, *American*, *German*, etc.). Russian émigré filmmakers, even those who had long and persistently cultivated their individuality, specificity and even isolation, eventually merged with the national cinematographies of their host countries.

They certainly remembered their Russian (Russian-Jewish or Russian-Armenian) origins, they gained strength from Russian art and their memories, but they were already French directors, composers, artists, screenwriters: (...) Lazar Mirson, Boris Kaufman, Archavir Chakatouny (Nosik 1992, 437).

How did these artists, Russian and Armenian emigrants, define themselves? With or without Nansen passports, many successful filmmakers, artists and writers noted in their memoirs that they had felt like refugees who would never return. Their emotional writings reflect this. According to Vladimir Nabokov: “Nansen passports only emphasize the homelessness of their holders. Having a Nansen passport means being a criminal, a released convict or born out of wedlock” (Lagodtsinskaya 2012, 138).

The famous French filmmaker of Armenian origin, Henri Verneuil (Ashot Malakian), recorded a similar, emotional memory. Before arriving in France as a youngster, he had heard a lot about the country and its capital, Paris, in stories told by his parents. When he was five years old and traveling with his parents from Rodosto to Marseilles, he imagined that Balzac, Hugo, Rousseau and Rodin would welcome him at the harbour. But instead, the family was received at the immigration point by a man dressed in black clothes who printed the word ‘NANSEN’ in large letters on their suitcases, branding them as people without a homeland (Matosyan 2012, 28).

Although Chakatouny experienced fame and success in the heart of Europe, in Paris his life had the bitter taste of no return; he was a person with no homeland, a ‘Nansen artist’. In a kind of ‘confession’ at the end of his life, Chakatouny accused himself of having committed a crime by having left his ‘holy’ native land. When in 1955 he suffered a stroke, he wrote in a letter to his friend, the artist Arman Kotikyan: “If I, even with one foot only, could step on my native land, I would immediately recover” (Muzey f. A.

Chakatouny, d. 45). However, there is no doubt that despite his nostalgic feelings and the ‘burden’ he experienced as a ‘Nansen artist’, Chakatouny was able to live until his natural death at end of the 1950s because he did not return to Soviet Armenia. There, he would certainly have shared the tragic fate of so many Armenian artists repatriated from France: exile, execution, or in the best case, isolation (Bakhchinyan 2012, 20).

In Conclusion

Forced exile, a life abroad, exposure to different cultures and numerous artistic contacts actually led to a magnificent career for the actor Archavir Chakatouny. Each stop on his long path formed him, starting in his native Gyumri, through the South and North Caucasus to Moscow and other cities in Russia, and across the Balkans until finally reaching Paris. For his part, Chakatouny left both permanent and transient traces on the cinema screen and the theatre stage. Recognized by his contemporaries as corresponding to the stereotype of Caucasian exotic beauty, with burning demonic eyes, and a stormy temperament, he was an indispensable actor in films located in the Caucasus and in which he played the roles of Shamil, Selim and Ismail Bey. In addition, Chakatouny’s talent was rewarded with many memorable roles in European silent film.

On the other hand, the impossibility of being able to perform on stage in his native country, or to film and screen a movie in his homeland, with time increased his painful sense of never being able to return home – of being a ‘Nansen artist’. This catalyzed in his debut as director in 1928 with the film *Andranik*. Even today, this film, made far from the homeland of both the author and his protagonist, remains the only feature film about Andranik. It is important to emphasize that the film was created and screened at a time when the topic of Andranik was taboo in Soviet historiography, and the image and life of the Armenian leader were debated and censored.

Meanwhile, cinema in Soviet Armenia (as well as in Azerbaijan and Georgia) in the 1920s and 1930s became a powerful propaganda tool of Soviet rule. The film industry was nationalized, through which the cinema became ‘art’: controlled, governed and censored by the state. It was subject to the principle of ‘socialist realism’ imposed on all art production. Each of the three Transcaucasian republics had their own part in their uniting into one by the Soviet cinema; yet, the three of them had common goals based on the Russian policy: “to break the myth of the exotic East”, “to pull the chador from the face of the East”, “to satirize and downplay the short periods of independent government in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia” (Rizayev 2009, 201).

Against this background, the film about Andranik can be seen as an original crossing point of West and East, in which Chakatouny’s nostalgic story of the past unfolds freely and creatively. The film casts a retrospective look from the perspective of an emigrant and ‘Nansen artist’ at his native Armenia, at its roots and history, and merges Chakatouny’s cinematographic knowledge and experience accumulated over the years on his way from the Caucasus to Paris, from the East to the West. The film was shown repeatedly and experienced by viewers, including a great number of emigrants, exclusively in Western countries. Initially, the screenings took place in France, Germany and the United States of America. At the same time, in Soviet Armenia, the ‘right’ kind of films were being created and screened that showed the East as it should appear according to Soviet ideology.

Chakatouny’s life was divided not only geographically between the East and West, but also divided chronologically into two halves. He spent his first 38 years in the Caucasus and his native Armenia, while the next 37 years were spent in emigration in Europe. Therefore, everything created by the refugee Chakatouny after his forced emigration in 1920 bore the mark of a ‘Nansen artist’ (see fig. 9). His refugee status appears to have saved his life, and also provided him with artistic freedom and choices that did not exist in his homeland at that time.



Fig. 1
Archavir Chakatouny,
20 July 1913, before leaving
for Moscow, where he will
star in a feature film for the
first time

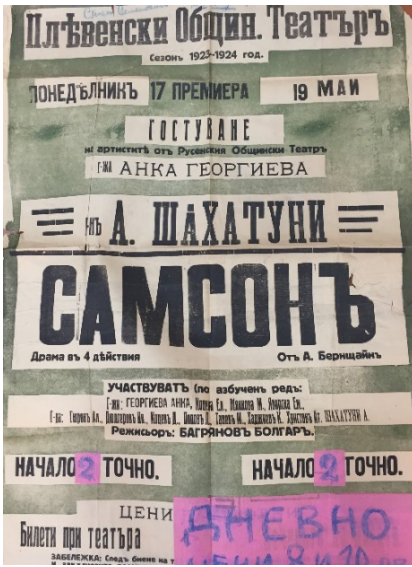


Fig. 2 Archavir Chakatouny was the director of the theatrical production “Samson” in Bulgaria on 19 May 1924



Fig. 3 Archavir Chakatouny as Ogareff, *Michel Strogoff*, directed by Victor Tourjanski, 1924



Fig. 4 Archavir Chakatouny as Pozzo di Borgo *Napoleon*, directed by Abel Gance, 1925



Fig. 5 Archavir Chakatouny as Andranik, directed by Chakatouny, 1928



Fig. 6 Archavir Chakatouny as Schamil *The White Devil*, directed by Alexandre Volkoff, 1930



Fig. 7 René Clair, 1931

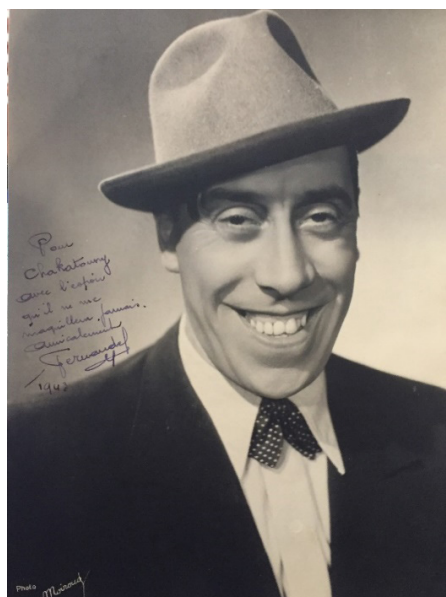


Fig. 8 Fernandel, 1943



Fig. 9 Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930), Yerevan

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THE OIL BOOM AND THE BEGINNINGS OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN IMPERIAL BAKU. CO-CONSTRUCTING KNOWLEDGE IN AN INDUSTRIALISING CITY

Dominik Gutmeyr

Abstract: This chapter seeks to connect the industrialisation of Baku during the late imperial oil boom years to the belated advent of photography in this city on the Caspian Sea. It argues that concurrent internationalisation contributed to the co-construction of knowledge and the formation of local photographic practices between Western European travellers taking photos of oil fields and factories, the state's appropriation of photography as a vehicle with which to promote the imperial integration of its peripheries, and diverse pictorial traditions among the resident ethnic groups that facilitated or complicated the beginnings of photography.

Introduction

In 1977, the French semiotician Roland Barthes (1977, 82) posited in an interview that photography and film were pure products of the industrial revolution, and that photography was treated as an orphan of high culture. Of course, Barthes' criticism was primarily directed at the lack of a theoretical debate on photography, a situation which changed for the better with the declaration of the 'iconic' or 'pictorial' turns by the early 1990s (Boehm 1994; Mitchell 1995, 11–34). However, the two observations are interesting with respect to the development of photography in the south-easternmost corner of the Russian Empire. On the one hand, little research has been conducted on the development of photography on the territory of today's Republic of Azerbaijan. A theoretical debate is yet to start on the local particularities of visual cultures based on the pictorial traditions of Islam, the Armenian networks transmitting photographic knowledge across imperial boundaries from and into the neighbouring Ottoman and Qajar empires, and the increasing influx of Western European travellers equipped with cameras and their influence on the representations and perceptions of the region. On the other hand, and this will be the key aim of this chapter, I will attempt to illustrate the connection between the advent of photography and

the industrialisation of the Russian Empire's southern borderlands. This is a story both of the industrial revolution facilitating the global exchange of photographic practices and of photography as a welcome vehicle for promoting imperial integration through the narrative of industrial progress. Against the backdrop of the city of Baku's position as a centre of global economic activity at the turn of the 20th century and related interest in "documenting" the source of its growth and wealth, i.e. the oil springs and their exploitation, I argue that the increasing internationalisation of the city during the development of the oil industry decisively contributed to the introduction of new technologies – one of which was photography. From a global perspective, the city of Baku only belatedly witnessed the advent of photography, but the latter's introduction into a cosmopolitan environment with a booming economy that drew foreign interest and investment is a story of co-constructed knowledge at the dawn of World War I.

Photographic Practices as Processes of Global Co-Construction

The early history of photography has predominantly been written as a history of Western European innovation. There is no question that the decisive insights and developments by pioneers such as French artist Louis Daguerre and British scientist William Henry Fox Talbot rightfully let the story of the origins of photography revolve around the cities of Paris and London. Various studies have however shown that the global triumph of photography hardly took place in the form of uncontested and undisputed diffusion but led to processes of negotiation and to local photographic practices that have remained overlooked due to the frequent equation of 'global' with Euro-Atlantic photography, and are often understudied to this day (see for instance Behdad 2016; Pinney 1997; Ritter and Scheiwiller 2018). Writing about the construction of knowledge in South Asia and Europe in an attempt to "defuse diffusionism", Kapil Raj (2007, 223) argues "for the making of scientific knowledge through co-constructive processes of negotiation between different skilled communities and individuals [...], resulting as much in the emergence of new knowledge forms as in a reconfiguration of existing knowledges and specialized practices".

Building on evidence that photographic practices were not simply diffused across the globe but resulted from amalgamation processes, it can be assumed that the complexity of the ethnically, socially, culturally, politically and linguistically dynamic and heterogeneous Caucasus region led to the co-construction of knowledge as a channel for the introduction of photography also to the western shores of the Caspian Sea, an area neglected in contemporary research. Yet, much like the blind spot

in relation to allegedly peripheral photographic practices far from the glamorous exhibitions shown in Western European cities, the history of photography in the Russian Empire's new provinces of the 19th and 20th centuries often presents an equally misleading image of its being exclusively shaped by either foreign travellers or Russian colonial attitudes. In order to get a better understanding of global interaction and its effects on local practices of early photography, many questions would deserve closer investigation – too many for this short chapter. In the case of Baku, and also the wider region, we know little about the influence of religious traditions on the development of photographic practices, with the history of the first Muslim photographers meriting further examination. The networks of exchange between Baku-based photographers and their colleagues in other parts of the empire and abroad are widely understudied. The history of early steps in amateur photography as well as the history of the city's many photo studios are known only in fragments. Information on the significant contribution of Baku's Armenian community to the introduction of photography remains difficult to access and the issue is still delicate to approach.

I am hoping that other studies will address these desiderata soon, and would like to stress that the factor uniting all these questions is the existence of networks of exchange which, among other things, facilitated the circulation and negotiation of diverse norms of depiction and served to co-construct knowledge that contributed to the technological development of photography. Against the backdrop of Baku's rapid modernisation between the first exploitation of the Caspian oil springs and the outbreak of World War I, I aim to map the particularities of the beginnings of photography in a city at many crossroads.

The Industrialisation and Internationalisation of Baku

Over the course of the period spanning the 16th to 19th centuries, rule over the city of Baku repeatedly changed between the three imperial powerhouses interested in securing this strategically important town on the Caspian Sea. Additionally, frequent power vacuums due to internal imperial struggles for power at the Ottoman, Persian and Russian empires' crossroads of interests occasionally gave local strongmen the opportunity to install autonomous rule, especially after the establishment of the Baku Khanate in 1747 (Auch 2004, 33–36). The Russo-Persian War of 1804–1813 and the concluding Treaty of Gulistan put an end to this autonomous principality under Persian suzerainty and ceded Baku to the Russian Empire. What was still a small town of approx. 12,000 inhabitants in 1859 (Ibid., 230), grew into a centre

of international commerce and technological innovation by the outbreak of World War I, primarily for a single reason: oil.

With the Treaty of Gulistan, the oil fields of the Absheron Peninsula passed into the possession of the Russian state. The extraction of this resource, already exploited for the petroleum industry for centuries, became increasingly industrialised and hence a potentially lucrative source of income for the imperial treasury. The first professionalised geological expeditions to the Caucasus began in the 1840s and eventually led to the exploration of the oil and gas fields near Baku in line with increasing demand and interest in the natural resources of the empire's southern borderlands (Milanovsky 2007). However, in the first decades of Russia's oil industry, the alternating direct state exploitation of the oil wells and a tax-farming (*otkup*) system resulted in rather poor revenues (McKay 1984, 606). Furthermore, the local and still basic oil industry of Baku was unable to cover Russian demand for kerosene and it quickly fell behind its counterpart in the United States, where the first well was drilled near Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859. Hence, despite the almost simultaneous establishment of refineries in Baku and North America around 1860, the lack of mechanically drilled oil wells meant that by the early 1870s Russia had to import 80 to 90 percent of its kerosene (Ibid.; Moser 2018, 41).

Criticism and lobbying by entrepreneurs, and not least by the famous chemist Dmitrii I. Mendeleev, led to a radical policy change in 1872. The state decided to auction off Azerbaijan's oil plots to private entrepreneurs. Just as the critics had hoped, the new owners began to drill rather than dig for oil and within less than a year the exploitation of the first gusher in the oil fields on the Caspian Sea got underway (McKay 1984, 606–607). Within a further year, eighty primitive refineries were extracting kerosene from crude oil, and by the end of the decade more than 300 drilled oil wells evidenced a surge in the industry (Ibid.; Moser 2018, 41–43). Baku's kerosene production soon succeeded in driving American imports out of Russian markets while becoming an export hit itself. By the end of the century, half of the world's oil production originated in Baku's oil fields. Moreover, the liberalisation of Russia's oil industry attracted foreign know-how and investment that had a sustainable impact on the industrial development of the entire region. The most prominent contribution came from Sweden via the establishment of the Nobel Brothers Petroleum Company. The Nobels not only built the Russian Empire's largest oil production company, but introduced revolutionary technological innovations such as the first pipeline to carry oil from the wells to the refineries, as well as the world's first tanker, the 'Zoroaster', that shipped oil from Baku to

Astrakhan' (Moser 2018, 30–31). Similar innovation and investment came from the French branch of the Rothschild family whose 'Caspian and Black Sea Petroleum Company' bridged the Caucasian isthmus between Baku and Batumi and thus had a natural interest in financing the construction of a railway to connect the two cities. Furthermore, transport through the port of Batumi, which linked to the company's distribution networks, contributed to the internationalisation of Baku's oil exports (Ibid., 31).

Foreign engagement and investment contributed both to industrialise and internationalise Baku, bringing not only the Swedish and French founders of the BraNobel' and BNITO companies but also administrative and technical personnel from abroad to settle in specially designed areas such as 'Villa Petrolea' at the eastern end of the Black City, the centre of Baku's oil industry. As an emerging regional centre of administration and commerce along with Tiflis (today's Tbilisi), Baku also increasingly attracted inner-imperial migrants. In 1891, when Baku's oil industry was in full swing, the city had 86,611 inhabitants, of which 37,530 were 'Tatars' – the official designation by the Russian state for Turkic-speaking groups – 21,390 Russians and 24,490 Armenians (*Kavkazskii Kalendar' na 1896 god, ot d. V*, 62–63). The first (and only) census conducted by the Russian Empire in 1897 shows that the city already accommodated more than 100,000 inhabitants, with 67,148 men and 45,105 women permanently resident in Baku (*Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' 1897*, 27). The relative distribution of the three major ethnic groups had changed by 1913, when Russians made up 36 percent of the city's population, and Azeri and Armenians 21 and 19 percent respectively (Altstadt 1992, 32). The attractiveness of industrial Baku made it an international city, with less than half of its population born there by 1913, while industrialisation gradually stimulated social change and the emergence of a native industrial working class formed by oil and refinery workers (Ibid., 27–29).

Although Audrey Altstadt underlines that "Baku was not a melting pot and each community struggled for its own benefit", access to the top of the oil industry was not confined to one particular ethnic group. The early years of Baku's oil boom saw the dominance of the Nobel Brothers Petroleum Company, but the sector did not end up monopolised due to the reorganisation of the Russian oil industry, with the state strongly intervening during an overproduction crisis in 1883 and not least by the building of a pipeline that connected Baku with the Black Sea port of Batumi to serve export markets (McKay 1984, 608–623). Hence, next to Russian investors and European entrepreneurs like the Nobels and Rothschilds, there was room for local oil magnates to make a fortune. The most famous

of the Azerbaijani oil barons were Zeynalabdin Taghiyev (Zeynalabdin Tağıyev), Musa Naghiyev (Musa Nağıyev) and Shamsi Asadullayev (Şəmsi Əsədullayev). They not only built up major companies in the oil sector, but reinvested their earnings in philanthropic work by building schools, theatres and hospitals, and helped to expand the region's infrastructure. They also constructed some of the most prominent mansions that characterise Baku's historic townscape to this day. While of the 13 leading oil companies in Baku, Taghiyev was the only Azeri entrepreneur to initially co-invest in oil fields, by the turn of the century the number of Azeri oil entrepreneurs had risen to 49, amounting to 29.9 percent of Baku's oil industrialists (Auch 2004, 242–43). Furthermore, the oil boom had wide-reaching societal implications. Farideh Heyat (2002, 58), for instance, argues that Baku's "cosmopolitan population and the oil-related industrialisation of the region had already led to significant changes in important areas of material culture, consumption, dress code and the education of women", eventually facilitating the involvement of Azeri women in social and public life despite opposition from the clergy and other conservative voices.

No less involved in both the oil industry and public life was the elite of the city's third major ethnic group, the Armenians. Eva-Maria Auch (2004, 242–44) has pointed out that Muslim and Christian entrepreneurs acted differently on the capital market, especially in terms of individual versus joint investment and their willingness to risk long-term financial commitment. Armenian capital was therefore strongly concentrated in Baku's oil industry, while Armenians also owned a share of particularly high-value property in the city, allowing the Armenian community in Baku to retain its strong position in regional commerce and trade. The business activities of Armenian industrialists such as Ivan Mirzoev (Hovannes Mirzoyan) and Alexander Mantashev (Aleksandr Mantashyants) had a lasting impact on the growth of the oil sector on the Caspian Sea. By the turn of the century, Armenians owned a third of Baku's oil companies (Moser 2018, 32). Furthermore, the industrialisation of Baku's oil field exploitation and the related growth of the city facilitated the development of other spheres of life on which Armenians had a strong influence. Between 1900 and the sovietisation of Azerbaijan in 1920, 24 Armenian-language periodicals were established in Baku, reflecting both urbanisation and the influx of merchants and skilled workers from other parts of the Russian Empire during the oil boom (Pendse 2019).

The oil boom also fostered other technological advancements. Baku was connected to Tiflis, and thereby Vladikavkaz and Moscow, by a telegraph line in 1868. Foreign expertise and investment, this time provided by German company Siemens & Halske, opened up new horizons

for local workmen. A decade later, Baku was connected to Krasnovodsk (today's Türkmenbaşy) on the opposite shore of the Caspian Sea, while a modern telephone network was set up from the mid-1880s, and by 1914 the electrification of Baku was in full swing (Auch 2004, 213–16). The former small town had become a transregional centre of commerce and innovation by the start of World War I, or as Audrey Altstadt (1983, 3; cited in Pendse 2019, 52) put it: “Baku was the first Muslim city to industrialise on a large scale with the use of foreign capital and capitalists, and European technology, technocrats, managers, and advisers”.

