



Special Issue

ACTA MVSEI SABESIENSIS

TERRA SEBVS

RUSSIAN STUDIES
FROM THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES
TO THE PRESENT DAY

Editors:
SORIN ARHIRE
CRISTIAN IOAN POPA
MAXIM TRUSHIN



2014



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PREFACE

This volume of studies is the result of a collaboration between “Ioan Raica” Municipal Museum of Sebeș, Kazan Federal University and the “1 Decembrie 1918” University of Alba Iulia. The collaboration gave several university scholars and researchers from the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan the opportunity to publish the results of their research on Russia and nearby regions from the early Middle Ages to the present day. Grouped in several sections, the 32 articles written by 48 authors with very diverse institutional backgrounds have been drawn up in accordance with the publication rules of the *Terra Sebus: Acta Musei Sabesiensis* journal, i.e. they use abbreviated quotes in the footnotes and then provide details at the end of the articles, under the bibliographical abbreviations. Given that the volume is an English language publication, it was decided that the Russian titles be written in Russian but with Latin letters instead of Cyrillic, to facilitate their understanding by readers who use English.

With a surface area of over 17 million square kilometres, today’s Russian Federation is 70 times bigger than the United Kingdom, which makes it a “geographical dimension” hard to ignore in the contemporary world, but also difficult to understand, especially by West Europeans and North Americans. Without claiming that this volume has fully encapsulated the long and fascinating history of Russia, we can say that it does provide the reader with unique information. It analyses cultural, economic, social and political aspects of the big evolutionary stages of the Russian state, which has had several names along the centuries - The Great Principality of Moscow, The Russian Empire, The Soviet Union and The Russian Federation. The *Miscellanea* chapter also includes studies whose diversity exceeds the geographic and cultural borders of Russia and approach interesting aspects of the lives of certain Asian communities (slavery and elites in early Turkic society, the typology of culture during the Ming dynasty) and aspects from the medieval history of Western Europe (hagiographies, the study of castles).

It may easily be observed that although located at the periphery of Europe but in the centre of Eurasia, the Russian space is more closely linked to the European continent than to the Orient, as proven by the

cultural articles from this volume. Music, painting, architecture, literature and poetry have always been more adapted to the European horizon than to the Asian one, in spite of the obvious influences of other cultural regions.

Considering that in the contemporary world Russia has lost the role of superpower it held during the Cold War, and that today it is profoundly isolated, to an extent previously only seen between the two World Wars, this volume aims to build a bridge between Russian and Western culture, leading to a better knowledge of events from the Russian perspective on a time axis stretching from the second half of the first millennium AD to present times.

In the course of almost twelve centuries of Russian history, never has the burden of choosing the right path been heavier than at the dawn of this millennium. The Russian Empire has always been both European and Asian. Nevertheless, a quarter of a century after the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, Russians must make a decision which may prove crucial in their country's evolution. To quote Christian Daudel, professor of geography and geopolitics at the University of Saint-Étienne, "in the long-term, Russia does not have a future without Europe, just like the European Union does not have a future without Russia"; in other words, the two major territorial entities will inevitably reach a point where they must draw up common strategies to satisfy their mutual interests.

The Editors

ASTANA THE CAPITAL OF KAZAKHSTAN AND ASTANAS IN SIBERIA AS A LINGUISTIC-CULTURAL ASPECT OF THE NATIONAL ISLAM OF EURASIA*

Irina Sovetovna KARABULATOVA**

Elena Nicolayevna ERMAKOVA***

Galina Alexandrovna SHIGANOVA****

Introduction

Sufi brotherhoods (Naqshbandi, Yasaviyya, Kadiriya) played a major role in introducing the steppe nomads to Islam. They began their journey from the sedentary urban centres of Maverannahr (such as Bukhara) and spread across the steppe. This determined the predominant influence in nomadic environments of a heterodox form of Islam. This Islam of nomads organically combined elements of pre-Islamic traditions with Sufi ideas. Such an attitude toward religion allowed the formation of a positive perception of the ideas of Sufism on Turkish soil. The Türks of Asia and Siberia did not consider Sufism as a heretical movement, not sharing the views of popular Islam and official Islam.¹ Thus, Islam's further penetration into the region and its influence on political life took place in close connection with pre-Islamic traditions, including the traditions of the neighbouring Mongols.² These processes were not the result of an ideological battle, but rather a flexible acculturation and adaptation of different ideas.³

* This work was funded by a subsidy allocated to Kazan Federal University from a state assignment in the sphere of the scientific activities.

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¹ Trimmingham 1989, p. 23.

² Ibid.

³ Golden 2011, p. 192; Esposito 2002, p. 256; Cribb, Herrmann 2007, p. 30; Sayfulina et al. 2013, p. 492-496; Robinson 2000, p. 187.

Take, for example, the Tyumen region, the nearest neighbour to Kazakhstan, where Turkic peoples make up more than half the population, balancing on a thin structural line of languages and cultures. In the 18th century, Archbishop Cyprian wrote a special decree forbidding Russian people in Siberia from marrying adherents of different faiths because they did not comply with the laws of the orthodox faith.⁴ This example demonstrates “the potential of creating a new type of linguistic identity” because it combines the worlds of different ethnic cultures.⁵

Nursultan Nazarbayev defined Kazakhstan’s newly-created capital, Astana, as “the heart of Eurasia.”⁶ This designation continued the tradition of the Siberian Tatars and Siberian Kazakhs of giving the name Astana to holy places, places heartfelt prayer. The sacred space can be multiplied, but draws particularly on duality, as doubling carries a metaphysical meaning. For example, in ancient Egypt the temple was the “ka” of God, his counterpart (analogue), and was portrayed by a glyph representing two raised hands. In ancient Israel, the letter “beit” (which also means house) simultaneously denotes the number two. In addition, many modern states have two capitals: Moscow and St. Petersburg in Russia, New York and Washington in the United States, Astana and Almaty in Kazakhstan, Istanbul and Ankara in Turkey. Apparently, “if the capital is the heart of the country, we can compare the image of” two capitals “with the two parts of the heart.”⁷

The attitude toward magic, holy and sacred elements in the new state symbolism of Kazakhstan is not accidental. Our research has direct relevance to anthropolinguistics. The term “anthropolinguistics” was introduced by American academics F. Boas and E. Sapir, who showed the relation between ethnos, culture and language, triggering much discussion in academic community.⁸

Materials and Methods

Today we are witnessing an intensified search for new, fundamental mythological and philosophical elements in the changed geopolitical space. This paradigm makes it possible to consider the name of the capital as a social and cultural - as well as mythological - phenomenon. Thus the name of the state capital performs the direct function of a toponym, and also contributes to the ethnic cohesiveness of the nation. Although, there was a

⁴ Karabulatova 2009, p. 176.

⁵ Karabulatova 2013, p. 792.

⁶ Nazarbayev 2005, p. 5.

⁷ Karabulatova et al. 2010, p. 70.