The Introduction of Photography to the Caucasus Region

Before oil came to play a major role in the state's increasing efforts to industrialise its territories south of the Caucasus mountain range, another innovation had already triggered considerable interest across the Russian Empire, like around the globe: photography. In the late 1830s, the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg reacted quickly to Louis Daguerre's 1839 presentation of the 'daguerreotype' in Paris as well as to news of William Henry Fox Talbot's 'photogenic drawing', and sent some of its members to France and England to collect the latest information on early photography and start the process of negotiating its introduction to Russia (see Gutmeyr 2018, 161–64). Within only four years, the first camera appeared in the Caucasus mountains when Sergeĭ L. Levitskii (1819–1898) took on the task of documenting an expedition that aimed to investigate the mineral springs around Piatigorsk and Kislovodsk and produced the first mountain vistas of a realm that featured prominently in the Golden Age of Russian Romantic poetry in the first half of the 19th century.

Across the empire, photo studios opened in the centres of imperial rule and urban life during the 1840s, but the innovation spread very unequally towards the southern borderlands. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, photographers from Western Europe and Russia came to Tiflis in order to attract the interest of the city's high society in an innovation that was not yet an everyday technology but a new instrument of state representation and was confined to the financial possibilities of the upper class to afford a prestigious portrait. The first ateliers were established, and newspapers informed their readership on the new photographers arriving in town (Mamatsashvili 2014, 18–19). The first photograph known to stem from Baku, however, was taken only around 1860. Two reasons might serve to explain the early concentration of regional photography in Tiflis. On the one hand, the city was the capital of the Caucasus Viceroyalty and thereby the political, cultural and economic centre of the entire region

– it therefore saw a higher level of international exchange and a corresponding influx of travellers from major cities of the empire and of Western Europe. Baku only became the centre of a governorate of the same name in 1859, when an earthquake in the former capital Shamakhi caused the local government to move. On the other hand, the population of Tiflis was predominantly Christian, of which the majority was Armenian. When the introduction of photography encountered a variety of pictorial traditions in the multi-confessional Caucasus region, reactions within the Orthodox community were overwhelmingly positive, especially among Armenians for whom the image held no liturgical significance and thus embraced this innovation. Scepticism prevailed among the Muslim population, which could hardly connect its traditional visual practices to the photographic image (Kaser 2013, 153–59). This pictorial scepticism, however, did not necessarily extend to the Ottoman sultans and Persian shahs, who already showed interest in the earliest developments of photography. As a result, the pioneering photographers in the Ottoman and Persian Empires were almost exclusively Christians (Ibid., 161–66).

The Russian state was particularly eager to make use of photography in order to create and consolidate its own representations of the Caucasus and advance the region's integration into the empire. A photography unit within the Russian Caucasus Army was already established in the early 1860s. The graduates of the Military Topography School were instructed to document both the landscapes and the lives and customs of the population (Gorshenina and Sonntag 2018, 331–33; Mamatsashvili 2014, 19–21). Many of the names of this first generation of photographers in the Caucasus remain unknown, but their work is representative of the empire's endeavour to generate a state-controlled visual narrative about the integration and technological progress of the region. One prominent, recurring element of early photography in the Caucasus is the ambition to document the growth of industrial infrastructure. The emphasis on construction sites, roads and railway tracks as documented in an 1870s series by the Tiflis-based photographer Vladimir V. Barkanov (1826–1892) is one example of the visual imperialism that stressed the contrast between progress through industrialisation and the periphery (see fig. 1). It remains to be clarified whether Barkanov was one of the graduates of the Caucasus Army's photography unit, but the state definitely relied on his services during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878 when he extensively documented the Caucasus front as a war correspondent and embraced industrial-technological photography which supported a vision of the transition of the Caucasus into a province to be exploited and developed.



Fig. 1 Constructing the Poti-Tiflis Railway,
Vladimir V. Barkanov, 1872

The Travelling Petroleum Factor in Early Baku Photography

While photography quickly found its way to the imperial centres of St. Petersburg and Moscow, as well as to regional centres such as Tiflis, the Russian Empire's south-easternmost corner remained a blank on the photographic map. The earliest known photograph of Baku was taken in the early 1860s, and while one cannot with certainty rule out the possibility that images were produced before then, and eventually lost, the geographical and peripheral position of the Baku Governorate and the scepticism towards visual representation among its Muslim majority population make the belated arrival of photography in the city plausible. However, the tide was turning by the years of the oil boom, and Baku became an interesting site and subject.

The first known photographs of Baku were taken by Aleksandr F. Ul'skiĭ (1836–1868) and coincided with the establishment of refineries on the shores of the Caspian Sea and Russian expeditions tasked with studying the geology of the Absheron Peninsula. He had graduated as an officer of the Marine Corps and acquired knowledge of astronomy

at the renowned Pulkovo Observatory before joining an expedition that investigated the Caspian seabed (Zonn et al. 2010, 417). Ul'skiĭ, who rose through the ranks to become captain-lieutenant before passing away in 1868 at the age of only 32, is another example of a military photo pioneer in the Caucasus region. His photos primarily feature panoramic views of the city skyline taken from the shore, as well as parts of Baku's old walled city (for an overview of Ul'skiĭ's Baku images, see Bulanova 2018). It is assumed that Ul'skiĭ's pioneer work remained a private endeavour: he neither included photography in his scientific studies as a method of documentation (see, for instance, Ul'skiĭ 1863), nor were the images widely circulated. However, his work indicates that the state's increasing interest in the exploitation of the region's resources also initiated the introduction of other technological innovations, such as photography.

Attracted by news of an industrial boomtown on the Caspian Sea, travellers from Western Europe no longer ended their travels to the region in Tiflis, or opted to continue towards the south and the Persian Empire, but continued on to Baku. While Alexandre Dumas had encountered a sleepy Baku during his travels across the Caucasus in 1858/59 (*Le Caucase*), Knut Hamsun's *In Wonderland (I Æventyrland)*, based on a visit to the region in 1899, described a city that had changed massively. By then, a considerable number of photographers had already contributed to its popularisation, which had started with the travelogue by the famous French author. His French compatriot, soldier and amateur photographer Paul Lancrenon (1857–1922), toured across Europe for six months in 1891 – a journey that took him far into the Russian Empire, down the Volga River and along the Caucasus through Azerbaijan and Georgia on his way back to France. His photographs primarily document his arrival in Baku on the 'Zang', focusing on views of the city and the ship. A series of images attributed to Lancrenon in the *base Mémoire*, initiated by the French Ministry of Culture in the mid-1990s, indicate that his short visit to Baku took him straight to the commercial elite of the city. One photograph shows oil magnate Taghiyev with the family of a gentleman assumed to have been one of his senior managers, and who was portrayed individually in another shot referred to as 'Monsieur Saintmarc [dans le désert]' (APLCR02707). Another photograph shows an oil refinery (see fig. 2–3). Oil derricks – those in Lancrenon's images probably belonged to Taghiyev's company – would soon become the standard object to represent Baku for almost any photographer coming to the city.



Fig. 2–3 Oil magnate Zeynalabdin Taghiyev, and an oil refinery in Baku, Paul Lancrenon, 1891

By the 1890s, travellers were not only increasingly discovering Baku's oil fields as interesting motifs, but also looking further to the East and across the Caspian Sea. The Russian state used its expansion into Central Asia extensively to present itself as a great power with a civilizing mission in its newly acquired territories. This policy was implemented in various visual forms within the empire itself (Dikovitskaya 2007; Parker 1983), but it also attracted foreigners to visit the General-Governorate of Turkestan, often choosing the route via Baku and across the Caspian Sea. A fair in Tashkent in 1890 became a platform for the celebration of colonial achievements, and not only encouraged some of the Russian state's highest representatives, such as Minister of Finance Ivan A. Vyshnegradskii and his assistant (and successor) Sergei Iu. Witte, to take the Trans-Caspian Railway towards the southeast (Brower 2003, 85), but also sparked the interest of a further French photographer who accepted an invitation to join the celebratory exhibition: Paul Nadar (Tournachon, 1856–1939). Arriving in Baku in 1890, his equipment included a Kodak camera, developed by American George Eastman only a couple of years before, which made photography a much more practical endeavour ('Paul Nadar', n.d.). Hence, he not only took numerous photographs during his travels – he brought more than 1,200 negatives back to France, many of which are on display in museums to this day (Kouteinikova 2020, 154–55; Lacoste n.d.) – but also produced a series of scenes of everyday life, including portraits of women and children in the streets of Baku. Furthermore, the city's modernising infrastructure attracted Nadar, as a photograph of the Baku railway station reflects, built as part of the extension of the Transcaucasus Railway to Baku in the early 1880s. The station, which would become a popular subject of postcards from Baku, is additionally connected to another technological innovation of the same decade – a horsecar tramway (see fig. 4).



Fig. 4 Railway Station in Baku, Paul Nadar, 1890

A third French traveller and photographer to visit Baku in the 1890s was Hugues Krafft (1853–1935). Although his more famous travelogue, *A Travers le Turkestan Russe*, based on a visit to Central Asia in 1899, rather overshadows his journey through the Caucasus in the previous months, it nonetheless proved productive and he brought more than 500 shots of the region back to France. Drawing on Krafft's correspondence, Ana Cheishvili has shown that he had not initially planned to cross to the Caspian Sea, but had grabbed the opportunity for a trip to Baku "for two or three days" when he was made to wait to pick up photographic prints in Tiflis (Cheishvili 2017, 29–32). Krafft gave an insight into his photographic activities in Baku in a report for the *Bulletin du Photo-Club de Paris*, in which he described his equipment and praised it for having been useful when taking quick shots of bazaar scenes, moving crowds and popular festivities, when he was eager to avoid any attention among the Muslim or other public. He furthermore stressed that he was able to take all his photos – with the exception of a handful taken in an atelier – outdoors, at different times of day and in different light conditions (Krafft 1899, 260–261).

A key figure to inform Krafft on the region was the French archaeologist Joseph de Baye (1853–1931), whom he had most likely met for the first time in Moscow on the occasion of the coronation of Nikolai II in 1896 (Cheishvili 2017, 21–23). By the 1890s, De Baye had developed an interest

in the study of the Russian Empire and published extensively on Georgia as well as on areas north of the Caucasus mountain range. He was an enthusiastic photographer and took more than 600 photos in Georgia alone (Cheishvili and Peltier-Caroff 2018, 312–13). His Baku visits proved similarly productive and, like Krafft's photographs, his shots suggest that he was able to rely on a new generation of cameras that allowed him to quickly capture scenes in the streets of the old town, including street vendors carrying their goods, veiled women passing by, and women doing the laundry in the port of Baku (see fig. 5–6). The photographs of the two friends Krafft and de Baye reflect the progress in camera technology that allowed them to add ethnographic scenes to the more static displays of industrial sites. While infrastructure and technology were still primary motifs in early Baku photography, the introduction of lighter and smaller cameras facilitated the travelling photographers' ambition to capture scenes of everyday life against the backdrop of religiously motivated scepticism towards photography among parts of the city's population.



Fig. 5–6 Baku street scenes, Joseph de Baye, 1900

However, not only Western European travellers equipped with a camera contributed to the development of the visual legacy of imperial Baku. Dmitriĭ I. Ermakov (c. 1845–1916) was possibly the most prominent and most productive photographer in the region at that time. In 1896, he published his collection of 18,000 *vidy i tipy* (views and types – the ‘type photograph’ aimed to illustrate the characteristics of a racial group, cf. Edwards 1990) in his first systematic catalogue, while today’s collection in the Georgian National Museum encompasses more than 25,000 photos (Ermakov 1896; Mamatsashvili 2014, 29). The life and oeuvre of Ermakov combine several typical features of early photography in the region. Firstly, he was a graduate

of the Military Topography School and established a photography business in Tiflis around 1870 (Scheiwiller 2018, 150–51). Ermakov's studio became a hub of exchange between his students, such as the equally influential Antoin Sevruguin (c. 1845–1933), and travellers such as Krafft, who visited Ermakov to get his photos printed (Cheishvili 2017, 29). Secondly, Ermakov was in frequent communication with photographers in Western Europe, beyond welcoming them to his studio. As a member of the French Photographic Society, he took part in its 10th exhibition in Paris in 1874, where he, alongside Barkanov's *vidy i tipy Kavkaza*, presented 17 photos of 'Asian Turkey' (Catalogue 1874, 5–9). Thirdly, based on his military education, he joined his fellow exhibitor on the battlefields of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878 and participated as a war photographer. Fourthly, his work combined curiosity about industrialisation in the Caucasus region with the intention of portraying its population.

Other than the passing traveller, however, Ermakov worked on a broad chronicle of the region that relied on staged photography using large plates rather than pictures taken with a handheld camera. At a time when photographic enlargement had not yet been developed, his scenes of Baku were captured on plates of up to 28x38cm in size (Ermakov 1896, 26–28). His photos of the rural areas of the Baku and Elizavetpol' governorates indicate that Ermakov indeed travelled with his bulky equipment all across the region. The photographer's ethnographic and anthropological interest was less satisfied within the city of Baku, where the majority of images display the oil fields and factories of foreign and domestic investors (see fig. 7).



Fig. 7 The Nobel Factory in Baku, Dmitrii I. Ermakov, approx. 1890

Photos of oil derricks and the new railway tracks became indispensable illustrations in any book about Baku and beyond at the turn of the century. English journalist and travel writer Charles Marvin unfortunately does not reveal the identity of the photographer(s) who provided him, for instance, with an image of the ‘Nobel Brothers’ No. 25 Well’ (Marvin 1891, 211) for his *The Region of the Eternal Fire*. German industrialist Max Albrecht, however, who had established his company ‘Mineralölwerke Albrecht & Co’ in Baku and travelled from there into Central Asia, published his *Russisch Centralasien. Reisebilder aus Transkaspien, Buchara und Turkestan* in 1896, and indicated that he had relied on two Tiflis-based photographers (Aleksandr K. Èngel’ and Grigorii Ia. Babalov), as well as on the works of the most renowned photographer to establish himself in pre-war Baku: Aleksandr M. Mishon (1858–1921).

Aleksandr M. Mishon and Baku’s Local Studios

Aleksandr M. Mishon had a particularly significant influence on the development of the photography scene in Baku. Born to a Polish-French family that had migrated to the Kharkov Governorate in the 1850s, Mishon’s path towards fame as an influential pioneer of photography in the southern Russian Empire was predestined, as his father had opened the first photo studio in the city of Slaviansk in 1870. Portrait photography provided an income to the Mishon family, but industrial photography soon gained its attention when Mishon – whether Mikhail or already Aleksandr remains uncertain – chose to travel to Iuzovka (today’s Donetsk) and take photos of the factory founded by Welsh engineer John Hughes, who also gave the city its name. Either way, Aleksandr followed in his father’s footsteps, learnt the photography trade, and a decade after its establishment the Mishon photo studio already went by the son’s name (Khil’kovskii et al. 2013, 10–18).

After having spent a year in the governorate’s capital city, where he also established a new business, Mishon eventually moved to Baku in 1884 where he would have a decisive influence on the emergence of the photography scene over the next quarter of a century. Within three years, he had received a permit to run a photo studio. As soon as it opened, he reached out to a wider audience by placing advertisements in the newspaper *Kaspiï*, informing its readers about the new studio on central Torgovaia ul., which aside from portraits offered landscape photography and “accepted orders for shots of factories, businesses, architectural buildings, etc., for the most inexpensive prices” (*Fotograf A. Mishon*’ 1887). From then

onwards, he could read his name frequently printed in bold letters above a three-line commercial in the same newspaper (see ‘*A. Mishon*’ 1887). Furthermore, he also seems to have provided tourists with “views of the Caucasus, the Transcaucasus region and other localities”, as a curious anecdote about a group of Chinese travelling to Orenburg via Baku and Astrachan’ and shopping at Mishon’s premises reveals (‘*Kitaïcy*’ 1888). Mishon’s activities included lecturing on photographic theory and practice, and he also engaged in organising ‘Baku’s circle of photography amateurs’. His participation in exhibitions in Paris, St. Petersburg and Tiflis – in addition to interaction with photographers traveling to Baku – thus represents the lively exchange of knowledge that took place between Baku-based photographers and colleagues in other parts of the Russian Empire or Western Europe, through which technological advancements such as the new, smaller cameras of the late 1880s also reached the photo studios on the shores of the Caspian Sea. Furthermore, the development of Baku’s photography scene was covered by leading photography journals of the time, like *Fotograf-Liubitel*’ and *Russkii Fotograficheskiĭ Zhurnal* (Khil’kovskii et al. 2013, 32–46).

By the end of the decade, however, Mishon was not satisfied with the state of journalism in Baku and decided to take matters into his own hands. Already an interim editor of *Ezhegodnik g. Baku* during the 1890s, he launched his own journal, *Kavkaz i Sredniaia Aziia v fotografiakh i opisaniakh*, with the first issue published in November 1899. An advertisement in the Tbilisi-based Armenian language newspaper *Mshak* on the launch of the new journal suggests that the news spread quickly across the region (‘*Kavkaz i Sredniaia Aziia*’ 1899). The “monthly, illustrated journal” existed for almost ten years, during which only one or two issues – if at all – were published each year before Mishon left the city of Baku and moved back to Izium in the Kharkov Governorate in 1908. In the very heterogeneous journal in terms of thematic and regional emphasis, Baku’s oil industry was prominently discussed and visualised in the majority of issues. The first number, for instance, opened with a two-part story “on the kingdom of oil” (Kaplia 1899) – two of the five full-page images (all taken by Mishon himself) show production in the oil fields of Baku (see fig. 8; the other three images show the ancient cave town of Uplistsikhe, the town and cathedral of Mtskheta in Georgia, and St. Gregory Church in Darachichag, today’s Tsaghkadzor, in Armenia).

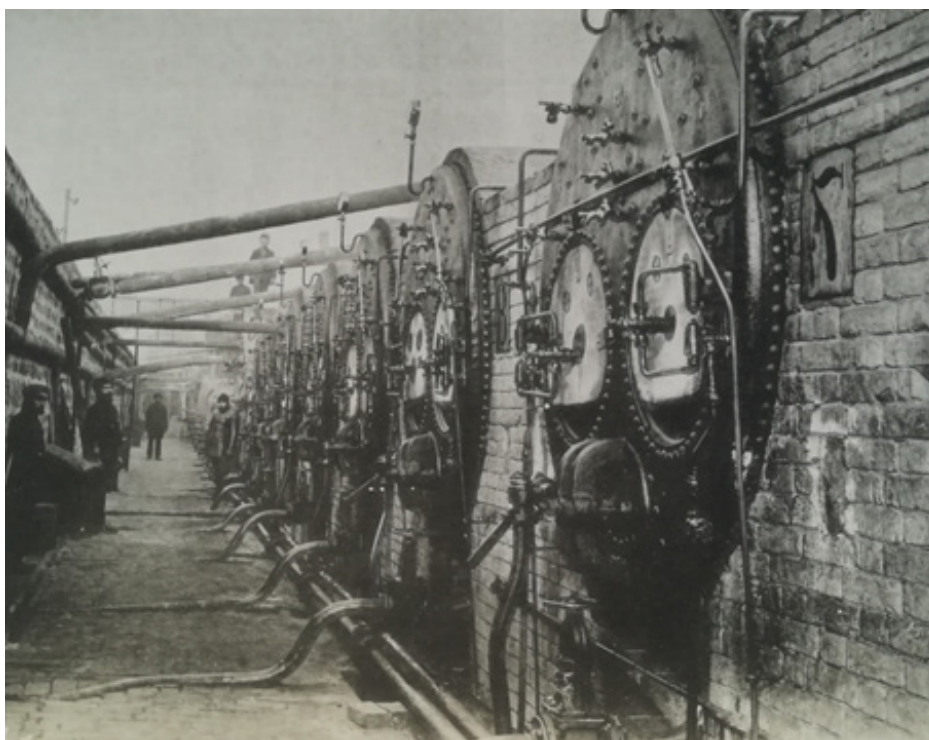


Fig. 8 Stokeholds in the oil fields,
Aleksandr M. Mishon, approx. 1899

The interest excited by the development of Russia's power in the Black Sea and Caspian, and the progress of the petroleum industry at Baku" (Marvin 1891, vii) eventually guided another major innovation to Baku: film. Several authors have claimed that the first film in Baku was shot in 1896, allegedly by Belgian Camille Cerf, who had already recorded the coronation of Nikolaï II and thereby produced the first film in the Russian Empire earlier that year. It therefore appears not entirely implausible that he might have travelled south to capture the oil wells of Baku on film ('Oil Wells' n.d.; Murray and Heumann 2009, 19–27; Rust 2013, 193). Cerf certainly was the first to bring the technology developed by the Lumière brothers to the Russian Empire, but the person who used it to produce the first moving scenes in Baku's history was probably Aleksandr Mishon. He took the new film equipment to the oil fields of Bibiheybat and Balakhany, and produced two films of approx. 30 seconds length and which were registered in the *Catalogue Lumière* (nos. 1034 and 1035; see Kazimzade 1997). The motion pictures were

to be shown at the upcoming 1900 world fair in Paris, but an interested audience in Baku had the chance to see them beforehand. The screening was announced on the title page of *Kaspiĭ* for 2 August 1898, with the text emphasising in capital letters that it would take place only this one time. The programme included four scenes: 1) an oil gush fire in Bibiheybat; 2) the departure of his Highness, the Emir of Bukhara, on the steamship ‘Grand Duke Alekseĭ’; 3) a Caucasian dance; and 4) ‘I got you’ – a humorous incident in Baku’s city park (‘*Kinematograf*’ 1898). The second film to capture Baku’s oil industry was shot in Balakhany only two days after this screening, and another was made on 6 August with the new scenes added to the initial programme, from which only the Bibiheybat film was not dropped (‘*V Balakhanakh*’ 1898). A handful of additional screenings took place in Baku over the next couple of years, and while the selection of Mishon’s clips changed, the oil derricks remained a feature of each programme.