⁸ Lewis 2011, p. 381.

stable relationship between the Soviet past and the old capital (Alma-Ata, now Almaty), the search for means of ethnic integration in the new Kazakhstan (as an independent state) led to the transfer of the capital to a geographically central part of Kazakhstan. The new city was symbolised in iconic symbols of the state, such as the flag and coat of arms, as the spiritual umbilical cord of the young state, along with a symbolic representation of the sun which metaphorically warms the entire Kazakh land and its peoples. The basic natural symbols of Astana reflected in its state symbols are the boundless steppe, the high sky and the bright sun. This powerful trinity, vital in a culture oriented towards agriculture, serves a special mystical role in the designation of Astana city as a symbol of the state. The main characteristics of Kazakhstan - the sky and sunshine - are laid down in these ancient mythological components. The steppe is a symbol of the infinity of being, the infinity of life, while the sun represents the presence of higher powers, of divine protection.

Personal understanding of the sacred (as in Akmola, the name of the region, which translates as white tomb/holy tomb) and sacral (Astana, capital of the Siberian Tatars, and also used to designate the grave of saints and sheikhs, a sacred place) in the worldview of Eurasians (Russians, Kazakhs, etc.) has special significance. The dual designation of the sacred manifests itself in the profane world, most clearly indicating the presence of the Divine, of higher powers. Researchers emphasise that the sacred sanctum is "that which is on the periphery of the sacrum, ensuring complete isolation for contact with the divine."⁹ The researchers emphasize that the holy astanas are on the periphery of the sacred world; they represent the boundary between the real and sacred worlds.

Researchers into the Tatar language, in particular F. T. Valeyev, indicate that the word "Astana" is of Arab origin and means "door sill" or "entrance into the palace."¹⁰ This interpretation offers a new perspective on the symbolic significance of Astana as the capital: it suggests a kind of entrance to the Heavenly Palace, in other words, this is the place where God lives or his arche is embodied (according the representations of the ancient Greeks (Plato), arche designates the root source or principle of a thing, which is universally identifiable and repeatable - hence archetype, arch-genius, etc.). By naming the capital Astana, all the Sary-Arka - the great Kazakh steppe - is designated a mythical locality. The entire Kazakh steppe thus serves as a collection of various astanas.

⁹ Benveniste 1966, p. 343-350.

¹⁰ Valeyev 1976, p. 323.

The delivery route of the Kazakh nomads, called the Yurt,¹¹ stretched from the Aral Sea to Tobolsk. It was no coincidence that astanas (as in sacred places) in the Tobol region were the most powerful. Here the sacred space is built into the profane, such that sacred sites are repeated in the profane space, multiplied across time and space in numerous sites in the Tyumen region.¹² In the authors' opinion, an astana is a specially-structured space in Eurasia. Astanas represent the building blocks of the psychic space of the Turkic peoples. When Kazakhs immigrated to the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China, they also referred to ancient cemeteries as astanas. Thus we find astana tombs in a location forty kilometres from the city of Turpan in the southern foothills of the Tien Shan mountains and two kilometres from Gaochang.

Researchers have identified several types of Siberian Tatar places and objects of worship, distinctive in both nature and origin, most of which are undergoing a phase of Islamisation, acquiring the status of sacred places, of astanas.¹³ It is no coincidence that there is an expression in the dialect of the Siberian Tatars, "astanally yeres," which means sacred land. The first astana is located in the Orenburg region of Kazakhstan, and according to the oral testimony of Professor Uldanay M. Bahtikireeva, a native of the Orenburg region, the astana is also a place of worship. To date, academics in the Tyumen region (Tyumen, Tobolsk and Kazan) have identified 56 astanas in that region. It is now known that there are more than 80 astanas in Western Siberia (Tyumen, Omsk, Tomsk and Novosibirsk Regions).

Tyumen historian R. Kh. Rakhimov made great contributions to the certification of sacred astana monuments in the South Tyumen area.¹⁴ The northernmost astana is located in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area. Siberian Turks believe that Hajj (pilgrimage) around the gravesites of these saints is equal to undertaking the Hajj in Mecca itself.

In ancient times, people believed that Siberia was the space of the sacred spirit. Siberia can thus be seen as a place of mystical liminality, in which astanas mark the presence of the mystical world in the profane one.

Results

The preservation of national cultural identity in multi-ethnic regions often arises from similarities between the cultures that come into contact. In this case, the historical development of this area is inextricably linked with the

¹¹ Yurt: A Yurt or Dzhurt is a migratory route of Turkic tribes.

¹² <http://www.con-spiration.de/texte/english/2007/huebner-e.html>, accessed 11 June 2014.

¹³ Yarkov et al. 2006, p. 3.

¹⁴ Rakhimov 2006, p. 24.

formation of its space in terms of not only ethnic but territorial communities. Especially notable is the individual's personality, with its socio-cultural specificity, from which the concept "regional identity" can be defined.

To some extent, mythological stories about astanas have many similarities with the fairy tales and stories known as "Dastans" told by Siberian Turks about sacred sites and sacred areas. According to the legend of the 366 "awliya" or saints (which exists in different versions from Bukhara and Arabia) the students of Ishan Bahauddin Hokhcha, the founder of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi brotherhood, came to Siberia to spread Islam. The mystical number 366 emphasizes their special metaphysical status.

The awliya are a reflection of Sufi notions of the hierarchy of "hidden saints" (which, as a rule number 366). The Islamic tradition refers to them as Holy Keepers of the the Universe. Sufis believe that the awliya hold hidden knowledge about the structure of the universe, the laws of motion and the causal relationships between the "thin" world of energy and psyche and the "rough" material world.

Awliya train people to properly formulate their thoughts and control their inner world. They are the messengers of the sacred world to the world of humans. Ordinary people ascribe to them extraordinary psychic abilities. From this perspective, the legend of these saints acquires special significance. Indeed, folklore in many respects penetrates the inner world of the people, the world of images and representations. As researchers have noted, the philosophical basis of the Sufi Naqshbandiyya brotherhood includes the classical theology "wahdat ash-shuhud," defined by Ahmed Farooqi Sirhindi (1564-1624), one of its spiritual founders, as the belief that "all that is in this world is the creation of Allah."¹⁵

The Karagay region yurts in Tobolsk province were "strongholds of Sufism," "centres of the Muslim district," "a kind of residence of Siberian-Tatar or Siberian-Bukharian Hagg, one way or another associated with the Naqshbandiyya congregation."¹⁶ Medieval Arab scholars interpreted the inhabitants of Siberia differently to modern Russian and European researchers. Their perception of Siberia was more mythologized. The authors believe that this is due to its greater distance from the Arab East. In addition, the name Siberia-Iberia indicates the predominance of fantastical interpretation, tales of the Great Silk Road, etc.

In the first half of the 14th century, the area was known to Arab authors by the toponym Ibir-Sibir. For example, Ibn Fadlallah Elomari, a

¹⁵ Sayfulina et al. 2013, p. 494.