Mishon’s prominent position resulted to a great extent from his pioneering role in establishing film in this city on the Caspian Sea, but he was neither the first nor the only photographer in imperial Baku. Contemporary data suggests that 14 officially registered photographers were running businesses in town in the year that Mishon left (Khil’kovskii et al. 2013, 30), while at least 45 photographers and/or studios are known to have operated at some time in pre-revolutionary Baku (‘*Fotoatel’e*’ 2009). Some of these photographers had come from other parts of the empire, like Mishon and Polish military topographer Iulian S. Zelinskiĭ (Popov 2013, 507), some might have come from abroad – such as ‘Genrikh Levèn’, about whom it is only known that he established the ‘English Studio’ (Ibid., 723) – while many stemmed from the city’s Armenian community. Georgii Shamkharov (Shamkharyan), for instance, opened his studio ‘Žorž’ (Georges) already in 1883. It turned out to be not only one of the first, but one of the most productive and long-lasting establishments, and offered its clients both portrait photography and an array of “local and Transcaspian views and types” (‘Žorž’ 1888). Other photographers included P. Babayan with his ‘Rembrandt’ studio, brothers Vasilii (?) and David Rostomyan, who made themselves a name with their studios (see fig. 9 for a photo of the city’s oil fields taken by V. Rostomyan’s studio ‘Svet i teni’) and as court photographers to the Persian Shah (D. Rostomyan), and I. Melikyan.



Fig. 9 Baku's oil fields, photo taken by
V. Rostomyan, approx. 1900

Their clientele consisted of the urban middle and upper classes that sought to secure portraits of themselves and their families, and was not confined to Baku's Armenian community. Furthermore, the city's Armenian photographers contributed significantly to the development of the photography scene through lively exchange of knowledge. Shamkharov had an administrative role in 'Baku's circle of photography amateurs', photographs by Melikyan won a gold medal at an international exhibition in Antwerp, while David Rostomyan, similarly to Ermakov and Sevruguin, took photography across imperial boundaries in the south by advertising himself as court photographer to the Persian Shah. Ashkhen Aristakova, one of the very few women to pioneer photography in the region, was also part of Baku's Armenian community. However, it is not known for how long she managed to keep her studio running. It seems reasonable to say that Armenians had a significant influence on the formation of local photographic practices; an influence that may have resembled the role of Armenian networks in bringing early photography to the Ottoman Empire,

and one that certainly deserves further investigation. The work of Baku's Armenian photographers also exemplifies how photographic practices were subject to processes of negotiation rather than linear transfer, insofar as photography was not exclusively brought to the imperial periphery by Russians or foreigners, but also taken up by parts of the local urban population who were integrated into far-reaching networks of exchange in the city's dynamic 1880s and 1890s.

Concluding Remarks – Embracing Baku's Photographic History

Mishon left Baku in 1908 when the oil boom had already slowed down and political and ethnic unrest frequently struck the city. By then, photography had become firmly established, however, and a considerable number of studios covered the ever-increasing demand for representative, photographic images among the city's social and economic upper class. Although fierce competition must have characterised the first decades of business both in the oil sector and among the photography studios, in both cases the internationalisation of the city contributed to innovation and co-constructive processes of knowledge creation that left an imprint on its economic and cultural development. Growing in parallel, and yet intertwined with one another, the oil industry and photography in Baku profited from the city's increasing importance in a globalising economy in the latter half of the 19th century. The oil boom on the Caspian shore was accompanied by an influx of foreign investors and travellers who turned parts of the city into cosmopolitan platforms of exchange. Technological innovations in the form of oil pipelines and tankers shaped the image of a progressive city. In the field of photography, this meant that travellers were eager to document this process: the portfolio of anyone visiting with a camera included industrial photographs, while the international companies in the city were interested in promoting their facilities with exactly these images. At the same time, the Russian Empire's ambition to promote the successful integration of its periphery led to the utilisation of the very same photographs, in which oil derricks and railway tracks were selected to represent a region and the appropriation of new technology.

As the century progressed and the capability of photography advanced, the technological development of the cameras in use transformed photographic practices. The arrival of smaller and lighter devices resulted in the opportunity to picture ethnographic scenes among parts of the population that were sceptical towards new visual technologies", while sinking prices broadened the studios' clientele from the top of the oil oligarchy to include the growing upper and middle classes. Hence, the

industrial revolution indeed produced photography in Baku, against the backdrop of international exchange and shaped by the co-construction of knowledge. Yet, the history of early photography in the city of Baku, as well as in the wider Caucasus region, mostly remains a historiographical orphan overshadowed by the glitz and glamour of the oil boom years. However, it offers multiple promising fields for future research. Aside from the questions addressed in the introduction to this chapter, it remains to be clarified how Baku's local photography scene was connected to global networks of photographic exchange. How, from where, and by whom were cameras, chemicals and other materials imported and sold? How did contacts form that led Baku-based photographers to exhibit their works at exhibitions in Western Europe? Were the Armenian photographers of the city integrated into a wider network of idea exchange arranged along ethnic lines that reached fellow photographers in the Russian centres of commerce, into the other South Caucasus governorates and further into the Ottoman Empire? And how were the photographers on the Caspian shore involved in late 19th century photography in the Persian Empire?

Beyond the richly preserved (but often poorly catalogued) photo documents of pre-revolutionary Baku photography, kept for instance at the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan (MATM, cf. Dadashev and Agaev 2019) and the Central State Archive of Kino/Photo/Phono/Documents, St. Petersburg (TsGAKFFD SPb), as well as in the rich holdings of the *Otdel izoizdaniĭ* in Moscow's Russian State Library (RGB) and St. Petersburg's National Library of Russia (RNB), further research would require access to the photographers' personal documents and their correspondence with colleagues in the city and especially abroad, as well as to commercial registers and the accounting data of the photo studios in Baku. Attention to such sources promises rewarding insights, as it would give us a better understanding of the relationship between local agency and global processes, thereby enabling the writing of an entangled history against the backdrop of trans-imperial and trans-cultural interactions that constituted the co-construction rather than transfer of knowledge.

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IV. MIGRATION AND NATIONAL ACADEMIC FACILITIES

THE PROFESSIONAL MUSIC EDUCATORS AND THE ORGANIZED MUSIC LIFE IN MACEDONIA THROUGH MIGRATION IN EUROPE AND THE BLACK SEA REGION (PRIOR THE WORLD WAR I)

Nataša Didenko

Abstract: Music life, as part of the overall cultural activity in Macedonia, was conditioned by the socio-political situation in the first half of the 20th century. In this paper, an attempt is being made in presenting the life of the musicians, who in that period, through the connection of the Macedonian music culture with the cultural traditions of other close or remote people, made a significant contribution to the collection and recording of the Macedonian folklore as well as played a valuable role in organizing the music life, through the formation of music amateur groups in several cities in Macedonia.

Since the beginnings of the Macedonian Revival period until the establishment of the contemporary Macedonian state in 1944, the main goals of the Macedonian people were directed towards recognition of the Macedonian national legacy, acceptance of the Macedonian language and its application in oral and written speech, and opening own Macedonian schools and churches, which resulted in the tendency of preserving the folklore, as an area appreciable for the cultural and national identity and development of the Macedonian people (Didenko 2016, 174).

In fact, songs and music have been practised in almost every aspect of human life. Singing has essential meaning due to the following reasons: to prolong life; to wage war; church singing in which God is glorified for his miraculous creations, and the old and new songs can describe not only the different festivities, but can also be regarded as a testimony to younger generations (Koviloski 2017, 214). Consequently, the Macedonian poet Kočo Racin points out: “The song of Macedonia is its prayer, a mirror of its soul, a sigh” and that is because “all which could not be said freely, or was to be silenced-survived within itself, found its place in the song” (Racin 1966, 255). At the same time there is also the thought of Konstantin Miladinov: “Folk songs are an indicator of the

degree of the mental development of the people and a mirror of their life” (Mladenov 1937, 12).

In the first half of the 20th century, information can be found on the existence of amateur music groups in several cities. In fact, the cities were environments for conveying various civilization values, in which the music could not be avoided. Each city, more or less, experienced and nurtured its own music heritage, featuring individual musicians or amateur groups (Džimrevski 2005, 381), leaving a long-lasting mark on Macedonia’s cultural history. In that sense, in our paper we present the life of the musicians, who through the connection of the Macedonian music culture with the cultural traditions of other close or distant people, made a significant contribution to the collection and recording of the Macedonian folklore and to those who made a remarkable input into the development of the organized music life through the formation of music amateur groups in several cities in Macedonia.

For the first time such a great activity of Macedonian musicians is noticeable with the appearance of Atanas Badev (Prilep, 1860 – Kyustendil, 1908), as one of the first Macedonian educated composers, music pedagogues, ethnomusicologists, choir conductors and music theorists, from the end of the 19th century. He studied music education at Moscow-Synodal School and St. Petersburg Singing School as a prominent and talented student in the class of Russian composers Nikolai Rimski-Korsakov and Mily Balakirev (Didenko 2018, 127). After completing his studies with dedication and commitment, he not only distinguished himself as an excellent teacher and conductor, whose students spreaded the music education and culture throughout Macedonia in the 19th century, but he also studied, researched and collected the Macedonian musical folklore. The efforts that he invested in the development of the educational and creative musical activity helped him to become the first Macedonian melograph who discovered the basis for the establishment of the measure theory by grouping the smallest metric elements (*chronos protos*) into extended time-bars (Ibid., 130).

For the melo-rhythmic structures of Macedonian folklore, he read an extensive paper in 1904 at the Second Congress¹ of the Music

¹ There are several sources that offer information about the Congress where Badev’s paper was presented. The paper was presented at the first congress in 1903 according to Venelin Krstev *Essays on the History of Bulgarian Music* (Sofia, 1970), and Živko Firfov and Simonovski Metodija in *Macedonian Collectors from the End of the 19th Century*. Whereas according to Liliaana Vitanova in *Atanas Badev* (Sofia, 1955); Dragoslav Ortakov in *Atanas Badev and His Zlatoust (Divine) Liturgy*, Skopje, 2004

Association in Sofia, where he presented his paper on “Macedonian Folklore and Its Features”. Several educated musicians, including Dimitar Hadži Georgiev and Dimitar Popov Ivanov, asked Badev to print his paper, which would lay the foundations of contemporary Macedonian ethnography. However, since he did not receive any financial support and he himself did not have enough funds, his work was not printed, and eventually the paper disappeared (Ibid., 129–30). Today, the existence of the paper is known only through published reports in the press releases of the Congress. In terms of Badev’s achievements in this area, the Bulgarian musicologist Ivan Kamburov (1883–1955) wrote:

Knowing folk music well (especially Macedonian), Badev was the first to form the basis for establishing the measure theory of our folk music by grouping the smallest elements (*chronos protos*) into extended-time bars, a matter which he elaborated in an extensive report at the Music Congress in 1904 (Golabovski 1999, 99).

In his hometown, Badev made an impressive contribution to the development and progress of the music culture, with the formation of the First Church Choir in 1879. The choir was composed of pupils and music lovers, who sang in four voice types: alto, descant, tenor and bass and performed during Sunday services in the church but also occasionally on other holidays and festivities in the city. Josif Kondov, Dimitar Jančulev and others were among the first members of the choir. The choir also included the older lay clerks Todor Gavazov and Georgi Smičkov, who showed that the multiple-voice spiritual choral music, based on the Western European principles, was adopted by several lay clerks educated in the Byzantine spiritual and music tradition². As Kovilovski points out, Toma Nikolov (who later became a teacher in Prilep) witnessed the creation of the Prilep choir and its work. Nikolov recounts that during weddings, feasts and other celebrations in Prilep and Varoš, many songs were sung, including “The Russian Tsar is the one and only on Earth”, “He is alive, he is alive” and “Soldiers enrol on the field near Sofia” (Kovilovski, 2017, 221). Nikolov admired the choir’s performance:

When the choir started to roar in the church during the service, the worshippers were dumbstruck because their songs

(Ortakov 2004, 25) and Jane Kodžabašija in *The Church Singing in Macedonia* and Atanas Badev, the 150th anniversary of his birth, his paper was presented at the second congress in 1904 (Didenko 2018, 129).

² For more details on First Church Choir, see: Ibid., 125–37.

were mesmerizing. There was no wedding without the choir. I started to go from Varoš to Prilep regularly every week so I could sing in the choir. During my absence, I was replaced by singers in the monastery from the village of Varoš, as they were in abundance and competed over who could sing more. When Atanas Badev left for Sofia, he was replaced by the singer who was left at the city church, Georgi Smičkov... (cited in: *Ibid.*, 222).

According to Georgi Trajčev, in the school year 1880/81, the choir was led by Smičkov and had about 30 members, with 7–8 singers in each of the 4 voice types (alto, descant, tenor and bass). The members were mostly self-taught, since at the time none of them knew the musical notation, and shape-note singing was still not a school subject (Trajčev 1925, 153–54). However, the archived music materials handwritten by Smičkov indicate that he formulated the tunes of certain spiritual compositions from a European to a Byzantine notation for the needs of the choir. Accordingly, it can be concluded that the choristers also used written music materials when learning the compositions (Ortakov 2004, 23). After Smičkov, subsequent conductors of the choir included Jordan Jančulev, Anton Tošev and others (Trajčev, 1938, 6). At the beginning of the school year 1886/87, the choir was again handed over to its founder Badev (Koviloski 2017, 222; Didenko 2018, 132–33).

During the First World War, the choir of the Church of the Holy Annunciation was inactive, until 1922 when was reactivated again under the leadership of the conductor Peter Spaseski. Later, the choir's leadership was taken over by the music teacher Vasilije Nikolik³. During that period, the choir included about 40 male members from different professions: officials, intellectuals, craftsmen, and others from the town. In addition to the performances of the religious services, the choir was invited to perform independent concerts during the major public holidays. Usually the performances were held in the “Sokolski Dom”, but in the spirit of Serbian educational propaganda in the interwar period the choir performed in the Prilep schools during the holiday in honour of St. Sava⁴ (Didenko 2018, 133).

³ Father of Vlastimir and Slobodan Nikolovski, famous Macedonian composers.

⁴ St. Sava is a holy day of the Serbian Orthodox Church that is celebrated on 27 January (14 January according to the old calendar), in memory of the Serbian Archbishop Rastko Nemanjić (Sveti Sava). On 2 January 1840, St. Sava was declared as a patron of schools. By 1945, St. Sava was the national day of education, later abolished with a government decision, and from 1990 celebrated as a patron of schools again (*Ibid.*, 133).

Badev's most important work of art is *The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom* for mixed choir, printed in Leipzig in 1898. The liturgy was composed on the basis of spiritual compositions he had had the opportunity to study in the major music metropolises such as Moscow and St. Petersburg. On 18 September 1988, the *Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom* was performed for the first time in front of the Macedonian public as part of the "Struga Musical Autumn", and two years later, in 1990, it was performed for the consecration of the Cathedral Church of St. Clement of Ohrid in Skopje (Golabovski 1999, 98). The latest edition of *The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom*, was promoted on 24 June 2014, during the Great and Holy Lent Concert of the Ss. Cyril and Methodius choir from Veles, in the Cathedral Church of St. Panteleimon's of the Diocese of Povardarie in Veles. A transcript of the Liturgy in digital form was prepared by professor Veselinka Madžarova, who was also the conductor of the Ss. Cyril and Methodius youth church choir in the Diocese of Povardarie, and the edition was printed by the Macedonian Orthodox Church – Ohrid Archbishopric (Ibid., 128–29). Badev spent the last years of his life in poor health and in need for constant medical care. On 21 September 1908, he passed away from a heart attack in a train on his way from Sofia to Kjustendil (Ibid., 131).

Since the end of the 19th century, other outstanding Macedonian melographs began to appear. Gavazov from Prilep was one of them. He played an exceptional role in the development of the music life in his hometown (Koviloski 2010, 27). He gave contribution to the development of the church choral singing, with the formation of the First Church Choir in Prilep. Nevertheless, Gavazov showed particular interest in recording and melographing Macedonian folk songs from several cities and areas of Macedonia. The collected materials were later published in *Collections of Folk Songs from Sofia* (further: *CFSS*) in 1892 and 1893.

In the *CFSS* from 1892, for the first time Gavazov published eighty two Macedonian songs, out of which 62 were marked with notes, i.e. melographed. In this collection, he classified the Macedonian songs from his hometown Prilep in the following manner: 14 folk songs, 18 dance songs; 5 non-dance songs; 3 songs close to dance songs; 4 humorous dance songs; 19 songs following customs; 4 Easter songs; 2 harvest songs and 13 table songs. If you analyze these songs, you will notice that they are usually in symmetrical rhythm ($\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{4}{4}$), by applying one sign (b-moll). Under each of them he gives an explanation when and where the songs were sung (Gavazov 1892, 105–36).

In 1893, the *CFSS* published seventy nine songs, out of which 77 were marked with notes, i.e. melographed. In this collection he classified the poems according to the cities and districts, from which he collected the materials: from Prilep – 21 table songs; 5 heroic songs; from Veles – 1 monotonous song; 18 dance songs; 4 non-dance songs; 1 humorous dance songs; 2 custom songs; 4 harvest songs; 12 table songs; 3 heroic songs; from Štip – 2 monotonous songs; 1 dance song and 2 table songs from Thessaloniki. In this collection there are also three songs melographed by Gavazov from the collection of Kuzman Šapkarev⁵: 2 songs from Ohrid and one Lazar song. While melographing the poems, he also indicated the number under which they are registered in the collection of Šapkarev (78, 147 and 149) (Gavazov 1893, 86–125). If we analyze the songs in this collection, we will notice that they are usually in symmetrical rhythm ($\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, and $\frac{4}{4}$), with the use of one sign (b-moll). From the published melographed Macedonian songs in the collections, we can see that he gave a notable contribution to the collection, recording and the melographing of the music folklore in Prilep. His papers were reprinted in the book *Macedonian Mellographs from the End of the 19th Century*, edited by Živko Firfov and Metodija Simonovski (Firfov, Simonovski 1962, 37–132).

Alexandar Konev is another distinguished Macedonian melograph from the end of the 19th century. He was born on 15 February 1867 in Prilep. He graduated history in the fifth generation at the University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia (Crnorizechrabar 2014, n.p). At the end of the 19th century, he moved to Pazardžik, where he worked as a teacher and a head of the church choir. He was active in the Macedonian society in Pazardžik. Konev was also a member of the Supreme Macedonian-Odrin Committee (further: SMOC) and participated in the seventh (July–August 1900), the eighth (April 1901) and the nineth (July–August 1901) Congress of the SMOC (Biblioteka “Strumski” 1894, n.p).

Konev was active in the field of collecting and melographing the Macedonian folk songs. At the age of 27, in 1894, he published the first forty melographed Macedonian songs in the *CFSS*. As Gavazov, Konev classified the songs according to the towns and areas he collected the materials from: a) ten songs from Prilep; b) five songs from Skopje; c) one song from Palanka; d) eight songs from the region of Štip e) five songs from the region of Kratovo f) three songs from Radoviš; g) one song from the region of Kumanovo, h) two songs from Sersko; i) three

⁵ He was one of the first publishers of the first Macedonian textbooks and one of the most important collectors, and affirmators of Macedonian folk arts.

songs from Veles and j) two songs from the region of Ohrid (Konev 1894, 51–66).

In the *Collections of Folk Songs from Sofia*, in 1895 and 1896, he exclusively published Macedonian folk songs from his native city of Prilep: *CFSS* (1895) – 35 Macedonian folk songs (Konev 1895, 108–22) and *CFSS* (1896) – 13 Macedonian folk songs from his hometown Prilep (Konev 1894, 119–25). His papers were reprinted in the book *Macedonian Melographs from the End of the 19th Centuries*, edited by Firfov and Simonovski (Firfov, Simonovski 1962, 137–207).