¹⁶ Belich 1997, p. 55-73.

contemporary of the Uzbek Khan of the Golden Horde (1312-1341), used this toponym not as a paired name, but as two separate independent names or as Sibir and Ibir, stating that “the borders of Sibir and Ibir touch the boundaries of Chataysk,” i.e. the Chinese border.¹⁷ Another Arab scholar of the first half of the 14th century, Mesalek-al-Absar, inscribed Siberia and Iberia as Siberia-and-Aberia, while Ibn-Arab-Shah (1388-1450) gave their names as Abir-and-Sabir.¹⁸

All schools of Sufism preach peace and harmony between the self and Allah. For a Sufi believer, a multi-faceted, happy man who bases his life on the requirements of the Koran is an ideal person. A good example can be found in dervishes, those who have withdrawn from worldly goods and all the temptations of life, overcoming “nafs,” (i.e. greed, base desires) for the sake of knowing the Truth, and thus becoming closer to Allah. To acquire higher knowledge and understanding, the Sufi must develop superior abilities; such abilities can be found through real-imaginary journeying in the semi-mythical Siberia.

We live in a world of cultural codes which date back to archetypal ideas, or deeply-based oppositions. Different readings can lead to disagreement on religious grounds.¹⁹ Thus, the 366 awliya could be perceived as bearers of the mystical consciousness of the “hidden saints,” resulting from the transition from the mundane world to the sacred one. Sufi notions of the hierarchy of saints suggest they are like hidden heavenly domes stretching out over the world, filling it with special psychic powers. Tyumenian astanas are places of worship, they encapsulate the lofty ideals of the Turkic peoples; Tyumen Christian monasteries are places of pilgrimage for Slavic peoples; and Tyumen forests and mountains are where the Ugric people worship the heavenly forces. Not accidentally, blue is the colour of the flag of the Tyumen region, symbolising the sky and high ideals. The Turkic peoples of the Tyumen region believe the blue sky is the residence of the god Tengri, whose name itself means sky. The Ugric peoples of northern Tyumen also believe that the supreme god Numi Torun lives in the sky; indeed, Torun represents the sky. The representatives of these groups believe the sky is a living being.

To date, more than 50 places of burial (astanas) of the awliya are known, located in Uvatsky, Tobolsk, Vagaysky, Yarkovsky, Tyumen and Yalutorovsk, in the south of the Tyumen region.²⁰ Although the Siberian astanas are an integral and important part of the local cult of the saints, they

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Tizenhauzen 1941, p. 234.

¹⁹ Gregg 2014, p. 36-51.

²⁰ Karabulatova 2009, p. 176.

are not recognized in the Koran. The astana cult is an aspect of so-called “folk” Islam. In it can be seen an organic combination of various archaic beliefs and practices of the local Turkic peoples. In a sense, these astanas are specially structured sacred spaces of the former Blue Horde. In turn, a parallel interpretation suggests that astanas are the sacred places of Siberian Tatars in the Tyumen region, as is the Kazakh capital, Astana. Continuity can be seen in the name of the sacred places of south-western Siberia and the Urals known as astanas and the designation of the new capital of Kazakhstan as Astana. Field data resulting from the authors’ expeditions to this area indicate that the Turks of south-west Siberia and northern Kazakhstan have gained a new awareness in their interpretation of human civilization through the Sufi tradition.²¹

Each astana has its guardians - a family that has taken care of the site for centuries. Astanas, as a rule, are formed of a square frame of mahogany with a flat roof, around which people can pray. The religio-mythological mentality of the ancient Turks is manifested as a sign of this ancient land, expressed in the symbolism of the square. Tyumenian astanas take the form of a regular square, or rather, a cube, made from larch logs. The Kaaba, a perfect cuboid building, is the most holy part of Islam’s most holy mosque in Mecca. However, with astana, we see a reflection of more ancient beliefs, where the square represents a basis or foundation.

Today, when the rate of change of change in modern society is so great that it causes people to fear violation of their identity, it is especially important to preserve the traditional cultures of multiethnic regions. In recent years, the phenomenon of the Tyumen astanas has attracted many historians. In parallel with these studies, legends associated with astanas were collected and analysed for this article. Typically, these legends tell of something which allegedly took place in one or another astana, and are associated with the reprehensible behaviour of a person who is then punished by a higher power for disobedience, or who prays at the heart of the astana and gets what they want. To date the authors have collected over 100 of these legends, recorded mainly among the Siberian Tatar population in the south of the Tyumen region. However, Muslims and other ethnic groups (the Ingush, Kazakhs, Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, etc.) are also seen praying at Tyumen astanas.

It is known that mythology serves as the earliest form of ideology and corresponds to ancient perceptions of the world, such as the original spiritual culture of mankind. The earliest types of astana are associated with pre-Islamic animism and nature worship; as a rule, they are usually found in the context of hills, lakes, trees, rocks, mountains, etc.

²¹ Lacroix 2011, p. 220.

The second type of astana is connected with the household needs of families and tribal groups. Typically, these were man-made sanctuaries of various designs (huts or log cabin, scaffolds on pile, etc.) where objects of worship such as anthropomorphic images (“kurchaklar” or dolls) of the spiritual masters, or of family and tribal supporters were placed.

The third type of astana is connected with a variety of forms of ancestor cult: ancestor worship and deliverance from trouble by ancestors was an important part of local Turkic hero folklore. Places of worship in this group included burial mounds and certain tracts of land associated with ancient settlements.

The last, most famous type of astana is connected with the graves of local Muslim holy sheikhs built at the time Islam was just beginning to penetrate into Siberia (14th-15th centuries) and in a later period (17th-18th centuries).

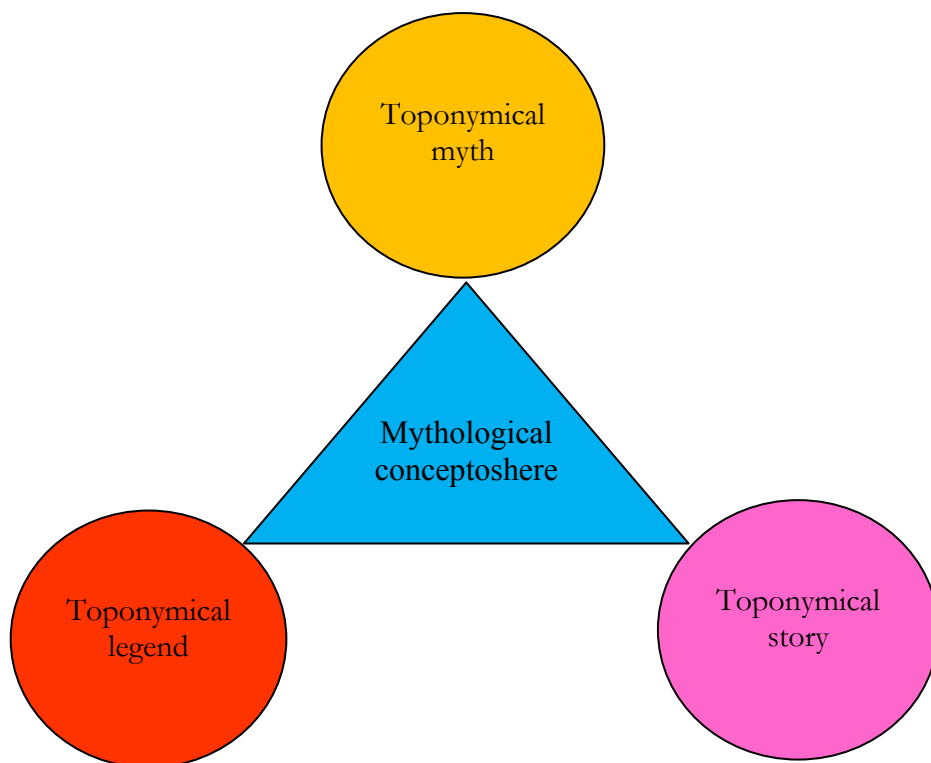
Each astana is associated with many superstitions, omens and stories. Marking the central part of Eurasia, the ancient Turks designated astanas as “places of power.” The term comes from the Persian “asitana” or “astan” (the threshold of the royal court, Palace of Happiness/a place of rest and sleep/grave of the Prophet and other holy people). According to experts, the word “auston” can be traced back to “avestan uz-dāna” (construction), and the Pahlavi “āstōdan” (receptacle of bones). At the same, the word’s semantic range includes such concepts as peace, time, death, high court and the roots of old trees. It is no accident that the word astana came to mean capital city in the Kazakh language.