Konev together with Gavazov melographed the songs collected by one of the greatest Macedonian collectors of folk arts – Marko Cepenkov. In this regard, the teacher of Prilep Nikola Gančev Eničerev, wrote: “The songs collected by Marko Cepenkov and noted by the Prilep musicians Gavazov and Konev represent a glittering bunch, on which many can envy” (Eničerev 1906, 110). The appearance of such noted Collections of folk arts presented a noteworthy event for the Macedonian cultural past. Not only they made positive influence on the activity of collecting and systematization of the music folklore, but they also contributed to the affirmation of the progressive ideology for the Macedonian revival (Koviloski 2010, 54).

Georgi L’žev (born in Voden) is another important Macedonian music melograph from the late 19th century. Although he contributed to the development of the choral music in Voden (Makedono-Odrinskoto opülchenie 2007, 561) and Veliko Trnovo (Nikolov 1989, 345), he showed a particular interest in the collection and recording of Macedonian folklore. In 1890, in *CFSS* he published sixteen songs from different cities and areas of Macedonia: a) six songs from his hometown; b) one song from the region of Gevgelija; c) two songs from the region of Meglen; d) two songs from the region of Prilep; e) one song from the region of Ohrid; f) two songs from the region of Debar; e) one song from the region of Veles and h) one song from the region of Trakija. At the beginning L’žev wrote that he was listening and collecting the songs from different regions of Macedonia (L’zhev 1890, 145–60). His papers were reprinted in the book *Macedonian Melographs from the End of the 19th Centuries*, under the redaction of Firfov and Simonovski (Firfov, Simonovski 1962, 213–50).

In the first half of the 20th century, some significant musicians emerged who contributed to the development of the music life and the preservation of the Macedonian folk art. Argir Manasiev (see fig. 1), who

was born on 15 February 1872, in the village Sehovo⁶ near Gevgelija, gave a considerable contribution to the development of the organized music life in Gevgelija. After graduating from the Catholic High School in Zeitenlik in Thessaloniki in 1894 he was employed as a teacher in Novo Selo. In the same year, he became a member of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, and was sent to work as a teacher in the Thessaloniki village Negovan. In the school year 1897–1898 he was a teacher in the village of Smokvica in Gevgelija, and in 1898 he was appointed as a teacher in Gevgelija. From August 1901 to August 1905, Manasiev was a district commander in Gevgelija and a delegate at the Rila Congress. In 1906 he immigrated to Sofia, where he lived until 1908. After the Young Turk Revolution, he returned to Macedonia and till 1912 he worked as a teacher in Gevgelija (Makedonska nacija 2012, n.p).

In 1908 he set up the first brass orchestra in Gevgelija (see fig. 3), also known as the first orchestra in Macedonian music history. The formation of the orchestra would fulfill two ideas. The first was to develop and enrich the orchestral musicianship, which is the cultural-educational message, and the second was in the service of the revolutionary organization (Džimrevski 2005, 101). Manasiev performed with the brass orchestra at all festivities in the city and the villages: Leskovo, N'te, Ošin, Tušin, Sehovo, Bojmica and others (villages in today's Republic of Greece) and on various occasions played mostly Macedonian dances and songs, in order to preserve the tradition and encourage the national feeling among the Macedonians in the mentioned villages (Ibid., 101). According to the testimony of Rajna Džokova from the village of Stojakovo (1898–1994), this orchestra had an interesting performance in June 1909. While travelling to Kosovo to make a bow in front of the Emperor Murat I (1359–1389), the Sultan Mehmed Rešad V passed through Gevgelija. The orchestra was playing appropriate songs as a token of hospitality in front of the Sultan's carriage, when a beautiful woman from Gevgelija gave him a branch of silk cocoon, and the sultan awarded her with a gold coin. The orchestra actively worked until 1913 (Stamkov and Trajkov 2016, 155). Manasiev spent his last years of life in Gorna Džumaja (today's Blagoevgrad, in Bulgaria), where he died on 7 September 1932.

Boris Dionisiev Janašliev (see fig. 2), born on 1 September 1880 in Dojran, also gave a significant contribution to the development of the music life in Dojran and the formation of music amateur collectives in the first half of the 19th century. He finished elementary school in his

⁶ Today's Idomeni, in Greece (Simovski 1998, 65).

native place and continued his high school education in the Bulgarian Male High School in Thessaloniki. In 1905–1906 he graduated from the pedagogical school in Skopje and in 1908 he earned a scholarship from the Bulgarian Exarchate that helped him enroll into the law school Hukuk mektebi in Thessaloniki-though he did not finish it.

From the school year 1906–1907 to 1909–1910 Janašliev was a teacher for singing and conductor of the school choir in Dojran (made up of male and female voices). The repertoire consisted of the following compositions: “The Sultan’s March – Hamidie”, “March of the Intelligence”, “The Ottoman Anthem”, etc. (Janashliev 1936, 49–50). For the first time in 1907, under the conduct of Janašliev, a funeral was carried out in Dojran accompanied by a choir (Janashliev 1934, 40).

Janašliev showed a particular interest in the melodious and diverse music folklore of his hometown. He melographed the Dojran’s folk songs, including: “I have a furious horse” (see fig. 4), “Girl, tell the truth” (see fig. 5), “She came to my dream” (see fig. 6), “Run water” and others (Janashliev 1936, 57–59). In the analysis of folk songs from Dojran, it can be noticed that he had knowledge of music subjects: solfeggio, music theory, harmony, counterpoint and composition, because while melographing the songs he used various rhythmic figures in symmetrical and asymmetrical measure. In addition to the rhythm, he determined the meter, which is the tempo of the songs and gave explanations how songs should be sung when repeating some parts.

Janašliev, is considered to be the initiator of setting up the first amateur orchestra in Dojran, which was composed of string, brass and other instruments. Besides Janašliev, who himself was the conductor of the orchestra, there were some other members, like: Mito Hadži Tašov (contrabassist), Ğorĝi Šekerdžiev (clarinetist), Krum Hadži Popov, Atanas Katardžiev, Kiro Tekeliev. The orchestra played on a great variety of occasions and holidays (Ibid., 64). In 1910, he acted as a secretary of the Bulgarian Metropolis in Lerin and in 1911–1912 he was appointed as the director of the primary schools in Bitola. His contribution to the social and political life in Dojran was conspicuous. In 1912–1913 he participated into the Balkan wars as one of the Macedonian-Odrin volunteers, and in 1918 in the First World War. In the school year 1918–1919 he was a director of the progymnasium in the village of Boboševo (Chalgünova n.d, 6). In 1919 in Strumica in front of Italian officers, the gymnasium mixed choir performed the anthem “Macedonia” (see fig. 7) for the first time, which Janašliev, as he wrote himself, was melographed according

to the example of the Italian melody. The anthem was translated in French and given to the Italian officers (Janashliev 1936, 70).

In the following period, from 1920 to 1926, he was a teacher of singing in the Gymnasium in Gorna Džumaja, and from 1924 to 1927 he was a member of the Bulgarian Music Council (Chalgünova n.d, 6). In 1934 in Sofia he published the first edition of the book about his hometown under the title *The City Dojran and Our Life under Turkish Period until 1912 (Memories)*. Two years later in 1936 under the same title the second edition of the book was published comprising some additions, maps of the city of Dojran and recorded songs. In 1937 he retired after 36 years of service. Due to his contribution to the socio-cultural development of the city of Dojran in 1943 (by the government of that time – my note), he was bestowed for a citizen of honor of the city (Chalgünova n.d, 6). He died in Sofia in 1964 at the age of 84. It can be said that Janašliev, as a longtime teacher of singing throughout several cities and rural areas in Macedonia: Dojran, Gevgelija, Strumica, Štip, v. Boboševo, Gorna Džumaja, Lerin, Bitola (Ibid. n.d 5), as well as a choir and orchestra conductor, a collector and a melograph of folk songs from Dojran, is one of the most important persons who gave a significant contribution to the development of musical life in his hometown.

Another outstanding composer, choir conductor, folklorist and collector of Macedonian folk songs in the first half of the 20th century is Josif Češmedžiev, born on 8 December⁷ 1890 in Skopje. This year 55 years are celebrated since the death of one of the very few musically educated Macedonians from the past. He was educated in his hometown – Skopje, Kumanovo, Thessaloniki and Constantinople. In Thessaloniki, as a student of Badev⁸, he showed a huge interest in folk songs. In 1899, Češmedžiev enrolled into the Bulgarian Spiritual Seminary in Constantinople (Ristovski 1980, 105). Under the leadership of Eisenstein – a chaplain master in the Sultan Orchestra, he began to learn to play various brass instruments. At the same time, he led the student orchestra at the seminary, for whose needs he composed the first musical compositions at the beginning of the 20th century (Kostovska 1990, 107). Upon his return in Skopje in 1908, he led a large choir and a spiritual orchestra composed of assistants and apprentices (Kiteski 2017, 159).

⁷ According to Marko Kiteski, Češmedžiev was born on 12 October 1890 (Kiteski 2017, 159).

⁸ In the school year 1885–1886 he was employed as a teacher in Thessaloniki (Kandilarov 1930, 81).

In 1909 he went to Germany to study the composition of the State Conservatory in Leipzig, in the class of the well-known German professors Hugo Riemann⁹ and Max Reger¹⁰ (Balareva 1967, 453). After completing his studies in 1913, due to the Balkan wars and the situation in Macedonia, he once remained to work as an assistant-chapel master at the Drama Theater in Hamburg. After returning from Germany, as a result of the new circumstances in Macedonia, he decided to go to Bulgaria where he worked as a teacher in Vidin, Yambol (1914–1920) and Sofia (1920–1927; 1930–1932).

Being active as a teacher, was not his only work. He also got engaged in other activities. Thus, from 1925 to 1928 he was an assistant at the Music Academy. In that period, he began working as a collaborator-writer of folk songs in the section ‘Folk music’ at the National Ethnographic Museum in Sofia (1928–1931) and was a music editor of the journal *Ustrem* (1923–1926), a body of the Macedonian Youth Alliance in Bulgaria. In 1926, the journals *Ustrem*, *Independent Macedonia* and *Ilinden* merged and started publishing the newspaper *Macedonia*. Česhmadžiev was appointed as a music editor of the newspaper called *Macedonia* (1926–1934), which at that time was one of the most influential newspapers of Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria, close to the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. He is also the editor of the music library *Pantheon* (Makedonska nacija 2014, n.p).

In the period of writing for the journal *Ustrem*, understanding the importance of recording, preserving and spreading its own song, the Macedonian Youth Association in Bulgaria reached a decision to publish a collection of Macedonian songs. That task was entrusted to Česhmedžiev, who had already had activities in that field. He was about to collect, select and analyze the potential songs for the collection. Česhmedžiev joyfully accepted the task and, together with his friend Nikola Džerov¹¹, began collecting songs in many villages and towns. In a short period of time, they collected and melographed two hundred and fourteen songs, adding

⁹ Riemann (18 July 1849 Sonderhausen – 10 July 1919, Leipzig, Germany) – German music theorist, pedagogue, music historian and music lexicographer. His most important work was the *Riemann Musical Vocal (Der Riemann)*, which has reached the top in the field of music lexicography.

¹⁰ Reger (19 March 1873 Band, Kingdom of Bavaria – 11 May 1916, Leipzig, Germany) – German composer, pianist and music teacher, a pupil of Hugo Riemann and a representative of late romanticism.

¹¹ Nikola Džerov (1892–1975) – prominent poet, writer in Bulgarian, and important part of Macedonian literary history.

them to the other 869 songs collected earlier. In 1926, the first collection of Češmedžiev's *Bulgarian Macedonian Songs, Original and Folk Tone of 2 and 3 Votes, for Unanimous and Mixed Choir*, was printed by the Association of Macedonian Youth Cultural Educational Organizations in Bulgaria. As the title itself speaks out, not only folk music but also authorized songs in Macedonian language were published, which in fact represent his compositions in the spirit of the nation. In fact, it was the only way a poem in Macedonian language to appear in a collection at that time in Bulgaria (Ristovski 1980, 106). In the collection, there are 48 songs from several parts of Macedonia: Petrič, Dolni Orman, v. Leško, Kostur, Veles, Struga, Strumica, Ohrid, Tikveš, Štip, Debar, Demir Hisar and Skopje.

Analyzing the songs of Češmedžiev, we can conclude that they are significant Macedonian folklore materials and that he showed remarkable results as a composer and a mellograph who had knowledge in the field of music subjects: solfeggio, music theory, harmony and counterpoint. This is indicated by the recordings of the songs, in which they mostly use asymmetrical measure (5/8, 7/8, 9/8, 10/8, 11/8, 14/6 and 19/16), as far as the symmetrical measure is concerned he used 2/4 and 4/4 tact. The tempo is also denoted, including the tonality for interpretation of each song, and in the more complex asymmetrical measure and the rhythm for interpretation. Otherwise, his creative opus is quite diverse. He appears as a composer of the opera *The Secret of Vardar* (1918), the three symphonic poems in g-moll (1920), the opera *Meglena* (1924) and the pantomime ballet *50 years First Sofia's Gymnasium* (libretto R. Koleva). He also composed symphonies for orchestra: two symphonies, out of which the first one is unfinished, six symphonic poems, four stage plays, and four compositions for the quartet (Kostovska 1990, 107–108). His results are also notable as a composer in the area of the choir song. He wrote a numerous children songs, songs for a mixed choir, he made changes of Macedonian and Turkish folk songs, etc. (Kiteski 2017, 159–60). Despite being a musically educated composer, Češmedžiev was also a choral conductor, who led the Macedonian mixed choir “Šar” (from 1926) and the mixed choir “Junak” (from 1933).

After the Second World War, he developed a rich educational and cultural activity in Bulgaria, where he continued recording and publishing Macedonian folk songs. Thus, in 1953, he published the collection of revolutionary songs *Ilinden* (1903–1953). The title suggests that the songs were recorded and harmonized by Češmedžiev, and published on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Ilinden Uprising. The publisher

of the collection is from the publishing house “Nauka i umetnost”. This collection contains a total of 36 songs (Ibid., 162). Two years later, in 1955, the same publisher published another collection by Češmedžiev, entitled *Macedonian songs*. And this collection is not extensive, it contains only 18 songs, all worked out and harmonized for a mixed choir, three voices for female and male choir, etc. (Ibid., 163). He died on 28 April 1964 in Sofia.

Regarding the current data about important Macedonian musicians from the second half of the 19th century to the first decades of the 20th century we can say that they played a significant role in many areas of the development of the music culture in Macedonia. As prominent educated composers, music pedagogues, melographs, choir conductors, folklorists and collectors of Macedonian folk songs, they contributed to collecting, recording and melographing Macedonian folklore, as well as organizing music life through the formation of music amateur groups from all around various cities in Macedonia. However, the writings of Badev and Češmedžiev have much higher values than the materials recorded by some other collectors. First of all, because they contain melographed records, made by individuals who were highly educated, qualified and proven as composers, choral conductors, folklorists and collectors of folk art. That is why we can say that they made an important contribution not only to the enrichment of the total fund of Macedonian folk songs, but as professional musicians and educators, they also made a significant contribution to the development of choral music life in several cities in general. In the end, a thought by Češmedžiev is highlighted about the meaning of the Macedonian folk song, which to this present time is one of the most cited thoughts by Macedonian collectors of Macedonian folk songs, folklorists, ethnomusicologists, melographes, composers and others:

We, the people of Macedonia, do not have pyramids and sphinxes, our native land is not decorated with palaces of material monuments, but we have something that neither the centuries nor the natural elements nor the demonic hand of the thugs can ruin. This inviolable force is poured into the only monument – the folk song and dance, the richest and most precious heritage left to us from the past life and culture of the Macedonians, preserved to this present day (Češmedžiev 1926, preface).

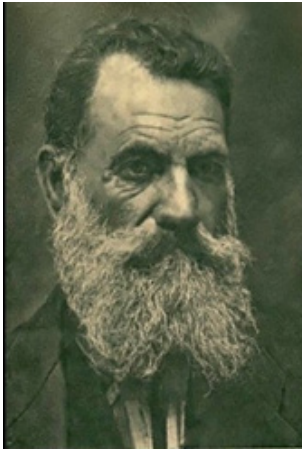


Fig. 1:
Argir Manasiev (1872–1932)



Fig. 2:
Boris D. Janašliev (1880–1964)



Fig. 3 Argir Manasiev with the Brass orchestra in Gevgelija



Fig. 4 The song “I have a furious horse”



Fig. 5 The song “Girl, tell the truth”



Fig. 6 The song “She came to my dream”



Fig. 7 The song “Macedonia” (anthem)

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THE PRICE OF BEING AMONG THE ‘CHOSEN’. ON THE BEGINNING OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN AZERBAIJAN

Marinela Paraskova Mladenova

Abstract: Soviet historiography implied that Soviet rule established in Azerbaijan played a major role in the modernization and development of the country. The article discusses the results of two important decisions taken by the first Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (28 May 1918 – 28 April 1920): the establishment of the university and the sending of 100 Azerbaijani students to universities abroad equipped with state scholarships. Data show that at this time Azerbaijani politicians connected the modernization of their country with the development of education at all levels, as well as with Europe to where they sent members of the future Azerbaijani elite to study. The terror that established Soviet rule in Azerbaijan ended the European orientation of the country and dramatically changed the fate of many of its European alumni.

Introduction

The end of World War I redefined not only the European political map but also the wider Caucasus region. On 28 May 1918, against the backdrop of a complex international and national political situation,¹ the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic was founded.² In the history of the Near and Middle East, it is remembered as the first secular state with parliamentary institutions that initiated several major modernization processes in Azerbaijani society. For instance, the constitution provided equal rights to all citizens of the Republic regardless of their nationality, gender, political and religious affiliation (Agamalieva 1998, 4). Thus, Azerbaijan became the first Muslim country in which women received equal voting rights with men. During its short existence,³ the parliament of the newly created republic

¹ For more details regarding the Republic's establishment, see Guliev 1998.

² The term 'Azerbaijan Democratic Republic' (ADR) is used to refer to the first republic in various contemporary publications. In the official documents, press and international treaties of that period, the name used was 'Azerbaijan Republic' (Nazarli 2008, 18–19).

³ The first Azerbaijan Republic lasted for only 23 months, after which the country was occupied by the Red Army and Soviet rule was established.

passed a number of important decisions.⁴ Some were related to the idea that the young state needed highly educated specialists to contribute to its economic and cultural life. Efforts were to be made in two directions: to eradicate illiteracy in the villages and to modernize the education system at all levels, from kindergarten to higher teaching courses. At the same time, urgent measures were taken to rebuild the existing school network. Funds were allocated for the renovation of old school buildings and the construction of new schools, and financial stimuli for teachers were increased. See (Nazarli 1991, 127). At the beginning of 1919, Azerbaijan had 23 state secondary schools and 15 tertiary schools. In the same year, a bill was proposed to open another secondary school, while three teacher training institutes and two tertiary schools were established. In the summer of 1919, short-term pedagogical courses were organized to prepare 50 teachers for national primary and secondary schools. Some women's high schools had kindergartens under the Froebel system, and a number of lectures on this system were held (Bahmanly, Vakif 2011, 224–28).

Among the most important steps towards building a modern national elite were the adoption of a bill to found a university in Azerbaijan and the decision to send 100 Azerbaijani students to universities abroad on the basis of state scholarships.

Both decisions were endorsed during the same session of Parliament, and the debates relating to them were published in the parliamentary protocols and in a column of the government newspaper *Azerbaïdzhan*. For a long time, the archives relating to the history of this republic were inaccessible to researchers; reports on the events connected to it were tendentiously altered (see Smith, 2018), ignored or disregarded by the Soviet-era historians (Nazarli 2008, 6). New research and archival data have emerged over recent decades that shed more light on the facts linked to the beginning of university education in Azerbaijan and the fate of the young people chosen to be part of the country's highly educated future elite.

The purpose of this article, based on data from these publications, the documents contained in the phototype edition of the *Address–Calendar* of the Azerbaijan Republic (see Bahmanly 2011),⁵ as well as on materials from the State Archive of Azerbaijan, is to track how university education in the country was initiated and what the consequences of later decisions

⁴ On the activities conducted by the parliament and government, see Bahmanly, Vakif 2011.

⁵ The *Adres-Kalendar* contains all original documents relating to the activities of government institutions – parliament, government and individual ministries – for 1920.

connected to it were when the country was occupied by the Red Army and became part of the Soviet system.