The content of myths from both the past and the present is perceived as very real; a clear distinction is not made between the real and the supernatural. For example, among Siberian Tatars, an ethnic group who represent a significant percentage of the Kazakh population,²² there are widespread folk tales regarding astanas, their keepers and the miracles and events that occur near them. The reasons behind the establishment of these myths are embedded within the cultural and historical development of society. According to the authoritative opinions of U. M Lotman and B. A. Uspensky, mythological thinking is onomastic at its core, relying on a hierarchical relationship of proper names (toponyms).²³

The hierarchy of relationships as is follows:

²² Sagidullin 2002, p. 2.

²³ Lotman, Uspensky 1974, p. 273.



We assume that toponymical tradition relies on a deeper real tradition, with real historical fact as its basis, while the more fantastic and surreal aspects of legends came originally from the religious (Christian, Muslim, etc.) traditions. The authors propose that toponymical legends in most cases are based on the associative perception of names. Chains of keyword associations in myths are encountered throughout various kinds of mythological works, syncretically connecting pagan beliefs, the spiritual traditions of shamanism and other religious beliefs.

There is no doubt that local linguistic colouring depends on the specifics of the populations that came into contact. This colouring is expressed in conditions of material and spiritual culture and language. From this perspective, the lingual world landscape of the new type of Eurasian person is a sort of mosaic formed of various lingual cultures built on the foundations of his native language, taking into account ethno-linguistic differentiations.

When we read toponimycal stories about astanas, we can see not only archetypal stories about holy places, but also intercultural elements connected with the promotion of Islam and Arabic culture in Siberia and Kazakhstan. Religious knowledge of Sufi practices is passed from teacher

(“murshid”) to disciple (“murid”) orally, and the essence of the tasks ahead should not be explained to the murid. Pilgrimage to Siberia represents a true spiritual practice for enlightened Sufis. The spiritual and moral quest of Siberian Arabic Sufis is reflected in works of art, clearly illustrating the nature of the Sufi worldview of the real and the imaginary world. The central problem in the life of a Sufi is the search for freedom - the freedom of the soul. Astanas serve as a symbol of the freedom of the soul.

Discussion

The Kazakh government took the word “Astana” as the name of the new capital. It could be said that the sacred meaning of the word astana strengthened certain archetypes within the Turkic community. The symbolic load borne by this name in the past was increased many times with the formation of the state. Young states (such as Kazakhstan) need new myths to comprehend reality anew. These new myths can be seen as a kind of common experience of the transformation of the country.

In the formation of new independent states, myths are usually required as a form of mass culture and a way to interpret reality. Fragments of the Turkic world are scattered across a huge area of Eurasia, a testimony to the promotion and development of Turkic culture by its ancestors. P. B. Golden clearly presents the psychic space of the Turkic world and showed the interaction of elements of the archaic and traditional worlds of Islam amongst Turkic nomads.²⁴ Turkic peoples did not just drift towards a convergence of East and West, but actively created their new nation, uniting disparate ancient worlds. Kazakhstan, declaring itself the successor of the great ancient lands of Eurasia, provides to its people a powerful motivation for creativity and an awakening of genetic memory which helps to create both the present and future.

Finding the “heart space” in the mystical tradition of any people is a crucial step on the path to spiritual ascent. In addition, according to the testimony of researchers into Orthodox spiritual culture, the south-west of Siberia has a mystical resonance with “the heart of the sacral Topos” and the Islamic prayer of Issus. Siberia in Russian culture is a sacred portal of prayer, a mystical Belovodye (place of White Water) or Shambhala. A parallel can be seen with the Nestorianism²⁵ of the pre-Islamic period of the region.

²⁴ Golden 2011, p. 180.

²⁵ Nestorianism: A branch of Christianity; its main theological principle is recognition of the symmetrical alignment of God and Jesus in the single divine-human person of Christ from the moment of conception, without the confusion connected with the two faces of God and man. The Christian Church has long treated Nestorianism as heresy.

A Temenos (ancient Greek. Τῆμενος) is a sacred piece of land dedicated to a specific deity. It was believed that a person could feel the presence of the deity when in the Temenos, meeting their personalized essence of the unconscious. Tyumen region is just such a sacred place in Russian culture: located in south-west Siberia it has a shape of a heart. Thus we can assume that the name Tyumen is a distorted form of Temenos.

Modern onoma (the act of naming) is a kind of myth-making, taking on new life, rising to a new level of perception amongst recipients. From this perspective, a huge variety of proper names can be identified in different nuclear peripheral fields of modern onomastic space in the post-Soviet states, reflecting the formation of various identities. However, the modern onomastic space becomes a platform on which communication takes the form of a battle between: a) Russian and English (hence, in the authors' opinion, there is clear polarization in the name of the new micro-toponymic objects such as Knyazhye Lake and Green House, etc.); b) Russian and the official language of other countries (Kabedenov - Kabedenuly; Karabulat - Karabulatov - Karabulatidis; etc.); c) the state language of the CIS countries and English (Halyk Bank - Nalyk bank, etc.); d) Russian and the languages of republics of the Russian Federation (Bashkortostan - Bashkortostan, etc.); e) Russian and the language of national minorities (Amangeldyevna - Amangeldinovna in the forms of patronymic names in the same family). Such a complex communicative situation requires a balanced approach to the analysis of modern ethno-linguistic-informational onomastic systems.

The polyethnic nature of the Russian-Kazakhstan border region impacts not only the formation of specific anthropological population types but is reflected in the characteristics of how local languages function, and in the formation of bilingualism and biculturalism.