Opening the First University in Azerbaijan

The earliest history of the university was written on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of its establishment. The author was Prof. Aleksandr Makovelski, a lecturer, witness of and participant in the changes during this period (Makovelski 1930). At the time the book appeared, the university was named Azerbaijan State University "Lenin". The book began with a preface written by Dadash Buniat Zade, which set the direction for the ideological interpretation of the facts to which the author accordingly adhered in his history. In the short chapter devoted to the university's creation, the idea of establishing a local university is attributed to the 'working masses' (Ibid., 2), while its opponents are described as representatives of the upper and lower middle-class bourgeoisie (Ibid., 3, 5) as well as "that part of the intelligentsia which had received superficial education" and preferred to enjoy "the ready-made fruits of Western culture" (Ibid., 2). Of the political parties, the Musavat Party,⁶ the most influential party in parliament at the time, was named among the opponents of the University. The text pointed out that only the socialists had 'ardently protected' the bill (Ibid., 5). There is a brief presentation of the work of the newly formed University Commission charged with preparing: 1. the project to establish a state university in Baku; 2. the statute of the state university of Baku; 3. the curriculum and budget of the university for 1919–1920 (Ibid., 8), the organization of the library and the preparation of the university's material and technical facilities. Two sentences reveal information about the start of lectures at the university and on the first courses and faculties. The chapter devoted to the establishment of the university concludes: "The founding of the University was a victory for Azerbaijan's working masses, whose demands forced the ruling bourgeois circles to cede" (Ibid., 10). This version of its early history was repeated in all subsequent publications on the history of the first university in Azerbaijan⁷, almost until the end of the 1980s.

Aziza Nazarli notes that the idea of establishing a university in Transcaucasia was born in the 19th century, but it was long dismissed by

⁶ The first rector of the university, Prof. Vasili Razumovski, emphasized in his memoirs that the majority of members of parliament who had supported the opening of the university were from the ruling Musavat Party and the Socialist Party (Razumovski 1922, 2).

⁷ The university's name was repeatedly changed.

the royal government as untimely. The idea was first realized in 1918, after the outbreak of the February Revolution, when the first Transcaucasian University was founded in Tiflis (today's Tbilisi). After unsuccessful negotiations concerning its relocation to Baku and the opening of the Georgian University in Tiflis, the government of the newly established Azerbaijan Republic decided to found an independent university in Baku. Among the active supporters of this idea were the leader of the ruling Musavat Party, M. Rasulzade, Prime Minister F. H. Hoyski, Minister of Education R. Kaplanov, and others (Nazarli 2008, 151–52). Among the opponents of the university were smaller parties, including the Union of the Muslim Workers' Intelligentsia, Ittihad, Ahrar and the independent Muslim group. They were not opposed to the idea of opening a university as such, but to Russian being the language of teaching. Their fears related to the reinforcement of the strong Russian influence in the region and the potential intensification of 'Russification activities' through the university (Atakishev 1989, 49). Their proposal was to open a university later with teaching in the Turkic language, and for the time being to send Azerbaijani students to universities in Europe, sponsored by the state, in order for them to train in the required professions. The representative of Ittihad, Dr. Kara Karabekov, stated during these debates: "There has been no principle objection to the opening of a university in Azerbaijan, there is not and there cannot be. The question is how to found it, who founds it and what this university will be" (*Vestnik Azerbaïdzhan* 1919, 179, 2). In a comprehensive article titled *On the Occasion of the Baku University*, prominent Azerbaijani linguist Mammad agha Shakhtakhtinski (Shakhtakhtinski 1919, 4)⁸, however, vigorously supported the idea of a university and noted: "The Russian language is not the language of the enemies of our independence, like Denikin. This is the language of Mendeleev, Turgenev, and it is their language that will remain at university". He also addressed another very important question: how would the young republic look in the eyes of the European community if the university was not established? Shakhtakhtinski told:

The Europeans will not believe that we have rejected the university because we do not want to put up with the temporary use of the Russian language. The world will say that our people are Muslim fanatics, hostile to the secular

⁸ Mammad agha Shahtakhtinski was also a prominent public figure – orientalist, journalist and university lecturer. He studied in Leipzig and Paris, and was fluent in Azerbaijani, Russian, German, French, English, Arabic, Turkish and Persian.

sciences and philosophies taught at the university. We will look like an uneducated, uncivilized nation. (Shakhtinskiĭ 1919, 179, 2).

The heated debates in the press, society and parliament led to the endorsement of both proposals at the parliamentary session on 1 September 1919: to establish a university, and to send young people to universities abroad by granting them scholarships. At the same session, readiness to open an Agricultural and Technical University at a later stage was declared. The bill envisaged that the university should start with four faculties: History and Philology with a Department of Oriental Studies, Physics and Mathematics, Law, and Medicine. However, in the first year of study, only two of them – History and Philology (one course) and Medicine (three courses) – actually got underway. Interest in university education was very high: according to data from the Ministry of Education, in the first year 877 students enrolled and 217 external students of diverse religious and ethnic origin were admitted,⁹ making a total of 604 at the Faculty of History and Philology and 490 at the Faculty of Medicine. One hundred and fifty school teachers from Baku applied for admission to the Faculty of History and Philology, and the first five Muslim women were admitted to the Faculty of Medicine (Nazarli 2008, 163). The introductory lectures were received with great interest, and were attended by members of parliament, public figures and other listeners. The vast new auditorium was unable to seat the entire audience (Atakishev 1989, 58). In the vision of its founders, the University of Baku stood on the border between East and West, combining “the great covenants and traditions of the East with Western scientific doctrines, expanding the scientific horizons of mankind...”¹⁰ (Atakishev 1989, 58). The university’s first statute, in effect until the establishment of Soviet rule in Azerbaijan, reveals the high standards proposed by its founders. The first chapter deals with the autonomous character of the institution and the designation of positions on the basis of a secret ballot. The scientific functions of the university were in the forefront, and a doctoral degree was a mandatory condition for holding a professorship (Makovelskiĭ 1930, 14). The minutes of the meetings of the Faculty of History and Philology (GAAR, f. 51, op. 1, p. 36) reveal the content of the debates on

⁹ Of the full-time and external students at the Faculty of History and Philosophy, 156 were Muslims, 208 Jews, 140 Russians, 81 Armenians, 6 Georgians, 13 Poles and Germans. At the Faculty of Medicine, the first course was attended by 109 Muslims, 67 Armenians, 40 Russians, 36 Jews, 3 Georgians, 1 Greek, 4 Germans and Poles (Bahmanly 2011, 227).

¹⁰ Quoted from a text by the university’s first rector, Prof. V. Razumovskii.

the preparation of the curricula, including the definition of obligatory and optional courses in both fields and the selection of specialists that would meet the criteria set out in the statute. Less than a year after the university opened, the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic ceased to exist. The country was occupied by the Red Army (see Nazarli 2014, 392) and a new period in its history began, together with a new era in the history of the recently established university. Its further development was determined

... wholly by the ideas of October, the principles of Leninist national policies, the decisions of the party and the government in regard to education, science, culture and higher education, the positions of the party programme for building socialism (...) (Alimirzoev 1969, 44).

Statistics show that out of 1,094 enrolled students, including 217 external students, 81 from the Faculty of Medicine successfully completed the four-year course in 1923 (Makovelskiĭ 1930, 80). After 1926 the faculty was closed, and a new Faculty of Pedagogy was created in its place.¹¹ It is difficult to say what happened to the rest of the students and why only 136 of the 604 who started their studies at the Faculty of History and Philology in 1919 were able to complete their education.¹² Another interesting issue is the fate of those students chosen to continue their education at European universities with a state scholarship.

The Scholarships of the First Azerbaijan Republic in Europe

One of the remarkable acts passed by the parliament of the first Azerbaijan Republic was the decision to send abroad 100 Azerbaijani students with funds from the state. Decree No. 63 of January 1919 of the Azerbaijani Parliament allocated seven million rubles to this plan: each student leaving for Europe was granted 400 francs a month and 1,000 francs for travel expenses, while those going to Russia received 3,000 rubles per month and 3,000 rubles for travel expenses. Students benefiting from the government

¹¹ Earlier, in 1922, the Eastern Department of the Faculty of History and Philology was separated into an Eastern Faculty with two departments: Historical and Linguistic. In 1923, the Faculty of History and Philosophy was transformed into a Faculty of Social Sciences with two departments: Socio-Historical and Linguistic. In the following year, the Faculty of Social Sciences, together with the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics, was included in the newly created Faculty of Pedagogy (Makovelskiĭ 1930, 87).

¹² In fact, the number of full-time and external students was quite high. In 1920–1921 they totalled 983, in 1921–1922, 749, and in 1922–1923, 347. In the four years of its existence, the Faculty enrolled a total number of 2,683 students, of which 998 were full-time students and 1,685 external students (Makovelskiĭ 1930, 71).

scholarship were required to serve for four years in a position determined by the government after completing their training (Gosudarstvennaia komissii 1998, 97). Data concerning the actual number of students sent to Europe are contradictory, there are differences in information on which countries they were sent to, and which universities and courses of study they completed. For example, the list of students sent to complete higher education abroad based on the decision of parliament of 1 September 1919 comprises a total 90 names, of which 87 are marked as beneficiaries of state scholarships and three as going at their own expense (GAAR, f. 51, op. 3, n. 40, p. 9, 10.) They were sent to the following countries: England (11), Italy (23), France (47), Turkey (9). Due to the tense political situation and military operations, none of the students went to Russia. In another list in the same state archive record group (Ibid., f. 51, op. 3, n. 40, p. 70, 71, 72, 73), the number is indicated as 83, sent to the following cities and countries: France – Paris (28), Nancy (1), Lyon (1); Italy (3); Germany – Berlin (27), Leipzig (3), Freiberg (7), Stuttgart (4), Darmstadt (2), Karlsruhe (1), Heidelberg (2); Turkey – Istanbul (4).¹³ In its issue of 31 July 1919, the *Azerbaijan*, the official newspaper of the Democratic Republic, reported that 51 students were sent to Switzerland, 13 to France, 4 to Turkey, 1 to Italy, 17 to Russia, 3 to the UK and 2 to Germany. The specially appointed Commissioner, Bahram Akhundov, who was sent to Europe in 1922 to assess the financial situation of the students, discovered that 28 students were studying in France, 49 in Germany and 3 in Italy. Mamed Dzhafarov notes that in the minutes of the interrogation proceedings of German university alumni arrested as German 'spies' during the Stalinist repression, they gave the following information when asked to which countries and how many students had been sent by the Musavat government to study: Turkey (10), Italy (20), France (20) and Germany (50) (Dzhafarov 1998, 27). Adalet Tahirzade¹⁴ points out that 89 Republic-sponsored students studied in Europe and Turkey, and two in Russia. According to Teyub Kurban, the total number of the selected students was 100, of which 8 were assigned to study in Turkey, 6 in Russia, 50 in Germany, 1 in England, 1 in Kiev, 1 in Kharkov, 1 in Odessa, 26 in France and 5 in Italy. One of

¹³ The second list was compiled later, after Soviet rule was established in Azerbaijan, since the new government wanted a list of the students sent abroad by country.

¹⁴ Adalet Tahirzade and Oguztogrul Tahirli are the authors of the most comprehensive study on the fate of the students sent to study abroad by the first Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. Their book, *Azərbaycan Cümhuriyyəti tələbələri*, was published in 2016 as a volume of 1,222 pages in the Azerbaijani language. The data were obtained in personal conversation and correspondence with Adalet Tahirzade.

the names has no specified country (Mikeladze 2010). A letter signed by the Deputy Director of the Office of the Minister of National Education to the President of the Azerbaijani Peace Delegation in Paris of 29 February 1920 (GAAR f. 51, op. 3, n. 40, p. 20) reads that the number of students sent to Western Europe was 77, one of whom did not depart.¹⁵ A total 280 applied to study abroad and were expected to be trained in the following disciplines: natural sciences (eight), medicine (eight), mining (seven), mechanics (eleven), chemistry (three), electrical engineering (eight), construction (four), agriculture (ten), communications engineering (six), shipbuilding (four), aviation (two), agronomy (four), economics (five), history and philology (five), philosophy (seven), law (six), political science (three) (Nazarli 2008, 178). The selection procedure was strict. Initially, it was proposed to send only young people from poorer families with state financial support, but after some debate the decision was taken to support youths from wealthier families, too (Dzhafarov 1998, 26).

The students started their journey to Europe on 14 January 1920, solemnly seen off by members of parliament; they were enthusiastically greeted at all the train stations through which their train passed. They were in high spirits, travelling in a special wagon from Tiflis to Batumi, and enjoyed a warm reception at the Embassy of Azerbaijan in Istanbul (see Mikeladze 2010). After their arrival in Rome, the students sent a letter to the Minister of Education (GAAR f. 51, op. 3, n. 40, p. 31, 32, 33) signed by three representatives¹⁶ and informing him that the French and English groups had already left for Paris, and six persons remained in Italy. The rest of the Italian group and a few of the students destined for France (15 people altogether) stayed in Rome in order to obtain permission to go to Germany. Two of the students in Italy were preparing to enrol at the Roman Academy of Arts, three at an agricultural institute and one at the Roman Polytechnic Institute. It is noteworthy that the initial list of countries (GAAR f. 51, op. 3, n. 40, p. 9, 10) to where the selected youths were meant to go did not include Germany. However, data indicate that it was there that almost half of the students from the Democratic Republic chose to receive their education. The choice was not accidental since German higher education had lost nothing of its prestige despite the country's

¹⁵ The letter refers to the sending of scholarship funds to the students abroad and ends with a request for information on whether the students had arrived and whether they had started their studies at the respective educational institutions.

¹⁶ The students chose five representatives from amongst themselves, headed by Teimur Aslanov. The representatives' task was to assist the Committee with organization and sending them abroad (Dzhafarov 1998, 26).

defeat in the war which had just come to an end. The students chose to study at some of Europe's best universities, and this choice determined the dramatic fate of some during the Stalinist repression in Soviet Azerbaijan. In post-war Europe, the students faced a multitude of difficulties. Letters and testimonies from that time reveal how hard they struggled to survive to complete their education. The allocated scholarships were significantly below the living wage in the European countries¹⁷ and could hardly cover the fees for education, accommodation and daily expenses. For the first six months, the funds were received on a regular basis, but then the situation sharply changed. Azerbaijan was occupied by the Red Army (see Nazarli 2014), the republican government was overthrown and the country became part of the Soviet system. With the change of political power, the transfer of scholarships from the special fund set up by the parliament of the Democratic Republic was terminated. The union of Azerbaijani students studying in Germany sent a delegate¹⁸ to Baku with the task of negotiating the continuation of financial support for the students in Western Europe with the new leaders. The resumption of scholarships was approved for some of them, but on a number of conditions, including their becoming Soviet citizens. The new Bolshevik government began to divide students into 'reliable' and 'unreliable' categories and terminated the scholarships for the 'unreliable' ones. In a letter to Dzheihun Gadzhibeili¹⁹ published by Ramiz Abutaliybov, Teimur Aslanov, a student at the Prussian Higher Textile Institute in Cottbus, wrote:

Undoubtedly, you are informed about the current students' affairs. I add as a novelty my exclusion from the group of scholars. At a meeting of the Baku Commission, there was a hint on the part of one of the members that I was close to reactionary circles... (Abutaliybov 2006, 72).

A similar letter was dispatched by Abdul Gusein Dadashev, a student in Germany, who wrote: "The government excluded several students from the list, including me. The reason for this are the comrades here, whose opinions do not coincide with my views" (Abutaliybov 2006, 73). Life for the 'unreliables' was not easy at all. Their \$30 scholarships were

¹⁷ See the report to the Minister of National Education dated 27 February 1920 and signed in Rome by representatives of the union of students abroad (GAAR f. 51, op. 3, n. 40, p. 31, 32A).

¹⁸ Ashraf Aliyev, a student at the Freiburg Institute of Mining and Geology (Dzhafarli 2003, 47).

¹⁹ One of the founders of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and member of the Azerbaijan delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.

completely insufficient and in order to survive these students had to work for pay, sometimes to complete exhaustion. This is evident, for example, in a letter by Azhdar bek Ahundov, a student in Paris, who wrote to Dzheihun Gadzhibeili, an Azerbaijani journalist, editor and translator, and representative of the Azerbaijani emigrants in France:

When I come home I start cleaning the house of 14 rooms and by the time I finish cleaning them, oh my God, my legs are trembling with exhaustion; what's more, I must help in the kitchen... and so on until 10 pm (Mikeladze 2010).

Ashraf Aliyev pointed out in his biography that during the holidays (that totalled almost 18 months) he worked in mines and factories in Saxony, Hanover, the Rhineland and Alsace (Dzhafarov 1998, 27). However, the difficulties of these students' daily lives were incomparable with what awaited those who decided to return home after completing their education abroad. According to Adalet Tahirzade, 56 of the overseas students chose to return to their homeland. But it was no longer the same. They returned to a country where "there were no basic democratic foundations; where every year there were trials exposing 'the enemies of the people', the villagers were forcibly brought into the kolkhoz and the citizens were 'fed' with communist slogans" (Dzhafarov 1998, 26).

Adapting to the new environment was not easy. Nonetheless, the European scholars sent by the Democratic Republic succeeded in proving themselves as leading specialists in various fields of the economy and sciences. For their achievements, some were granted state awards and even the highest honour of the time: the Order of Lenin (Dzhafarov 1998, 26).

Among them were persons with remarkable personal and professional biographies. They synthesized the destiny of an entire generation prepared to be the elite of a future Azerbaijani democratic society and who chose to return and work under the conditions of Soviet rule in the harshest years of its establishment.

Today, one of the central streets in Baku is named after Akhmad Rajabli, a scholar selected for education in Europe by the Democratic Republic. He was fluent in German, Russian, Spanish, Greek, Italian and Persian. He graduated from the Higher Royal Experimental Agricultural Institute in Perugia, Italy, and returned to Soviet Azerbaijan to establish himself as one of the country's best agronomists and geneticists. He worked as the director of an agricultural technical school, and later was head of the Department of Crop Cultivation at the Azerbaijan Agricultural Institute. In 1935, he was appointed Professor and elected member of the Academy of

Agricultural Sciences of the USSR and the Subtropical Plant Department for his exceptional scientific achievements. Akhmad Rajabli created, introduced and cultivated more than 40 new varieties of tobacco, soybean, rice, wheat, peaches, apricots, etc. The author of more than 100 scientific publications and 24 monographs, he discovered and first described a number of newly cultivated home-selected varieties of fruit and cereals (Guliev 1984, 141). All this did not save him from the '1937 phenomenon', as Eldar Ismailov calls one of the most terrible pages of Soviet history (Ismailov 2015, 5). The list of those purged by Stalin includes part of the elite of Azerbaijani society at that time:²⁰ the directors of industrial, construction and transport companies, representatives of the scientific and technical intelligentsia, cultural workers, as well as party, trade union and Komsomol leaders and ordinary citizens, all divided into two categories. The first were sentenced to be executed by firing squad, the second, to be exiled (Ismailov 2015, 205). On 15 August 1937, Akhmad Rajabli was arrested for the first time based on a decision by the NKVD²¹ of 30 July 1937 for his active cooperation with the famous scholar and geneticist, academician N. I. Vavilov²², and due to his connections with foreign scientists. The investigation lasted for two years during which his wife and brother tried to prove his innocence. In her memoirs, Fahima Rajabli recalls those dreadful days:

People started queuing at night, making lists. And the militia would chase us away from there, watering us with hoses. Then they would light the crowd with projectors, and we were afraid they would arrest us, that is why not everyone but only those who observed and kept the queue would stand there. Many of them were afraid of being arrested and did not dare to carry any pieces of baggage in person (Enciklopediia "Neizvestnye" bakincy, Accessed 10 September 2018).

At the first and second hearings, the 'troika'²³ found no evidence of Rajabli's guilt and sentenced him for 'revolutionary activity' to eight years in a labour camp in Magadan, Siberia. There, Rajabli did not stop his scientific work. He created an experimental farm where he cultivated and selected new varieties of frost-resistant crops; in the camp, he wrote

²⁰ This refers to the whole Soviet Union.

²¹ Narodnyĭ Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del, abbreviated NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs).

²² Vavilov was a Russian botanist, one of the most famous geneticists of the early 20th century and founder of the Genetics Institute of the USSR. He was arrested in 1940 and died in prison on 26 January 1943. He was buried in a mass grave.

²³ A set of three. "NKVD troika" – a commission of three for express judgment in the Soviet Union during the time of Joseph Stalin.

his unfinished novel *Babek* on cigarette paper and sent it home in instalments with released prisoners (AZERTADZH 2006). After his rehabilitation in 1945, he returned to Baku and continued his cherished work at the Azerbaijani Research Institute for Perennials. However, his trials were not yet over. On 21 March 1950, three KGB²⁴ agents arrested him again, and this time he was sentenced to lifelong exile in Dzhambul, Kazakhstan. This ended after Stalin's death; he returned home in 1954 and was fully rehabilitated.

Among the repressed scholars who experienced an even crueler fate was poet and journalist Yusifzade Ali Yusif, who had received a brilliant education at the Paris Institute for Political Science. He was arrested in 1937 and shot down in Tashkent in the same year. (Nash Baku. Istoriia Baku i Bakincev. Yusifzade Ali Yusif Mirza Jamal oglu 2011). Farman Narimanbekov, a descendant of an ancient and noble Karabakh family and son of the governor of Baku during the Azerbaijan Republic, received the severe verdict "enemy of the people" (Nash Baku. Istoriia Baku i Bakincev. Narimanbekov Farman Amirbek oglu 2011). Fluent in six languages, Narimanbekov had been sent to Europe as a scholar of the Democratic Republic, graduated in "energetics" in Paris and married a Frenchwoman. In 1929, he returned to the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic and worked at one of the largest industrial sites at that time – the Mingachevir Hydroelectric Power Station. He was arrested on New Year's Eve in the dreadful year of 1937 and sent to Siberia; he returned from there only after Stalin's death (Bulanova 2011). His French wife, Irma, did not escape repression either. In 1941 she was exiled to Uzbekistan and allowed to return home twenty years later, in 1961.

More dramatic was the fate of those who had graduated in Germany. Many of them were accused of espionage in favour of Germany, of holding views that diverged from set policy and of participation in a nationalist organization²⁵ that aimed to take over power and regain Azerbaijan's independence. A GPU Memorandum (State Political Government)²⁶ dated 20 June 1934 noted:

²⁴ Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti, abbreviated KGB (in English: Committee for State Security).

²⁵ Dzhaferli noted: "Investigation of the protocols of inquiries into the alumni from the German universities shows that together with charges of espionage, they were accused of participation in a nationalistic revolutionary organization, of belonging to the Azerbaijan National Party (ANP), and of being members of the Azerbaijan National Centre (ANC)".

²⁶ The State Political Government that emerged in 1922 replaced the Emergency Committee and consequently became part of the NKVD (People's Commissariat for

An interesting case is the group of Germanophile elements among the Azerbaijani Turks who have a connection with Germany and are closely related to a number of foreign German specialists in the Soviet enterprises (Dzhafarli 2003, 51).

In another Memorandum issued by the NKVD in December 1935, chapter seven is titled *Persons who graduated in Germany* and provides information on the number of German alumni in different fields of science who returned after their studies:

29 people of the Turkic intelligentsia sent to study in Germany by the Musavat government have been reported and investigated. The majority of them are in leading positions of our industry. Thus: six people work in the oil industry, in educational establishments – five, in Narkomzem²⁷ – two, in Narkomzdrave²⁸ – three, in Azdortrans²⁹ – three and in other organizations – nine. From this category of specialists, elements connected to German citizens have been identified (see Dzhafarli 2003, 49).

Dzhaferov (see Dzhaferov 1998, 26–28) managed to track down the names of these experts in records kept in the archive of the Ministry of National Security of the Azerbaijan Republic. Among them was Ashraf Aliyev, a graduate of the Freiburg Mining Institute, one of the 'unreliable' scholars in the eyes of the Soviet administration and who had been forced to work hard to complete his education. Returning as a graduate engineer, he worked in various branches of the oil industry, became director of an enterprise and for his contribution in 1932 was awarded with the highest state distinction: the Order of Lenin. He was subsequently arrested in 1936 on charges of espionage and involvement in an anti-Soviet plot. His name appeared on Stalin's death list (AP RF f. 24, op. 416, p. 318), which meant execution by firing squad. The year of his death is unknown. A very similar fate was shared by Teimur Aslanov who had studied in France and Germany and graduated from the Prussian Higher Textile Institute in Cottbus. After returning to Azerbaijan in 1925, he worked in various textile companies and was appointed director of a textile mill. In 1937, he was accused of

Internal Affairs).

²⁷ The Ministry of Agriculture and Food, known before 1946 as the People's Commissariat on Agriculture.

²⁸ People's Commissariat for Health.

²⁹ Azerbaijan road transport.

espionage and involvement in an anti-Soviet nationalist organization and sent to Siberia (the year of his death is unknown). The following men faced the same charges: Guseinzade Bahram Ismail was sent to a labour camp – he had graduated from the Technical Institute in Darmstadt, married a German citizen and was sentenced to 15 years in prison in 1941; Muganli Asildar Abbas-al, a graduate of the Leipzig Faculty of Law, was arrested by the GPU in 1933 and sent into exile in 1935; Gusain Musa oglu, Dean of the Amelioration Faculty at the Azerbaijan Agricultural Institute, was arrested on 11 January 1938 and sentenced to five years in prison; Sultanov Iskenderbek Rustambeck was arrested by the NKVD authorities in 1935, as were other alumni from Germany about whose fate nothing is known. The investigations into persons sent by the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic to study in Europe appeared to centre on the crime and charge of having been “sent by the Musavat government to study in Germany” (Dzhafarli 2003, 51). Few of those accused avoided the tragic fate of being branded ‘enemy of the people’. Of the 56 Republic-sponsored students who returned to Soviet Azerbaijan, 40 became victims of the purges³⁰. In retrospect, their dedication to their work and professional responsibilities regardless of their suffering is astonishing. Most of the survivors of repression continued to contribute to the development of the country’s economy even after their return from the camps. Their personal stories are testimonies of professionalism and dignity. Among them is the story of Guseinzade Bahram Ismail oglu’ (Nash Baku. *Istoriia Baku i Bakincev. Gusejnzade Bahram Ismail* 2011). He graduated from the Darmstadt Technical University as an electrical engineer, returned to Soviet Azerbaijan where he worked in his area of expertise until 1942 when he was arrested and sentenced to execution by firing squad. The sentence was replaced with ten-year imprisonment, and after returning to Baku he worked there until his death in 1966 as Chief Energy Officer of Sovnarhoz of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist epublic³¹. Dzhafar Kyazimov graduated in mining engineering in Freiburg (Nash Baku. *Istoriia Baku i Bakincev. Kiazimov Dzhafar Aleskerovich* 2) and after his return from Germany held senior positions in the Supreme Council for the National Economy³², taught mineralogy and crystallography, and became vice president of the Azerbaijani branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. He was arrested in 1938 and sentenced to twelve years in a camp in Komi where he was the first to

³⁰ The data indicating the numbers of those who returned and those affected by Stalin’s purges in 1937 stem from my correspondence with Adalet Tahirzade.

³¹ National Economic Council of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

³² The Supreme Council for the National Economy was a body of the People’s Economy Management of the USSR active during 1923–1932 and 1963–1965.

discover the largest uranium fields in the Soviet Union near the Barents Sea. The list can be extended further, though information concerning the fate of a large number of Azerbaijan's selected group of elite students is scarce. Available data indicate that some managed to leave the country in various ways before the mass purges, and thus accepted the harsh fate of the emigrant. Others, after completing their education, did not return to Azerbaijan at all (Dzhafarov 1998, 27).

Conclusion

The historiography of the Soviet period implies that Soviet rule established in Azerbaijan played a major role in the modernization and development of the country³³. However, over the last three decades and with the publication of many new studies, memoirs, documents and data from previously secret archives, a different history has emerged. The decisions relating to the development of secondary and tertiary education in Azerbaijan endorsed by the Parliament of the Democratic Republic clearly reveal the vision of the politicians of that time who saw education as the main way of securing rapid change and the modernization of society. The first Azerbaijani politicians connected the modernization of their country with Europe to where they sent their future elite to study. The bloody terror through which Soviet rule was established in Azerbaijan (see Nazarli 2014) overturned the fate of many of the beneficiaries of this policy, dramatically ended the European orientation of the country for a long period and defined the next 70 years of its development.

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³³ This assumption is also supported by some contemporary historians.

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THE ROLE OF ALEXANDER MUZYCHENKO IN THE UKRAINIAN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES OF CRIMEAN BULGARIANS

Oksana Mykytenko

Abstract: The paper deals with the work of Alexander Muzychenko (1875–1940) – the first Ukrainian ethnologist to study the Bulgarian Diaspora of the Crimea. He began his ethnological work as a student inspired by his professor Mihailo Speranskiĭ. While visiting Bulgarian settlements in Kyshlav in 1898 and 1899, Muzychenko collected various folklore materials and studied the history, ethnography and language of Crimea's Bulgarians. His activities were praised by Marin Drinov, who supported Muzychenko's lecture at the Twelfth Archeological congress in Kharkov (1902). As an expert in South-Slav languages and folklore, Muzychenko was one of the collaborators on Krste Misirkov's *Vardar* magazine. Even though Muzychenko later abandoned his ethnographic work, his studies underpinned subsequent research in the Crimea.

Scientists distinguish several stages in the development of the ethnological study of the Crimea. The first stage is observation and general ethnographic descriptions, where amateurs recorded the most colourful elements of common culture and sketched the local population. The second stage is related to the activities of ethnographer-collectors and the first expeditionary research conducted by scientific societies. The final stage is the systematic study of the ethnography of the Crimea, which began at the end of the 19th century, and included work by professional scientists, museums and higher education institutions (Nepomniashchyĭ 2007, 19).

Alexander Muzychenko was the first Ukrainian ethnographer of the Bulgarian population of the Crimea. However, his work was not included in the bibliography of literature on the Crimea *Taurica* (the last printed edition was published in 1902), and his activities until recently were unknown. Thanks to the research by contemporary Ukrainian historians (Andriĭ Nepomniashchyĭ, Inna Noskova, among others), Muzychenko's studies, scattered in various provincial publications which are today true bibliographic rarities, were introduced to the academic world, and he was recognised as the author of the first publication to cover Crimean Bulgarians

(Muzychenko 1899). Today, his name and work are held in highest regard among researchers of the culture of the peoples of the Crimea.

My first interest in Alexander Muzychenko was sparked because of his connection with Krste Misirkov, codifier of the modern Macedonian language (*Za Makedonskite raboti*, 1903) and publisher of the first magazine in this language *Vardar* (Odessa, 1905). As is known, after the refusal of Boris Lyapunov, the only expert in the Central Macedonian dialect in Odessa, to edit the magazine, other Slavists were invited to edit the first issue – linguist and historian Mykhaylo Popruzhenko, director of Odessa Public Library at that time, and Alexander Muzychenko, a teacher at the Fourth Odessa Gymnasium, known as the author of research on Bulgarian settlements in the Crimea (Mykytenko 2005).

Alexander was born on the 8 (21) August 1875 in Stanislavove village, Kherson province (or in Berdyansk, according to other sources), in the family of Fedir Muzychenko, director of the Bolshe-Tokmak folk school. We know that in the early 1880s, F. Muzychenko worked as senior teacher in a two-class school in a Bulgarian colony in Kyshlav village (Noskova 2002, 83). After graduating from Berdiansk Gymnasium with honours, in 1895 A. Muzychenko began his studies at the Faculty of History and Philology of St. Petersburg University, where Misirkov joined him two years later in 1897. However, both young men later dropped out for health reasons. While Muzychenko transferred to Nizhyn of Chernihiv province, to the famous History and Philological Institute of Prince Bezborod'ko in 1896, Misirkov went to Novorosiysk University in 1901.

During that time Nizhyn was an important administrative, trade and educational centre related to the Slavs from the Balkans. Its significance as a city on the road between Kyïv and Moscow increased in the second half of the 18th century. In particular, Greek colonists settled there, having formed a considerable Greek trade fraternity. According to data from 1765–1769, 271 people were on the list of the 'Nizhyn Greek brotherhood' (the number increased to 765 in 1782), including 54 who declared themselves as Macedonian merchants from the province of Macedonia, mostly from the towns of Kostur, Thessaloniki, Skopje, Voden and Strumica. Macedonian names are also mentioned: Simeon Fedorov - 'Bulgarian' from the town of Ohrid; Ivan Dimitrovich Stalevskii – 'Bulgarian' from Skopje, etc. (Zdraveva 2005, 143).

Slavic studies occupied a prominent place in Nizhyn Prince Bezborod'ko Institute, with outstanding Slavist pedagogues such as Volodymyr Kachanovskiy and Mykhaylo Speranskiy working there in the second half of the 19th century. Both of them were specialists in Slavic

philology and history, in particular of the Southern Slavs. Kachanovskii published the collection *The Slavic Herald* (*Vestnik Slaviansstva*, 1888–1896), and together with Marin Drynov worked on the layout of the dictionary of the Bulgarian language. One of Kachanovskiy's main achievements is considered to be the collection and publication of Bulgarian folk songs – *Relics of Bulgarian folklore* (*Pamiatniki bolgarskogo narodnogo tvorchestva*, vol. 1, St.-Pb., 1882). In addition to the folk songs, the collection contained details of the features of the Bulgarian language of the 17th–18th centuries, as well as a description of customs, proverbs and sayings (Kuza 1979, 179).

Mykhailo Speranskiĭ worked at Nizhyn History and Philology Institute in the late 19th century. He was a famous historian of literature and theatre, ethnographer and folklorist, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (as of 1902), academician (as of 1921), member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (as of 1926). Under his supervision, Muzychenko began studying the history, ethnography and folklore of Bulgarian colonies in the Crimea. He was drawn to these studies after having responded to a call to study the culture of the southern Slav settlers, which appeared in a programme on the collection of ethnographic material issued for the sixth Archaeological Congress in Odessa. It should be mentioned that, even though information on Bulgarian colonies in Bessarabia, Kherson and Tavriya provinces appeared periodically in contemporary editions, almost nothing was known about the history and way of life of the Bulgarian colonies in the Crimea (Horban' 2004, 118).

The result of the Bulgarian migration to the Crimea, which began in 1802 and lasted several decades, was the formation of colonies, the largest of which were *Kyshlav*, *Staryy Krym* in *Feodosiia* and *Balta-Chokrak* in *Simferopol'* districts. While in 1819 the population of the colonies was about 1000 people (Noskova 2002, 50), by the end of the 19th century it had already reached 42,000 (Horban' 2004, 118). Around 2000 lived in the 'big village' *Kyshlav*, located 15 miles to the northwest of the city of *Staryi Krym*, in a beautiful area near the famous Toplovo monastery (Drinov 2004, 137). The oldest colonies were in *Kyshlav* and *Staryi Krym*, founded in 1803–1804 by settlers from *Strandzha*, namely from the villages *Malko-Tŭrnovo*, *Murzoevo*, *Stoilovo* and *Gramatikovo* (Noskova 2002, 20–29). In modern *Feodosiia*, one of the central streets of the city – *Gramatikovska* – was named in honour of Emanuil Gramatikov, an entrepreneur, well-known patron and founder of the Crimean noble family Gramatikovy (in his will left five million rubles to his native city, which in the 19th century was equal to the budget of a small state) (Gramatikov 2017, 3).



Fig. 1 The road to the village of Kyshlav and a general view of the village



Fig. 2 The public school building in the village of Kyshlav

The rich and historically informative folklore of Crimean Bulgarians in the 19th and early 20th century attracted the attention of only one researcher – Alexander Muzychenko (Noskova 2002, 110). During

holidays from university in the summers of 1898 and 1899, he collected ethnographic and folklore materials in the village of Kyshlav, where he had spent his childhood. His knowledge of the Bulgarian language, the openness of the local population (which respected his father – a teacher at the local school), meant that the young scholar was successful in this collection work. He sought to draw some of the rich treasury of Bulgarian customs, rituals, songs, proverbs, tales and other forms, in which folk life and people's minds are embodied (Muzychenko 1899, 37). In addition, he recorded 13 songs and passages in which the local Malko-Tyrnovo dialect was preserved. Among the records are rituals, myths, historical songs and ballads, including those created by villagers who had recently witnessed 'rare atrocities' – murder or some other violation of social and moral norms. Such songs were well received by fellow villagers, who studied and memorised them, becoming a part of the folk repertoire that was sung for years. At the same time, lullabies and lamentations 'were not interesting' for them, although "folk fantasy", – emphasised Muzychenko, – "was a special space when women in Kyshlav lamented the deceased or when they sang lullabies for children" (Muzychenko 2004, 98).

Among the yearly customs, Muzychenko draws attention to and provides detailed descriptions of Christmas ritual songs, such as *tsin-tsinagar* (sparrow) and *puperat* (pepper), in which theatrical elements are clearly represented. Other South Slavic variants of the Montenegrin ritual dance *biber* and South-Macedonian (Gevgelia area) *piperut*, found in the records of P. Rovinskiĭ and S. Tanović, were later analysed by Nikita Tolstoĭ (Tolstoĭ 2003, 44–45). The open system of rituals in the calendar cycle includes, as we know, many other folklore genres, occasional rites and wedding rituals, all united by the "main ritual – to provide fertility" (Tolstoĭ 1995, 118). For Muzychenko, the question of why the wedding song "is now sung during festivities" remained unsolved.

Among the historical songs, one of the most interesting is the song about the Indzha-Voivode, a real person who lived at the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries. He was the leader of the gang *kirdzhali* (Turkish robbers), which operated in and around Strandzha and was one of the reasons for the mass resettlement from this region to the territory of the former Russian Empire. It is very probable that the first settlers knew the song, which emerged in Bulgaria in the 18th century, and this was confirmed when it was recorded, despite misspellings, violations of the eight-part poem, word cuts or repetitions. These features, and the fact that the recordings were provided to Muzychenko by local school students who had a good folk tradition and were themselves native speakers of the

local Bulgarian dialect, as well as some, often foreign language elements in the texts that were often incomprehensible to performers (“foreign Greek, Tatar or Russian stratifications” (Muzychenko 2004, 117)), signify that this was the last stage of living folklore among the Crimean Bulgarians at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and the beginning of the natural process of its extinction.

Muzychenko’s observations on the life and traditions of the Bulgarians lead him to conclude that the traditional musical and ritual culture had been preserved to a great extent, in particular pre-wedding rites and ceremonies at the birth of a child, annual customs and rural public assemblies. It is interesting to note that, unlike the Bessarabian Bulgarians, the inhabitants of Kyshlav, according to Muzychenko, were distinguished by a “cultural view on the rights of girls”, who were free to choose a future husband “of their own will” (Muzychenko 1899, 65). The main meeting places for youth were mainly village meetings – *poprelkite*, *sedianki*, *mezha*. In describing the custom of mutual assistance among the Crimean Bulgarians, Muzychenko drew parallels with the popular-among-Ukrainians *dosvitki*. Despite strong traditions and the ‘excessive patriarchy of the Crimean Bulgarians’, the researcher emphasised the main role of women in the family. They stayed at home, educated children, were in charge of financial matters and had a decisive voice in resolving all important family affairs. He noted that the husband had to give his wife all the money earned “together with a detailed report of his expenses. He’d be in trouble if a penny was spent in vain, and his wife would complain for a long time” (Muzychenko 1899, 30).

Muzychenko also collected materials on the wedding rites. Particularly important were *glavesh* (marriage brokerage) and *godezh* (engagement), rituals that could last several months and ended with a celebration at the bride’s house with a treat and *horo* (traditional dance), where the main participants were young people. During *glavesh*, the boy received a handkerchief from the girl, which he wore on his chest until the wedding. After the match had been made, the bride was referred to as *glavenitsa* or *bulka*, and the groom – *glavenik*. He had the right to visit the bride in her home, but not more than once a month, on a holiday. The duty of the bride was now to help her future husband’s family by working in the fields and in the house (Muzychenko 1899, 62). Engagements and weddings among the Crimean Bulgarians took place, as a rule, between the second half of October and the end of November, and the weddings themselves lasted from Sunday to Wednesday, or in more affluent families from Friday to Wednesday, and even from Friday to Friday. On the first

evening, guests met in the bride's house, while the main part of the celebration was held the next day at the groom's house. After the wedding, a newly married couple lived in the husband's house or in their own home. During the first week, the bride was prohibited from visiting her parental home. Only on the eighth day could a newly married couple officially visit the bride's parents for dinner, to discuss plans for the future.

Muzychenko also was interested in the history of the settlement of the Crimean Bulgarians, and collected materials during his second trip to Kyshlav in the summer of 1899. He presented his findings in a report covering the Bulgarian settlers of the Crimea at the Byzantine-Slavonic department of the Historical and Philological Society at Novorosiisk University on 23 March 1901 (Noskova 2004, 7; Nepomniashchyĭ 2007, 21).

Muzychenko subsequently used the ethnographic and folklore materials, and in particular the folk songs, to prepare seminars for his course on Slavic philology at Nizhyn Institute (Martynenko 2000, 172). The folklore texts formed the basis for scientific work, written as direct observations in the region where today there are no Bulgarian customs or songs (Horban 2004, 118), and so they are valuable linguistic sources for the study of the dialect of the Crimean Bulgarians (Noskova 2002, 12). Concerning the reasons for the preservation of folklore traditions in the region at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, Nikolay Derzhavin was right to emphasise that on the peninsula, especially in the Feodosia district for the Bulgarians, there were more favourable conditions for the development and preservation of their nationality. For example, in Feodosia, hidden in the mountains (Kyshlav village) Bulgarian colonies were surrounded by beggar settlements of Russian settlers and local Tatars (Derzhavin 1914, 84).