The authors believe that the specific type of poly-lingualism found in the Russian-Kazakhstan border region - namely Tatar-Arabic (confessional) and Russian, plus foreign languages (English/German/French), is characteristic of Tatar. The suppression of the confessional nature of trilinguism amongst Tatar and other Turkic people is a cause of surprise. As a rule, almost all Tatars know, in addition to the native Tatar language, Russian and also Arabic as an Islamic language. Languages are learned in the following order: 1. Tatar, 2. Arabic, 3. Russian, 4. foreign languages (English/German/French). The adoption of second and further languages and cultures represents the creation, in an individual, of a new lingual and cultural system to reflect objective reality. Indeed, "these and other facts

confirm our assumption that we are dealing with invariants of the Turkic-speaking people”²⁶ implemented in medieval Siberian-Tatar literature.

All these abovementioned factors suggest the need for a wider definition of “the problem of formation of polylinguomental Eurasian linguistic personality” in the south part of Western Siberia and North Kazakhstan as a multi-aspect, mega-conceptual personality affecting the whole Turkic society in principle.²⁷

The question of Siberian Turkic peoples’ ideology has been considered by J. D. Rogers and other researchers,²⁸ who analysed in detail the Turkic and Mongolian eras of civilization and the pagan beliefs of the Turks before the era of the Chingisids.²⁹ The works of P. B. Golden seem important in considering syncretism in the religious beliefs of Siberian Turks and pagan archetypes,³⁰ because pagan beliefs are organically woven into the so-called “folk Islam” of the Siberian Turks.³¹ This aspect was very important for the nomadic warriors, allowing them to enter into the unknown world without fear.³²

In general, the name - or rather, what is behind the name, the onomastic concept - serves as incomprehensibly complex system. Toponymic legends are based on the associative perception of names. In this regard, the mental space of a proper name is of special interest since, functioning in a multiethnic environment, all the elements of regional onomastic systems are influenced by stereotypical perceptions of standards inherent in man as the subject of cognition. Communication occurring between the elements of a toponymical concept - which includes the lexicographic, etymological and associative and/or psychologically real value of the onym (proper name) - generates weightless holographic names in the human mind, ensuring this naming convention a long life.

Myths are an effective means of influencing the mass consciousness; mythological communication is very interesting for advertising and public relations, as it operates at a level that can be only weakly refuted by the mass consciousness. Myth is one feature of onomastic discourse. In onomastic discourse, myths can be understood as uncritically-perceived stereotypes of social consciousness. At the heart of the myth is the phenomenon of a fetishised symbol: Babylon (the Biblical city → meandering river with riverbed → complex pattern; Babylon → Network → Trade goods) implies

²⁶ Karabulatova 2013, p. 792.

²⁷ Gulyaev et al. 2013, p. 158.

²⁸ Biran 2005, p. 175; Golden 2006, p. 27.

²⁹ Biran 2005, p. 180; Golden 2006, p. 35; Rogers 2012, p. 221.

³⁰ Golden 2011, p. 21.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Beckwith 2012, p. 34.

things piled on top of each other, devoid of organisation. Myth reduces complex reality to a simplified picture. Onomastic myth has an impact on the consciousness of the addressee such that it encourages certain actions and, ultimately, the implementation of joint activities. The astana has become just such an onomastic myth. We assume that folk etymologies of toponyms arise from structured toponymic myths, allowing the name to be kept as long as possible in the memory of native speakers.

The authors believe that astana sacral complexes are not just objective but subjective-objective, not just natural and hereditary but historically derivative and mediated by media phenomenon. From many aspects, the concept of astana contains auto-stereotypes of the social, ethno-cultural and lingual behaviour of individuals as representatives of a certain ethnos and reflects the constants of the national personal identity of Turkic peoples in Siberia and Kazakhstan.

Conclusions

The associative value of an onym consists of associative fields, i.e. structured associative responses to that onym in modern society. The nature of the association, as a rule, undulates - it is in constant motion from the nucleus to the periphery and back again, while being in accord with the actualization of those or other characteristics of the communicative situation. Fragmentation of associations can shift the focus of attention of modern human consumer society to the highest spiritual values, transferring it to the mythologized "dream society." Here myth becomes the salvation for man, tired of the lack of a stable system of spiritual origin, of living in a situation with elusive properties.³³

In other words, we can talk about post-modernist trends in contemporary onymo-formation and onymo-pragmatics, which, according to Jean Lyotard, represent a special worldview today.³⁴ For example, it is rational; it has always been dominant in the category of toponymical objects, but this principle is now receding and new values come to the fore in the form of new meanings given to famous quotes from world folklore, literature and science. Thus, toponymic space arises as a new interpretation of known facts. Jean Baudrillard wrote with great love and emotional warmth,³⁵ that the "culture of structures is the qualitative state of a particular ethnic group in a particular social space and time."³⁶ These texts allow us to establish connections and reconstruct an ethno-genetic

³³ Gerashchenko 2006, p. 50.

³⁴ Lyotard 1979, p. 100.

³⁵ Baudrillard 2000, p. 184.

³⁶ Karabulatova 2009, p. 181.

mythological synopsis from the toponymic legends of astanas. These legends reveal the sacred meaning of the name Astana. Foremost are the legends about terrible punishment and miraculous healing, as well as legends of the appearance of holy spirits in these places.

The study of such communication comes naturally when we consider formalizing the regulatory mechanisms of life, culture, strategy and everyday human behaviour. The authors believe that the sacred complexes known as astanas occupy a key position in the process of understanding the traditional culture of the Siberian Turkic peoples.

On the one hand, popular myths about astanas affect the underlying mechanisms of humanity, promoting the formation of ethnic and religious consciousness. On the other hand, the mere presence of sacred astana complexes and the presence of legends about astanas creates favourable conditions for the reproduction of sacred tradition.

Astana the Capital of Kazakhstan and Astanas in Siberia as a Linguistic-Cultural Aspect of the National Islam of Eurasia

(Abstract)

By the time Islam penetrated into the Siberia and Kazakhstan, these territories were inhabited by various Turkic nomadic tribes whose spiritual and religious life was very varied. From the earliest age, a variety of cultural and ideological systems coexisted, including huge range of autochthonous ancient beliefs based on nature worship and ancestor worship, involving magic and the deification of the sky (Tengrism). After unification with Islam, these beliefs could later be found in the culturally-based traditional lifestyles of Siberian Tatars and Kazakhs. This is particularly true in the peripheries of the spread of Islam - in Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan, with their largely nomadic ways of life. The authors speculate on the name, astana, given to a succession of topographical objects, suggesting it represents a method for concealing the sacred in the profane.

In modern socio-cultural reality, considering the mythological potential of a name involves examining fundamental characteristics of the culture such as 1. the interactive nature of culture itself, 2. its mythology, 3. its appeal to the potential of the past in search of the lost eternal values, and 4. the primacy of cultural interactions with respect to social processes. Whether the reader agrees or disagrees with this, one thing is clear: everything, even the tiniest shades of meaning that may arise in the human mind, must be considered.