The result of Muzychenko's fieldwork became the article "The life of Bulgarian settlers in Feodosiia district", which was published in 1899 in *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*, a publication of the Ethnographic Division of the Society of Naturalists, Anthropology and Ethnography at Moscow University. Several songs recorded in Feodosia district were published in the article "The birth and first years in the life of Bulgarians" (1903–1904), which covered family rituals. The materials from his second research trip were partly presented in his article "Bulgarians – settlers of the Crimea", published in 1901 (Noskova 2004, 7).

The first work of the young researcher covering the Bulgarians of Feodosiia district attracted the attention of professor Maryn Drynov at Kharkov University, who responded positively to the publication and noted the relevance of the collected materials. Drynov characterised it 'as very

meaningful', emphasised the introduction of 'new interesting historical materials' into the scientific world, observed the 'features of the folk language' contained in the songs, drew attention to the historical song about the death of Indzhe-Voivode, and underlined that recorded traditions quite often present very archaic features of everyday life, which had already fallen into oblivion in Bulgaria (Drinov 2004, 137–41).

At the end of the review, Drynov noted that he had 'private information' that Muzychenko had conducted a "new trip to his Crimean friends" the previous summer, and recorded "a lot of ethnographic material" that "is collated now". He said this during the year of the Twelfth Archaeological congress in Kharkiv, which took place in 1902, where Muzychenko, with the assistance of Drynov, presented the report *Observations on the Folklore of Crimea's Bulgarians* (Muzychenko 1905).

Drynov in every way encouraged and supported the activity of the young scholar, and their scientific cooperation and friendship, embodied both in direct communication (incidentally, in Bulgarian), and in correspondence, lasted until his death. According to Muzychenko, "his letters, and later conversations, were encouraging during the most dangerous time for a young gymnasium teacher" (cited in: Noskova 2004, 8). The last of Muzychenko's work on the history of the settlement of Bulgarians in the Crimea, which the author devoted to the memory of Marin Drynov, was published in 1907 (Muzychenko 1907).

As can be seen, each new survey of the Crimean region greatly enriched Muzychenko's scientific experience. In particular, in his writings he observed the traditional culture of the Bulgarian population, described wedding ceremonies, investigated the history of the arrival of Bulgarians to the Crimea, especially the colony in Kyshlav village, for which he used archival and manuscript materials, described in detail the phonetic features of its dialect, gave his views on the tradition of their folk songs, noting the poetic syncretism of the folklore, and the peculiarities of its creation and performance by the Bulgarian settlers. Of particular note is Muzychenko's observation on the process of decay in song culture, as many ancient songs that the Bulgarians called *zagorsky* (i.e., brought over from Bulgaria), lost their importance, song motifs were forgotten, and the content translated into narrative forms. Especially significant are the findings he obtained as a result of personal impressions and communication with the local population, who trusted Muzychenko and treated him as a 'friend', which in turn allowed him to get closer to them and present in his work the distinctive character, dialect, rituals and folklore of their community.

Muzychenko's subsequent scientific work was exclusively pedagogical, as a result of his own creative inclinations and the circumstances of his life, in particular his return to the Prince Bezborod'ko Institute in Nizhyn, a foreign internship with an Institute in Germany at the Pedagogy Department at the University of Ien (1906–1908), lecturing on philosophy and pedagogy in Nizhyn, and later teaching in Kiev. Muzychenko continued to remain active and persistent in his scientific and pedagogical work, an example of comprehensiveness in education, who excelled in the role of teacher in the educational process (Nepomniashchyĭ 2004, 25). However, a special place in domestic science will always be reserved for Muzychenko as the ethnographer and folklorist of the Bulgarian population of the Crimea.

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- Figure 2: The building of the public school in the village Kyshlav. Inna Noskova. *Krymskie bolgary v XIX – nachale XX v.: istoriia i kul'tura*, Simferopol'. Respublikanskoe obshchestvo bolgar imeni Paisia Khilendarskogo, 2002, p. 48.

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE GERMAN AND BULGARIAN VILLAGES OF THE NORTHERN BLACK SEA REGION (IN THE LATE 19th – EARLY 20th CENTURY)

Valentina Kolesnik

Abstract: The unity of faith and school is the most important feature of the Protestant culture. The main religious, cultural and educational German centre in Odessa was St. Paul's Cathedral (Lutheran), which opened St. Paul's Realschule. One of the first Central schools was opened in Sarata thanks to the donations of Christian Friedrich Werner, the merchant. The most famous of its graduates was Karl Adam Wilhelm. Tarutino was the second educational centre for the German colonists. Odessa was one of the main centres of the Bulgarian Revival. Among the educational institutions in Odessa during the period from 1820 to 1860, the contemporaries paid special attention to Richelieu Lyceum and Theological Seminary.

The Northern Black Sea region is the area where the traditions of different cultures met, represented by a mosaic of peoples and the commingling of languages and customs. Each of the peoples who came to this part of modern Ukraine brought with them their skills and abilities. Here, farmers lived peacefully with cattle-breeders, fishermen, gardeners, winegrowers, and craftsmen.

The stages of settlement in the Northern Black Sea region are covered by many articles and monographs. These researchers mainly focussed on the political and economic history of the region, sidestepping the issues of education and the daily life of the multinational population who lived there. However, one of the indicators of an ethnic group's (region's) development is the literacy level of the population. The crucial point in the life of any nation is the experience of information sharing. Initially, the source of basic knowledge comes from educational institutions, the number and quality of which can reflect the literacy level.

The German settlements in the studied region appeared after the accession of Bessarabia to Russia under the terms of the 1812 Treaty of Bucharest peace. Under this agreement, Bessarabia was annexed by the

Russian Empire, the non-Christian population left, and the area became almost deserted, which created an opportunity for its resettlement. New settlers were exempt from taxes for ten years, from military service, and were given a loan for the construction of houses and livestock purchases. Additionally, every family was allocated 60 acres of land free of charge (Kubiakin 2014, 39).

However, Odessa witnessed German settlements even earlier, since 1803, during the reign of the Duke de Richelieu. This period saw the formation of numerous colonies in the Bug-Dniester interfluvium and in the Western districts of Kherson province. Two colonies were based near Odessa, the Upper and the Lower. The Odessa environs also saw such villages as Grossliebental and Kleinliebental (currently Bolshaia and Malaia Dolina), Fridental (now Myrнопole) and Peterstal (Petrodolina), and Lustdorf. In 1806 the list of foreign colonists already included 84 German families: 426 people (223 men and 203 women) (Vizirov 2018, 18). On 1 May 1807, the Odessa settlement already had 749 German households with a total population of 3,516 people (Vizirov 2018, 39).

Until 1871, there were four colonies in the Odessa district (Libental'skii, Kuchurganskii, Berezhanskii, and Gliukstalskii) and Hoffnungstal, a separate colony in the Tiraspol district. According to the data of the 1897 First Russian Empire census, Bessarabia had 1,935,412 inhabitants, including 60,206 Germans (about 3% of the total population). According to the census conducted in Romania in 1930, there were 74,077 people who identified themselves as Germans (Stanko 2014, 491).

The colonies were often named after the native places of immigrants. Therefore, you were likely to find settlements in Odessa and Nikolaev with such names as Munich and Mannheim, Strasbourg, and Alsace. The names of the German colonies also immortalized the memory of the victorious battles between the Russian army and Napoleon: Borodino, Tarutino, Krasnoe, Kliastits, Kulm, Leipzig, Maloyaroslavets, Artsyz, Beresina, Brienne, Paris, and Fershampenuaz.

In 1814–1815, such colonies as Borodino, Tarutino, Kulm, Maloyaroslavets, Krasnoe, Leipzig, Beresina, and Kliastits were founded, in 1816 – Fershampenuaz, Brienne, Paris, and Artsyz, in 1817 – Teplitskaia (Kubiakin 2014, 44). Thus, in 1814–1816, the areas of Ackerman, Bender, and Cahul in the Southern and South–Eastern Bessarabia hosted 1,743 families, who founded eleven Lutheran and one Catholic colony (Stanko 2014, 492).

Often the Russian Empire sheltered the whole villages and parishes that moved together with the pastor. For instance, the archives reveal that

1822 witnessed a German pastor with his 50 cart-congregation arrive at the place of the former Nogai settlement. This pastor was Ignaz Lindl. He moved to Russia with his flock from Bavaria and the Kingdom of Württemberg. Thanks to the patronage of Alexander I, Lindl and his followers were given a plot of land that later turned into Sarata. The community was a social and religious brotherhood with all the work carried out together and the produce divided equally (Budzhak 2014, 505). It was here that in 1826 the first village school was built, and 68 students studied here (Stanko 2014, 505). Later in Sarata, grateful descendants erected a monument to I. Lindl in the middle of their town.

A crucial feature of the German national culture was universal compulsory education. German colonists arrived in Russia with a traditional school concept. In Protestant communities, this was caused by the religious reformation movement of Martin Luther, which involved the individual study of the Bible by every believer. The most important characteristic of the school was its close connection with the religious community that covered its expenses. The unity of faith and schooling is one of the most important features of the Protestant culture. The main objective of school was to familiarize students with the faith articles and assimilate Christian morality issues. School lasted from age seven to age fifteen and ended with the confirmation rite, which was compulsory for joining the Christian community.

Despite the lack of sufficient material resources, clergy, and professional teachers, the immigrants provided education for their children even in the first few years. This education was undertaken by the colonists themselves, mostly by craftsmen. Training boiled down to reading the Bible, the book of hymns and catechism, and learning by heart the short catechism of Martin Luther.

The premises for teaching children and conducting divine service were funded by the first public revenues. The first schools were in dugouts. With the increase in income, special school buildings were constructed which were owned by the community. A special wing in the yard or in the school building housed the teacher's apartment.

The structure of schools course was confessional: reading, writing, the basics of religion, spiritual singing, later – arithmetic. Boys and girls studied together, unlike at Russian schools. In winter, classes were held for 2–3 hours a day. The schools were extremely overcrowded.

The archives keep information about some teachers of the period. So, the Sarata colony had Zele, the craftsman, as a teacher. He came from Bavaria, where he served in the military. After his retirement in 1819, he

came with his parents to Russia, got married and acquired the colonist title. During the foundation of the Sarata colony, he was elected as a public clerk (Stanko 2014, 511).

Annual teachers' maintenance was decided by a secular gathering. Remuneration could be quite insignificant. Apart from monetary awards, teachers were also paid in multi-grain bread, cattle feed and fuel. In addition, in the Bessarabia colonies teachers were exempt from public duties (Ibid., 511). Village teachers were appointed by local priests. During church services teachers often acted as sacristans (Küster), assistants to the priest and organist. Sacristan-teacher embodied the connection between school and church: he taught children, and at the same time he helped the pastor during the service, and sometimes replaced him (Ibid., 511).

German immigrants practised two religions: Protestantism and Evangelical Lutheranism. In addition, they were also represented by the Mennonites, Baptists, and members of the Evangelical Reformed Church. Therefore, the colonists sought to settle their religious communities apart from each other. At the beginning the services were held "in private homes or very small churches... when the colonies were visited by Jesuit priests" (Plesskaia-Zebol'd 1999, 35). The teachers' duties were often carried out by priests.

However, many colonies had no priests. In the same fashion, the Catholic colonists had no priests at all, so the colonies were visited by Polish and Lithuanian priests from Odessa (Vasilenko 2003, 10). The colonies with the Evangelical Lutheran population often also lacked priests. From time to time, local teachers held simplified prayer meeting on Sundays, and if it was necessary he conducted christening ceremonies, confirmations, weddings, and funeral service (Ibid., 6).

In Odessa, the main religious, cultural, and educational German centre was St. Paul's Lutheran Cathedral, on the street which later was called Lutheran (now Novoselskiĭ Street). It was not only religious, but also an educational centre of German Odessa. Here in 1825, the German community opened St. Paul's Evangelical school. In 1848, it was transformed into St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran school, and since 1858 – St. Paul's German Realschule, since 1876 – Odessa St. Paul's Realschule, which afforded a quality, thorough education and was demanded not only among the Germans. So, in 1890, 377 students from this school included 139 Russians, 111 Germans, 83 Jews and 44 Poles. (Vasilenko 2003, 12).

The school accepted boys and girls of any nationality and religion. The school course included: Russian, German, French, universal and natural history, general geography, arithmetic, commerce, singing,

law, etc. (Vasilenko 2003, 12). In 1850, the school was transformed into a Realschule to prepare young people for commercial and craft activities, and girls. Teaching was offered in German. The school was managed by the Church Council. In different years, the school educated many famous personalities, for example, such as Leon Trotsky (Leiba Davidovich Bronstein 1888–1895), Johann Hoehn, who launched the Russia's largest plant for agricultural machinery and implements production, Sergey Utochkin, the pilot, Vladislav Gorodetsky, the architect, Jevgenyĭ Bukovetsky, the artist, and many others.

In 1868, Realschule adopted a new training program, which introduced a number of subjects in Russian. In 1876 teaching in the school switched completely to the Russian language; at the same time the school was recognised as a state educational institution, though it was still maintained at the expense of the Evangelical Lutheran parish. The headmaster was appointed by the Church Council. The Honorary Trustee of the School was Wilhelm Friedrich Wagner, a medical doctor.

By the early 1880s, Bessarabia had 37 German schools that had no Orthodox teachers or foreigners. All educational institutions were hosted in private buildings or in meetinghouses. Many of the teachers graduated from Werner or another Central German School. Teacher's activities were monitored by the local priest, who visited schools annually to control students' knowledge.

Attitude to the Russian language was the main adaptation issue for the Germans. They opposed the introduction of the Russian language in the school curriculum. However, the need of Russian language knowledge was obvious to the colonists, and they began to train Russian teachers from among the colonists themselves. To this end, they launched the so-called Central schools that trained colonial boys as teachers for rural schools with the Russian language. One of the first Central schools was opened in 1842 in Sarata thanks to the donation of Friedrich Werner, a Christian merchant. The school was named after him, Werner School (Wernerschule). It was the first higher educational institution in the South of Russia that trained teachers for rural schools.

Werner School accepted boys between the ages of 14 and 16 with the aim of preparing them to be able to work as teachers or clerks in the colonies after their graduation. The total number of students wasn't allowed to exceed 30. Ten of them, mostly orphans of the Lutheran religion, studied there and were kept at the expense of the income of the school; they were called Werner pupils. After graduation, they had to serve 10 years as teachers or clerks.

During those 4 years, they studied the creed, reading, the German and Russian languages, arithmetic, drawing, Church history, rhetoric, General history and geography, statistics, algebra, geometry, planimetry, and land surveying. The school had musical instruments (philharmonic and piano). With the increase in the number of students in 1879, the school was transformed into a two-form educational institution. In 1881, it had an enrolment of 32 students. 1889 saw the opening of a specialized pedagogical class. In 1904, the school was transformed into a three-form one, and in 1906, into a four-form one. In 1908, it was attended by 132 students and it employed five teachers. The school was maintained at the expense of tuition fees, interest on the school's capital, and annual subsidies from the Zemstvo (elective district council in pre-revolutionary Russia).

In 1910, Werner School was expanded with two pedagogical classes. The basis for the teacher training practice was a local rural school. Graduates from the school worked not only in the schools of Bessarabia Governorate, but also in Kherson, Taurida and Yekaterinoslav Governorates.

The most famous graduate from Werner School was Karl Adam Wilhelm, the teacher, public figure, and publisher of the *Odessaer Zeitung* newspaper. He was born in 1849 in the Lichtental colony in the Akkerman district. He graduated from Central Werner School and its normal school. Since 1879 Karl Wilhelm was an assistant to a class teacher at St. Paul's Realschule in Odessa, and at the same time he taught German in primary school. From 1900 he worked as the editor and later publisher in the newspaper *Odessaer Zeitung*. He also was a leader and active campaigner in the movement to preserve the German cultural identity, a member of the South Russian German Community Board, and Chairman of the Odessa Gymnastics Society Board.

Werner School also trained Wilhelm Muchall, who was born in Tarutino on 5 November 1851. He graduated from primary school, worked as an assistant to a clerk in Tarutino Village Council. In 1869, he entered Sarata Werner School, and then continued his education abroad. Since 1876 he worked at Tarutino primary school, and from 1884 he worked as a teacher at Werner Higher School. It is here where he continued teaching for 25 years, the last two years of which he was the headmaster of the school.

Some of his students eventually became famous personages, e. g., Daniel Haase, the future pastor of the parish in Tarutino, and later the Deputy Head of the Synod and President of the German National Council in Bessarabia (Kubiakin 2014, 268).

Muchall cooperated with the German-American newspaper *Dakota Free Media*, published in the United States for the Germans who

emigrated from Bessarabia, as well as with the German-language newspaper *Odesskaia Gazeta*, and German newspaper *Bessarabia* published in Tarutino. The main works written by Muchall are: *Memorandum on the 50th anniversary of Werner School*, *The History of Russian Central Werner School in Sarata (1844–1894)*, *The History of Tarutino Girls School* (1931), and *The History of the Community in Tarutino 1814–1934*. This was one of the first comprehensive descriptions of the life in the German community in Bessarabia. It was in December 1936 when Muchall passed away. In the obituary, Carl Liebman called him the Teacher of his people. Today Wilhelm Muchall's estate hosts a public organization, *The German Cultural Society Bessarabian House*.

In 1881, by decree of Emperor Alexander III, all educational institutions in the former foreign colonies were nationalised and reported to the Ministry of National Education. The clergy retained the right to monitor the religious education of students. Schools in southern provinces were subordinated to the Odessa Educational District and taken over by the headmasters of national schools. The German population treated these changes as a threat to their national tradition and culture, as the beginning of Russification.

However, rural schools still were supported by communities that opposed the appointment of Orthodox teachers. The rural schools largely continued to uphold their traditional education, but also provided an opportunity to slur the Russian language.

Tarutino was the second educational centre for the German colonists. At this time, Tarutino included the community of Tarutino colonies, Wittenberg, Kulm and Leipzig.

Apart from rural schools and Sarata Central School, Tarutino also opened a Girl's College in 1906. Girls' School (with a two-year course) was opened thanks to the efforts of Immanuel Fichtner, the teacher, later it was transformed into 2nd grade Tarutino Girl's school of Evangelical Lutheran confession with four years program. The tuition fee was ten rubles per year. In 1915, the school employed 11 German teachers and trained 113 girls (Kubiakin 2014, 17).

In 1908, Tarutino opened the Boys' Gymnasium founded by Uno van Beuningen, a graduate of Tartu University. The school occupied a two-storey building, constructed for the purpose, with Venetian windows. The money provided enabled them to construct a building worth 60,000 rubles. The building had 9 classrooms, a large hall, physics and natural history classrooms, a chemical laboratory, a library, a teachers' common

room, and a headmaster's office (Stanko 2014, 514). The building is still used for its intended purpose: it functions as a school.

Beuningen also launched the construction of the Tarutino Lutheran Church: its draft was approved in 1862; it could host 1,830 people, the height of the bell tower made up 38.4 m, and the length of the Church was 20 m. The construction lasted for 3 years; the Church was consecrated on 25 June 1865. Unfortunately, it has not survived till our day. The priest died in 1882. He was buried at the Tarutino cemetery, which is still called the German cemetery.

Positive changes in the German education system were caused by the appointment of a new priest in the Tarutino parish. On 8 September 1846, Wilhelm Pingoud commenced his duties. His service encouraged many positive developments. For instance, he introduced *Württemberg choral melodies* when teaching students to improve religious chants. To prevent school absenteeism, he imposed punishments for missing classes in spring and autumn. This was one of the most common complaints among teachers. Pingoud initiated the construction of a new school building designed to accommodate more than two hundred students. And by the beginning of the 1851–1852 academic year such a school was finally built. This building proved to be quite strong, despite the following repeated restructuring, and even now it still serves the citizens of Tarutino, after almost 180 years.

By the early 1880s, Bessarabia had 37 German schools that had no Orthodox teachers or foreigners. All educational institutions were hosted in private buildings or in meetinghouses. Many of the teachers graduated from Werner or another Central German School. Teacher's activities were monitored by the local priest, who visited schools annually to control students' knowledge.

On 4 June 1871, Alexander II, as part of ongoing state reforms, issued a special law on the colonists. The law abolished the benefits they had enjoyed for more than half a century and established legal equality between them and the indigenous population in Russia. Colonial schools were transferred to the Ministry of National Education. The German population treated these changes as a threat to their national tradition and culture, and as the beginning of Russification. Their concerns were confirmed by the actions of Fjodor Solovyov, the headmaster of the People's Schools in Bessarabia. He urged a Russian teacher be sent immediately to each German school, and to appoint him to the post of Head and the teacher of all subjects except religion.

Thus, in the second half of the 19th century, the school turned into a scene of confrontation between the colonist society and the Russian government, and it became one of the major tools of the state in its domestic national policy, which was vividly described by the Minister of National Education Dmitrij Tolstoy: “The ultimate goal of education for all foreigners living within our country is certainly their Russification and merging with the Russian people” (Kubiakin 2014, 194). However, the events of 1905–1907 forced the government to make a number of concessions on the national issue. These concessions for German schools included going back to teaching in the German language in primary schools.

1910–1911 also saw a new building of the Tarutino Boys’ Gymnasium, with a library, a school hall, a physics classroom, a headmaster’s office, a teachers’ common room, and accommodation for the headmaster. In 1912, 205 students in the Gymnasium listed: 130 Germans, 45 Russians and Bulgarians and 30 Jews (Kubiakin 2014, 200). The Gymnasium had such subjects as: mathematics, physics, law, geography and natural history, drawing and calligraphy, history and language and literature, Latin, French, German, hygiene, gymnastics, etc.

Another attempt to reform the education system was carried out during the so called Stolypin Time (1907–1911), when the post of Prime Minister was held by Pjotr Stolypin. He planned a school reform that was to introduce universal free education for children between the ages of eight and twelve. Events did not allow time to achieve this goal.

After the outbreak of World War I, there were persecutions of German-born people. 2 February 1915, witnessed the enactment of the law on the abolition of German private land; the society lost its funds to maintain schools.

World War I was a cultural disaster for the Germans living in Russia. Under government decrees, all German schools in the Bessarabian region were closed and all the German-born teachers were dismissed. It was a crisis for the German culture: the requirement of the religion for compulsory universal education was impossible to fulfil.

During the 100-year residence of the Germans in Bessarabia, they had a significant impact on the economic culture of the region and its economic development. They brought and popularized potatoes, a previously unknown agricultural crop in Russia. They also encouraged the spread of German red cows, a new dairy breed of cattle, and increased agricultural productivity by giving up using oxen as the main draught force for the first time in Russia. They were first to use horses as draught animals.

Numerous crafts and works were of paramount importance in the economic structure of the German colonists. Many Germans were engaged in tools and household items manufacturing. The German-colonist made carts and vans were in great demand. They distributed ground and steam mills, agricultural machines, and tools. For example, in Odessa, Johann Hoehn, who graduated from the Odessa St. Peter's Realschule, launched Russia's largest plant for the production of agricultural machinery and tools. In 1881, he designed the Novorossiysk plough; he was awarded for the plough at the Odessa exhibition in 1884. Hoehn's tools were in great demand. They were awarded with gold medals at exhibitions in Tbilisi. He also mastered the production of winnowers, reapers (harvesting machines), corn threshers, straw cutters, and horse-drawn threshers. In 1912, his plant employed 1,200 workers and produced 120 thousand agricultural machines annually; the turnover of the enterprise made up 2 mln rubles. And even now, it is one of the largest plants for the agricultural machinery production in Ukraine. Numerous crafts and works were of paramount importance in the economic structure of the German colonists. Many Germans were engaged in tool and household item manufacturing. The German-colonist made carts and vans were in great demand. They distributed ground and steam mills, agricultural machines, and tools.

The lifestyle, order, facilities of the settlements, literacy, diligence, and conscientiousness of the German settlement inhabitants were an example to be followed. It impressed everyone who visited the settlements. The researchers emphasize the insurmountable socio-economic barrier between the Germans and other ethnic groups in Bessarabia. They taught representatives of other ethnic groups to forge, to do carpentry and cooperage, to make carts and to smoke sausages (Georgiev 2018, 306). A sturdy German house with a pediment and cellar was a symbol of quality and stability.

The Bulgarians are the largest diaspora group in Ukraine. They moved to Bessarabia in the early 19th century, escaping from the Ottoman conquerors. They founded the city of Bolgrad and more than 40 villages in Budzhak. The Bulgarians left their homeland in the era of national revival: therefore, in a new land they tried to develop their centuries-old intellectual culture as well.

Odessa was one of the main centres of the Bulgarian Revival. It is here where such famous Bulgarian writers and poets as Hristo Botev, Aleko Konstantinov, and Ivan Vazov wrote and published their works. It is also here where Dobri Chintulov, a well-known Bulgarian poet, Naïden Gerov, writer, scholar and the author of a six-volume Bulgarian explanatory dictionary, Vasil Drumev, the author of the first Bulgarian story, and Elena

Muteva, the first Bulgarian poetess, began their artistic journey. Botev, the famous Bulgarian revolutionary poet, wrote his first works here in Odessa, while Ivan Vazov, the Patriarch of Bulgarian literature, authored his novel *Under the Yoke*. In Odessa, his experience at Novorossiysk University formed Konstantinov's democratic views and saw the first years of his artistic journey.

Among the educational institutions in Odessa during the period from 1820 to 1860 contemporaries paid special attention to Richelieu Lyceum and Theological Seminary. When Richelieu arrived in Odessa, the city had no educational institutions at all. During his reign Richelieu established Noble Institute (for girls and men), Jewish and Schismatic schools, several foreign boarding schools and a Greek trade school. The Greek commercial school had Nicola Piccolo, a famous Bulgarian philologist from Turnovo, as its teacher till 1820. But the Duke dreamed of an institution which could offer the same education level as universities. So, the Duke established the Lyceum, which was later renamed Richelieu Lyceum.

Richelieu Lyceum, the second Lyceum in Russia after Tsarskoye Selo Lyceum in St. Petersburg, was created on the basis of the Noble Institute and two private boarding houses – Wolsey and Pozzi. It was founded by the decree of Emperor Alexander I on 2 May 1817. Later, the Lyceum was joined with the School of Oriental languages, and within few years it opened the Department of Oriental languages and Commercial Department. And in 1841, Odessa witnessed the establishment of Cameral Department, which trained civil servants and lawyers in the field of public and private law. The students of this department studied such subjects as, for example, political economy, finances, trade, commerce, physics, physical geography, chemistry, agriculture, and Russian laws. The Lyceum students studied foreign languages and used the library collection.

In 20–50s of 19th century Richelieu Lyceum provided education for the future leaders of the Bulgarian enlightenment, namely for the scientists, historians, and linguists, such as Nikolay Palauzov, Spiridon Palauzov, Ivan Bogorov, Naïden Gerov, Dobri Chintulov, and Botyo Petkov (Hristo Botev's father). From 1840 to 1846 Richelieu Lyceum had Nikola Mutev, a famous Bulgarian composer, as its student.

Later, graduates from Richelieu Lyceum became well-known public figures, teachers, and educators. Thus, Hristo Mutev, a graduate from the Department of Law, was appointed as a secretary of the city governor in Odessa. Ivan Shopov, from Kalofer, also a student of Richelieu Lyceum, became the first Bulgarian bibliographer. It was in 1847 when Konstantin

Petkovich entered Richelieu Lyceum after graduating from Theological Seminary. Later, he worked as a Russian Consul in Bulgaria. Nikolay Khristoforovich Palauzov not only received a noble title in Odessa, but also was appointed as the mayor of Odessa for some time. Nikolay Mironovich Toshkov was a councillor of the city дума, and Vasil Aprilov became a member of the city council.

Odessa educational institutions also graduated famous Bulgarian writers and poets, such as Elena Muteva, Naïden Gerov, Dobri Chintulov, and Vasil Drumev. Dobri Chintulov wrote in Odessa his poem *Where are you, the people's love?* and *Get up, get up, the Balkan youth*; and Naïden Gerov wrote his poem *Stoian and Rada*. He also began his work on a six-volume dictionary of the Bulgarian language in Odessa.

From 1849 to 1853 Richelieu Lyceum educated Sava Radulov, an outstanding Bulgarian educator and teacher, one of the headmasters of Bolgrad Gymnasium. Bolgrad published his first *Bulgarian primer* as early as in 1859. Dimitr Mutev, the lyceum graduate, was also the headmaster of Bolgrad Gymnasium. In 1865 Richelieu Lyceum was transformed into Novorossiysk University.

In densely populated residential areas of the Bulgarians, people discussed the opening of new schools to train teachers and their own staff in the local government as early as in the first years. In residential areas densely populated with Bulgarians, from the earliest years people discussed the opening of new schools to train teachers and their own staff with the local government.

It was Yuriï Venelin (Georgiy Hutsa) who was the first to urge the establishment and opening of new Bulgarian schools in densely populated residential areas. He described his project to General Ivan Inzov, the trustee of the Bulgarian colonies, in 1832. Unfortunately, this project was not implemented then.

The first schools were private with a limited number of children. The teachers were mostly priests. The teaching methods were primitive: overlearning of the texts from the Bible and the Gospel, Lancaster's mutual instruction technique.

Simultaneously with private schools, the church (parochial) schools were started in Bolgrad and Comrat in 1832, and there were four more schools in the village of Cheshma–Varuita and in the village Karagach in 1837–1838. In the mid-40s of 19th century, such schools were in almost all Bulgarian colonies. Parochial schools were opened under local churches. Parochial schools differed from public (ministerial) ones only in the nature

and methods of teaching. The students accompanied by their teachers go to church on all Sundays and holidays.

The academic year in all schools was the same and lasted 8 months. Classes began on 15 September and ended on 1 May. The educational level in parochial schools was considered to be somewhat higher than in public schools. The reason for that was the large synodal subsidy which enabled students to improve their financial situation.

Educational institutions for Bulgarians were also created in the Crimea. The first institution was opened in 1842 (in the villages of Kyshlav and Marfovka). The education was provided in Russian. It lasted until the student mastered the education program. Initially, schools accepted only boys, but from 1840 girls could be enrolled also. The students learnt reading, calligraphy, the first 4 arithmetic operations, and religious education, the compulsory subject. i.e., the main subjects included religious education, arithmetic, and grammar (Noskova 2002, 80).

Since the mid-19th century the students began to study crafts as well. However, there were no artisans among the Bulgarian population; therefore the Bulgarians had to ask the German colonists for help in training. The Germans decided to take 15–16 years old boys for a five-year period for training them as blacksmiths, turners, saddle makers, and wheelwrights. During all this time, German teachers were obliged to provide their students with clothing and food free of charge and even to watch them visit the Orthodox church. Thus, 2–3 Bulgarian boys studied crafts in the German colonies annually. Since 1863 girls were taught sewing and knitting (Noskova 2002, 82). As a rule, schools had three teachers: a law teacher, a senior teacher, and a second teacher.

There were not only Bulgarians, but also Russians among the students. The education for the Bulgarian was free, while the Russians had to pay three rubles per year, but there were few of them. The classes were taught in Russian, and the teachers were mostly Russian. Only from 1886 to 1890 did the schools employ Bulgarian teachers. The students, however, did communicate with each other in Bulgarian. For example, teachers complained that during lessons and breaks the children spoke only Bulgarian to each other. Another reason for complaints from teachers was the poor attendance of Bulgarian students. The Bulgarians sent their children to school only in late autumn after the field work; sometimes they kept children for household work in winter also (Georgiev 2018, 282). As a result, there were many complaints about poor attendance.

The idea of creating schools with the Bulgarian language appeared in the 50s on the eve of the Crimean War. In the second half of the 19th

century Bolgrad became the administrative and cultural centre of Southern Bessarabia. At the end of 1857 Bolgrad hosted a meeting with representatives from all Bulgarian colonies. At the General meeting, they adopted the so-called Village-community verdict (decision) on the establishment of the Bulgarian educational institution in Bolgrad and on the ways of its financing – through the rental of real estate: lakes, reed beds, inns, etc.

There is a comprehensive bibliography on the history of Bolgrad Gymnasium (originally Bolgrad Central School). However, even nowadays the most significant one on this list is Konstantin Myislavskii's monograph *Istoricheskiĭ ocherk Gimnazii Imperatora Aleksandra III v Bolgrade* (Historical essay of the Gymnasium of Emperor Alexander III in Bolgrad) published in 1904 (Myislavskii 1904). The work of the Slavist from Bolgrad Gymnasium is especially important because it deals with all areas of the Gymnasium with references to the broad documentary base from the archives, which, unfortunately, disappeared completely. It covers the 1858–1878 period.

Bolgrad Central School was opened on 10 June 1858. At that time, Bessarabia was a part of the Moldavian Principality. By a lucky chance, the city of Iassy, the capital of Moldova, hosted Georgi Rakovski, who arrived here to open a Bulgarian printing house. He learned about the intention of the Bulgarians to open a Bulgarian school and decided to devote all his efforts to create this school instead of the printing house. Prince Nicolae Vogoride turned out to his countryman (he was also born in the city of Kotel) and his schoolmate. They studied together at the school of Kotel and also in Tsargrad (Constantinople). Thus, the citizens from Kotel were at the cradle of the famous Bolgrad Gymnasium. G. Rakovski's assistance in the opening of the Gymnasium earned him significantly more authority. The Gymnasium is named after him now.

The school not only trained teachers and servants, but also gave them the opportunity to continue their education in universities. The curriculum included two degrees: the first degree – three classes, the second – four classes. The statute of the gymnasium also included the curriculum, under which senior classes of the Gymnasium offered seven languages: Bulgarian, Romanian, French, German, Old Church Slavonic, Latin, and Ancient Greek. The main academic disciplines included mathematics, physics, natural history (and biology), cosmography (or astronomy), agronomy, drawing, and since 1872 – civil law, hygiene, and philosophy. All the subjects, except for the Romanian language, were taught in the Bulgarian language. The formal opening ceremony of the gymnasium took place on 1 May 1859.

From 1859 to 1878, the Gymnasium enrolled about 2,300 students who completed the first degree of the Gymnasium. It gave them the opportunity to be teachers and administrative workers in Bulgarian villages or in Bulgaria. From the academic years 1864–1865 to 1876–1877 there were 124 students who completed the whole seven-year Gymnasium course among 13 classes (Myislavskiĭ 1904, 234).

Some students (15%) received a scholarship from the budget fund of the Gymnasium; the size of the scholarship was 6–8 times higher than in European universities in France, Germany, and Austria–Hungary. Bolgrad Gymnasium was named after Ss Cyril and Methodius, who were patrons of the Gymnasium. Since 24 May 1864, the school has celebrated the Day of Slavic Writing and Culture.

In 1861 Dimitr Mutev, the headmaster of the Gymnasium, opened a printing house under the Gymnasium, which published more than 74 books, 65 of which were in the Bulgarian language, and the rest were in Romanian. These were mostly textbooks for schools. Thus, this printing house published eleven of Sava Radulov's textbooks, three of Pavel Kaliĭandzhi's, and a number of magazines.

Since 1860 there was a large library in the Gymnasium, which was available to the residents of Bolgrad. The school also had its own theatre, which was headed by the Theatre Committee. The actors were teachers and students from the Gymnasium.

The first headmaster of the Gymnasium was Sava Radulov (from the city of Panaguirishte), a graduate of Richelieu Lyceum. The second headmaster was Doctor of Philosophy Dimitr Mutev (from the city of Kalofer), who also graduated from Richelieu Lyceum and later studied physics and natural sciences in Bonn and Berlin (Germany).

The third headmaster of the Gymnasium for six months in 1854 was Georgi Mirkovich (from the city of Sliven), who received a medical degree in Montpellier in France. The fourth headmaster was Theodisius Ikonov (from the city of Svishtov), who graduated from the gymnasium in Kyiv, and then studied Slavic Philology in Prague. The fifth headmaster was Vasil Beron (from the city of Kotel), who studied medicine in Würzburg (Germany).

The school became the model of a European secondary school. It is at this time that the Gymnasium adopted its statutes and laid down the rules for gymnasium students and teachers; this considerably improved discipline.

From 27 January to 28 December 1870, the acting headmaster of the Gymnasium was Romanian Titus Parvu, who tried to romanize the educational process in the Gymnasium. The last headmaster of the Gymnasium

was Pavel Teodorovich (Todorov) (from the city of Liaskovets), who was a graduate from the Historical and Philological Faculty of Moscow University.

Throughout all the years of the work of the Gymnasium, the education language question was always discussed. In 1876, the Romanian authorities tried to transform the Bulgarian Gymnasium into a Romanian Lyceum, but the teaching staff and its headmaster defended its Bulgarian status. The 1877–1878 war prevented and put an end to the implementation of these plans.

In 1878 the territory of Bessarabia again became a part of Russia. In the context of Statute violation, the new government tried to transform the Gymnasium into a Russian secondary school and to teach all the subjects in the Russian language. P. Teodorovich tried to keep the Bulgarian status of the gymnasium, but he failed. In 1881, the Gymnasium lost its Bulgarian status. The Ministry of Education of the Russian Empire decreed that the school in Bolgrad would change to the program of the Russian classical gymnasium from the 1880–1881 academic year. There was just one slight deviation: the Bulgarian history and language classes could be conducted in Bulgarian, but as optional subjects (Demin 2006, 149).

Currently, the Gymnasium still has its Bulgarian status: the disciplines of the humanities are given in the Bulgarian language, while the Sciences are taught in Ukrainian. Some subjects of the humanities are given by teachers from Bulgaria.

In Bessarabia, the Gymnasium was a kind of Ministry of Education, as it was an administrative and educational and academic centre for schools in the Bulgarian colonies. In the first two decades (1858–1878) Bolgrad Gymnasium had 55 teachers, 40 of them were Bulgarians, graduates from Kyiv, Moscow, and Iassy Universities. In the history of Bulgaria such a number of highly qualified personnel was witnessed only in 30 years after the founding of the University of Sofia in 1888. It should be noted that the first chancellors of Sofia University were Bessarabian Bulgarians, such as Alexander Theodorov Balan and Dimitr Agura.

The students of Bolgrad Gymnasium are represented by fighters for national liberation and outstanding statesmen and political figures:

Angel Kanchev, the Deputy (assistant) of Vasil Levsky, the Apostle of Freedom.

Olimpiï Panov, Major, Commander of the artillery, 1886 Minister of War.

Alexander Malinov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers in Bulgaria for five terms, Chairman of the People's Assembly, leader of the Democratic Party from 1903 to 1938, godfather of Princess Marie Louise.

Dimitr Grekov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, first Minister of Justice (1879), Chairman of the People's Assembly, Leader of the People's Liberal party.

Georgi Zgurov, Minister of Justice (1897–1899), Deputy Chairman of the People's Assembly (1912–1913) and others.

They are also represented by the scientists and lecturers of Sofia University and Military school:

Academician A. Teodorov Balan, the first chancellor of Sofia University, twice chancellor of the University, a formidable scholar and philologist (Todorova 2009, 57).

Full prof. Dimitar Agura, the first Bulgarian Professor of history, four times chancellor of Sofia University, founder of the Bulgarian Historical Society, Minister of Education in 1883 (Todorova 2009, 59).

Full prof. Stefan Georgiev, the first Bulgarian Professor of biology, lecturer of Sofia University.

Full prof. Atanas Tinterov, lecturer of mathematics in Sofia University.

Associate Professor Ivan Slavov, lecturer from the Faculty of Law in Sofia University (1895–1899), Chairman of the Court of Appeal in Sofia.

Associate Professor Vasil Marinov, lecturer from the Faculty of Law in Sofia University, Chairman of the Supreme Court of Cassation in Sofia.

Vasil Vasilev, one of the founders of the Physical and Mathematical Society in Bulgaria, a teacher of mathematics at the Military school.

The founders of the Bulgarian Opera (1908):

Full prof. Ivan Vulpe, the first Bulgarian Opera bass singer, teacher of the Bulgarian State Conservatory.

Nikolaï Nikolaev, the first Bulgarian choral conductor and opera singer.

Konstantin Mikhailov–Stoian, one of the founders of Sofia Opera, an opera singer.

The Gymnasium graduates also include 13 generals and military figures, seven famous lawyers, and about 20 administrative workers.

Thus, Bolgrad Gymnasium is still the largest educational Bulgarian centre as it used to be; it is a prestigious European Gymnasium. It is here where many famous statesmen and political figures, fighters for national liberation, scientists and lecturers, founders of the Bulgarian Opera, and military leaders spent their gymnasium years. Its name is etched in gold in the history of the Bulgarian people.

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MIGRATION, KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE AND ACADEMIC CULTURES IN EUROPE AND THE BLACK SEA REGION UNTIL WORLD WAR I

Editor

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Publisher

Institute of National History

Printed by

SofijaPrint, Bogdanci

Print run

500 copies

CIP - Каталогизација во публикација

Национална и универзитетска библиотека "Св. Климент Охридски", Скопје

314.15:001.9]:94(100)"1914/1918"(4)(082)

314.15:001.9]:94(100)"1914/1918"(477/479)(082)

MIGRATION, Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in Europe and the Black Sea Region until World War I / Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska

(ed.). - Skopje: Institute of National History, 2021. - 384 стр. :

илустр. ; [24 см]

Публикацијата е во рамките на проектот: "Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities: Europe and the Black Sea Region, late 18th - 21st Centuries." - Фусноти кон воведот. - Библиографија кон трудовите

ISBN 978-9989-159-63-3

а) Миграции -- Размена на знаење -- Прва светска војна -- Европа --
Зборници б) Миграции -- Размена на знаење -- Прва светска војна --
Црноморски регион -- Зборници

COBISS.MK-ID 53853189