The vivid, powerful, multifaceted image that arises from the valuation of toponymical objects is valuable for the modern man; it rebuilds the ruined individualism and immensity of the world, thus broadening our own cultural space. The sacral complex of an astana can be understood as a kind of socio-cultural communication which provides a record of a collective tradition.

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Keywords: Siberia, tombstone, myth, Astana complex, onym.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerica. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskoye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archives. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskoy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijskij na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheskij jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL SCHOOLS IN RUSSIA (19TH-21ST CENTURIES): AN ETHNOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE*

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Analysis of the establishment and development of rural schools in Russia requires a clear understanding of rural education from a historical perspective, in order to reveal the reasons behind the specific characteristics seen in them today, and from there identify opportunities for further prospective changes.

The challenge of rural schooling has been an important problem throughout the history of the Russian education system. It is well-established that all reformations in rural schools depended not only on the political decisions of government, but also on the ethnocultural traditions of the community where the schooling being was organised.

The first attempts to create public schools were made in 1714 by Peter the Great, who decided to create schools for basic education in mathematics and geometry for children (boys) of certain estates.¹ These arithmetical schools did not exist for long, as they gradually merged with garrison, religious and metallurgy schools and in 1744, after passage of the Senate decree *On consolidation of arithmetical and garrison schools in provinces into one place*, they disappeared.² Peasant children were not trained in arithmetical schools, so this particular case does not have great relevance to the question of rural education. However, it should be noted that peasant children were sometimes able to learn to read and write thanks to the initiative of their parents, who employed fellow-villagers, retired soldiers, exiles, clerks or vagrant teachers to train their children. Peasants also organised so-called

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¹ The social estates of the Russian Empire (sosloviye) defined four major demographic groups: the nobility, the clergy, urban dwellers and peasants, as well as more detailed sub-categories, such as priests and monks, merchantry and guilded craftsmen.

² Frumenkova 2003, p. 136.

“Spontaneous Schools.” Sometimes clergymen or other church members (former peasants) took the initiative to organise a school for peasant children.³ It is well known that some nobles (such as Sheremetev, Yusupov, Golitsyn and Orlov) taught some of their serfs. According to the census of 1858, the peasantry represented 34% of the overall population of the country.⁴

In 1802, in the days of Emperor Alexander the First, the Ministry of Public Education was founded, and in the following years a new system of public education was implemented with a remit to make education free, continuous and available to all estates. These changes made education more available to the rural public, meaning the children of peasants could learn in parochial schools. But the number of schools established by landowners for the children of serfs did not increase after this change; indeed, following abolition of serfdom numbers started to decrease. However, the establishment of zemstvos (local governments) in 1864 enabled the government to establish and develop schools through the rural zemstvos system.⁵

Documents issued by the Ministry of Public Education, such as the *Regulations for public elementary schools* of 1864 and 1874 regulating the legal relationships and the zemstvo school management system, tell us much about these systematic reforms.⁶ Also around this period, a number of documents were created in which the disadvantages of zemstvo schools were analysed and recommendations on issues of educational processes were given. For example, in 1906 N. F. Bunakov published *Shkol'noye Dyelo* in which he analysed education from 1872 to 1902. He wrote that the native language should be the most important subject in school because it enables the child to “think and feel in the spirit of the people that created that language.”⁷ Bunakov also emphasised the importance of nurturing love for one’s neighbour and seeking truth, kindness and moral beauty.⁸

The 19th century is of particular relevance to this article, because at that time the concept of a national character was emerging in education. For example, a report from the Minister of Public Education S. S. Uvarov to Emperor Nikolay the First (19 November 1833) explains the idea of “Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality” as a defining principle of public education, stating that in actions related to public education, a true national

³ Gromyko 1991, p. 171.

⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

⁵ Veselovskiy 1909, p. 449.

⁶ Katuntsev 2005, p. 116.

⁷ Bunakov 1906, p. 3.

⁸ Ibid., p. 156.

sentiment would be brought about “if we will keep untouched the sanctuary of our national concepts.”⁹ The main idea the writer appears to be conveying here is the value of national traditions and a national mentality.

K. D. Ushinskiy, a scholar of Russian pedagogy, expressed his thoughts on issues of the management of zemstvo schools in an article, *Obschiy vzglyad na vozniknoveniye nashikh narodnikh shkol*, published in 1870: “We are certain that the public that has piously defended its beliefs in the past will hold to them for the establishment of its schools as well.”¹⁰ This statement is not about the necessity for and importance of public (family) traditions in nurturing children: rather, it declares that the natural development of zemstvo schools would ideally lead to school management that involves parents and considers the interests of rural citizens, rather than be subject to constraint, restrictions and regulation by governmental administrations. Ushinskiy, in works such as *Rodnoye Slovo*, *Poezdka za Volkhov*, *Trudi Ural'skoy Ekspeditsii* and *Obschiy vzglyad na vozniknoveniye nashikh narodnikh shkol*, expresses thoughts that later became foundations of the concept of nationalism.¹¹ The idea of nationalism is that the education of any population is based on the national character, which is determined by the way societies develop under the influence of their history, social conditions and geographical location. Thus, education should have distinctive public (national) roots and should be based on the native language, which reflects “the climate, the nature and the history of the motherland.”¹²

The educational beliefs of the great Russian writer L. N. Tolstoj (1828-1910) are of great interest, because as well as being a manager with teaching experience at Yasnaya Polyana School, he supported the traditions of rural life:

“It is very common to hear and read an opinion that conditions at home, the rudeness of parents, work in the fields, rural games, etc., are the main disturbances to school education..., but it is time to see that these conditions are the very foundation of any education, ... its first and foremost conductors.”¹³

In 1911, for the first time in the existence of zemstvo organisations, an all-zemstvo meeting on public education took place. The meeting summarised the outcomes of the 1909-1910 school period. Among the issues affecting the efficiency of education were mentioned: a lack of

⁹ Shevchenko 1995, p. 71.

¹⁰ Ushinskiy 1870, p. 6-16.

¹¹ Ushinskiy 1948, p. 607.

¹² Ibid., p. 28.

¹³ Tolstoj 1989, p. 61.

connection between schools and local population due to too few libraries; repetitive courses; a lack of Sunday and evening classes for school graduates; a lack of native language classes; poverty (scarcity of clothes and footwear); and children being responsible for household and field work, resulting in a lack of motivation among parents to educate their children.¹⁴

The conclusions of V. I. Charnolusky, published in *Voprosy narodnogo obrazovaniya na pervom obschezemskom syezde* (1911) are particularly pertinent to this study. He noted that “Expenditure on school education without establishment of extracurricular education is inefficient; extracurricular education should take a significant place in the chain of actions for public cultural education.”¹⁵ Charnolusky suggested that a successful extracurricular education programme meant the “provision of all people with extracurricular education that meets their needs.”¹⁶

Besides this, questions were raised in the all-zemstvo meeting as to how the zemstvo, as an elective local government organisation, should best represent all the local public, including different nationalities and confessions (religious groups), an outcome which was considered important “for the facilitation of national dignity and freedom of will.”¹⁷

In the 20th century, Russia experienced changes in all aspects of social life. Rural schools were the most common type of educational institution, and the main goal of schools was the propagation of communist ideology. Nevertheless, educators researched issues relating to the use of folk traditions in education. It is known that the founder of the Pavlysh School, V. A. Sukhomlinskiy used ethnic traditions, for example, organising the “Prazdnik Zhavoronka” (Skylark holiday) with children and their parents, making use of folk games and songs, and staging folk and fairy tales.¹⁸

It is important to note that the idea of using theatre in rural schools has a substantial history. The first all-zemstvo meeting on public education in 1911 (see above) published a resolution on extracurricular education which stated that public theatre, when the proper plays are selected, has a significant educational and nurturing potential, and therefore theatrical plays should have a place in extracurricular education.¹⁹ To support the expansion of theatre amongst rural populations, the meeting recommended eliminating existing administrative and bureaucratic obstacles to organising theatres for

¹⁴ Charnoluskiy 1912, p. 14-15.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 163.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 123.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁸ Sukhomlinskiy 1974, p. 207.

¹⁹ Charnoluskiy 1912, p. 176.

rural communities, compiling a suitable repertoire of plays and providing space in school buildings for staging them.

One notable example of the organisation of theatre as part of the development of Russian rural schools was the peasant amateur theatre in Petino village, Voronezh province.²⁰ This theatre was established in 1888 by N. F. Bunakov in Petino School to serve the purposes of education and culture. Notably, the repertoire of plays included scenes from traditional social life, folk songs, games, rituals and celebrations. For example, in the play *Sirotki* by G. Vasilyev, the old song *Ah Vyi Seni, Moyi Seni* (Ah, you inner porch, you are my inner porch) is performed, and one scene depicts a “nochnoye” (night horse watch) - an element of traditional rural life.²¹ In a drama about everyday life, *Ne Tak Zhivi, Kak Khochetsya* by A. Ostrovsky, the folk songs *Zhil Yermka Da Foma* (Lived Yermka and Foma), *Oy Lapti Moyi, Lapotochki Moyi* (Oh, you are my bark shoes) are featured, and a Maslenitsa (celebration for the end of winter) is staged. In a comedy by Kruglopolov *Bobyil*, folk traditions such as carol singing, fortune-telling, costuming and wedding rituals all make an appearance.

Bunakov made great efforts to propagate his personal experiences of establishing community theatres, especially among countryside (“public”) teachers: it was not only local teachers from Voronezh province who came to watch plays at Petino theatre: educators from Tambov and Poltava provinces came as well. Bunakov published articles, wrote notes for various journals in Russia and abroad, and gave lectures to various conferences on the topic of theatre. He formulated a number of recommendations on the organisation of folk (including school-based) theatre in rural areas:

- The contents of the play should reflect public life and should be familiar to actors and audiences;
- The play should have perfect morals encouraging “goodness of impression;”
- Characters should preferably be of the same age as school children;
- Scenes from folk life should be “truthful and realistic” and the play itself should be neither “boring and too deep, nor dull and empty.”²²

At the same time, Bunakov spoke against “deliberately instructive theatrical plays.” He also offered some very valuable insights on enunciation: “speech should be in the local style, reproduced as accurately as possible, without faking, simplification or rough stenography.”²³

²⁰ Nesterova 2002, p. 5.

²¹ Bunakov 1953, p. 305.

²² Ibid., p. 304.

²³ Ibid.

Public theatre was seen by Bunakov as a form of cultural and educational work and as a necessary component of the rural educational environment. His ideas of not only children's but all rural people's education by means of theatre corresponded to ideas of the great educator of the Chuvash people, I. Y. Yakovlev, who used theatre in Simbirsk Chuvash Teacher's School (founded 1868) to train teachers for rural schools.²⁴

Yakovlev considered folk art to be the very foundation of the new culture, and concentrated his efforts on bringing his students closer to world culture whilst also studying Chuvash culture. He pursued the idea that the process of understanding both Russian and world culture should be based on native folk culture.

In connection with this, he encouraged extracurricular events which broadly involved local folklore, which the students of Simbirsk School collected during their summer folklore practice. Students organised traditional folk celebrations such as an Akatui festival with circle dances, games (Chuvash, of course), competitions and the giving of gifts (embroidered shawls) by girls to boys. This was a real reproduction of a folk celebration. To encourage students to practice reading in Chuvash, Yakovlev compiled *Chuvash Bukvar*, a book of 23 short stories, 45 riddles and around 4,000 sayings, collected by himself and his students.²⁵

Yakovlev's Simbirsk School was a source of culture and education, both for training teachers and for the education of the Chuvash people. Using ethnotheatrical forms in the educational process, for example, dramatising rural rites or reviving household folk celebrations, Yakovlev's school encouraged all that represented the national culture of the Chuvash people. As a result the first teachers in Chuvash, being students of Yakovlev, took these theatrical practices from Simbirsk School to educational institutions around the Chuvash republic. Yadrin Real School, Cheboksary City School (which taught three-year teacher training courses), Ikkovo's two-grade school, Bichurin's two-grade school, Indyrchino, Yanshikhovo-Norvashi, Yantikovo and Shiblygy Schools and Poretsk Teacher Seminary all had school theatres where plays based, among other things, on Chuvash folk traditions were staged.²⁶

From this perspective, Yanshikhovo-Norvashi School in Yantikovo region is an important example. As an inspector of non-Russian schools of the Kazan school district, I. Ya. Yakovlev went to Yanshikhovo-Norvashi in 1879 look at the possibility of building a school in that village. In 1887 an

²⁴ Efimov 2008, p. 120.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 123.

²⁶ Ivanov-Ekhvet 1987, p. 287.

estimate and architectural designs were submitted and the building was finished in 1903. The first teachers in the village were students of Yakovlev, who took theatrical practices from Simbirsk Chuvash Teacher's School to educational institutions across Chuvash country.²⁷ These traditions still live on in the village today. Choir and dramatic collectives and agitprop groups existed well before World War II, back in the twenties. Although they disappeared from time to time, they were invariably re-established again. In 1980, there was a women folk ensemble performing old songs, dances and ancient rituals. Nowadays, according to our research, the most popular rituals staged in this school are Ulakh (a village gathering), Surene (a spring holiday devoted to banishing illnesses from the village), Surkhuri (a New-Year ritual of fortune-telling), Her Sury (a celebration by adult maidens, which translates as "Maiden's Beer"), Ker Sury ("Autumn Beer" - a celebration of the new hop harvest and commemoration of ancestors), and Shuvarny (Maslenitsa - celebration for the end of winter).

In the mid-20th century, ethnopedagogy, a new academic field, was created. Its founder, G. N. Volkov, often asserted the importance of studying, preserving and passing on folk traditions to the next generation in order to preserve ethnocultural identity - an essential element in the conservation and development of socialcultural and historical heritage and the preservation and strengthening of the integrity of local people's cultures. Volkov's contribution to the preservation of cultural legacy and his facilitation of the social development of many nationalities is widely recognised. The influence of his school of thought is not only found within his homeland, Chuvashia, but extends to other regions of Russia and countries beyond, such as Bashkortostan, Tatarstan, Mari El, Mordovia, Kalmykia, Tuva, Yakutia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Belarus and Germany.

Modern ethnopedagogy as an academic field is characterised by several tendencies. Issues of ethnocultural education today are explored on the basis of new insights obtained by the combination of ethnography with art history, pedagogy, psychology, culturology and sociology. The term "ethnostaging," coined by L. M. Ivleva for the research of folk drama, is also pertinent to contemporary ethnopedagogy. The author of this article has spent several years researching the use of ethnostaging in a system of ethnocultural education for rural students.

Ethnostaging is understood to mean a historical and cultural phenomenon that reflects certain phases of historical and national-cultural development of the folk.²⁸

²⁷ Husankay 2003, p. 15.

²⁸ Arestova 2010, p. 3-7.

Folk traditions (rituals, celebrations, games) from which modern theatrical forms have originated, are not only a part of the local culture, but also reflect the spiritual values and social standards of the public. Thus, ethnostaging is a phenomenon that belongs both to the art of staging and to the field of social relationships (including the development of personality), which is directly connected to pedagogy.²⁹

Dramatic forms of folklore are directly connected to ethnostaging; they take the form of a dramatised collective play where people are transformed through disguise, costume, masks, makeup, movements, mimicry, speech and so on. Examples might be a Christmastide play of disguises, a “Maslenitsa send-off” ritual and Maslenitsa games, wedding ritual, etc.³⁰

Traditional folk culture creates a people with a certain attitude towards their environment, who display certain characteristics of social relationships in social groups, who have certain motivations for their deeds and adopt a certain system of values. All these are the parts of an indivisible whole, which can be appreciated only on the level of a holistic understanding of traditional culture. In our case this understanding is achieved through exploring the ethnotheatrical activity of participants in the educational process.

Using this methodology to study the newest innovative pedagogical activities reveals how theatre is actively used by teachers in the education of the developing generation. Often this type of activity is closely connected to the revival and preservation of folk drama and ritual traditions. For the purposes of this article, ethnotheatrical activity by teachers is of primary concern.

Ethnotheatrical teaching is a system of activities that make use of the educational potential of drama and ritual forms of folk culture.³¹ Thus ethnostaging in schools is a pedagogical method that primarily involves the selection of educationally appropriate examples of folklore from the national culture for staging. The goal of ethnostaging is the ethnocultural education of students. Ethnocultural education means assimilation by an individual of the values, moral concepts and moral regulations of the society in which he or she originated and the environment in which he or she lives, fostering a sense of “cultural belonging” to that society.

Preparation for playing a role in ethnotheatrical play is a process in which the development of the actor’s personal disposition takes place. A “role” can be understood as a normative system of actions determined by a

²⁹ Arestova 2011, p. 838.

³⁰ Ivleva 1998, p. 180-189.

³¹ Arestova 2011, p. 838-841.

typical way of life in a traditional society over the centuries, allowing the character to be associated with that society. Performing in a play first of all requires the actor's active understanding and reflection upon his own disposition, as a reference point for understanding that of his character, in order to comprehend this character's attitude towards society as a whole, the beliefs and motivations behind the character's actions, and the goals and activities towards which such actions are oriented. In preparing for a performance, students are familiarised with the contribution made to the culture in question by folk rituals, games and celebrations. Concepts surrounding the role of moral values in human life (e.g. why does this person of that particular ethnicity act in just such a way?) are explored, and students consider how the ethical codes of people of particular ethnic cultures are influenced by their participation in ritual practice, and how these codes can be good for humanity as a whole.

Thus the use of ethnostaging in modern rural schools as a tool to encourage assimilation of ethnocultural values is determined by the following factors:

- Ritual folklore forms have distinctive game principles, which correspond with the natural essence of childhood, and thus represent an effective educational tool for nurturing and developing students;
- Mythology and rituals provide insight into the mindset of ethnic groups and are a source for understanding their worldview and spiritual values.

Ethnocultural education in schools is organised on the foundations of ethnotheatrical activities in rural society and should, the author believes, be conducted through the interaction of all participants in the educational process - students, educators, parents and relatives of students. In addition, this process should involve the population of the village population, the local museum and library, and information and cultural centre workers. This is important because ethnocultural education through ethnotheatrical activities is expressed in such forms as:

- Folklore theatre;
- Ethnotheatrical workshops, clubs and studios;
- Staged ethnographic performances in museums;
- Outdoor displays of traditional rituals on stage;
- Classes on folk art using theatrical facilities;
- Ethnotheatrical projects based on authentic ethnographic material from the area in which participants live, or on local legends, myths, fairy tales, etc.

Folk theatre in schools cannot exist without the cooperation of children and adults: teachers, students and their families (parents, grandparents, etc.) who help with costumes and can be consulted on how

the relevant rituals were treated in the past. Take, for example, the youth ritual of *larma* (literally “gatherings”) in which related maidens from neighbouring villages would gather to sew, embroider and sometimes change dresses several times throughout the evening. Most commonly it was a way for young women to show off their dowry dresses and their handiwork skills (the dresses were usually embroidered), since at these gatherings they were looked over by potential mother-in-laws or fiancés. The beauty of this ritual is reflected the beauty of Chuvash life. The ritual incorporates Chuvash concepts of manners and the moral qualities of a maiden. Today, the staging of this ritual, in particular the dressmaking aspects (during rehearsals girls not only practice the actions they will perform stage, but actually embroider or restore dresses of their grandmothers themselves), can bring about transformation through acting and/or dressing up. This is not only of cultural and educational relevance: it can also help to develop systems of beliefs and opinions, because transformation through dressing in folk costume is not merely a matter of playing the role of a young lady of yesteryear, it provides a situation where the student can culturally interact with her ancestors.

These kinds of activity cannot exist without the interaction and cooperation of not only the abovementioned participants, but also local government bodies, mass media, social organisations and institutions. It is essential for the management of school-based ethnocultural education that there should be concurrence between the actions of educational, administrative, social and amateur bodies, and that the organisation of curricular and extracurricular forms of education should complement each other. Rural schools should play the role of centres of coordination for the ethnocultural education of students. Coordination is achieved by mutual agreement between the school, cultural institutions and social organisations.

The examples described in this article indicate that the creation and development of rural schools and the sociocultural environment were always tightly bound to each other, and the specifics of folk culture (ways of life, rituals and national traditions) have consistently affected the organisation and practices of education in rural areas.

From a historical perspective, the development of rural education went hand in hand with the transmission of ethnocultural traditions; in other words, teachers not only taught general academic subjects, but tried to pass ethnic experiences (customs, rituals) on to the next generation, often using ethnostaging as one of the most effective methods for doing so.

The above analysis has outlined the development and consolidation of ideas about the social and ethnocultural aspects of education throughout the history of rural education. These include:

1. The idea of school management that involves parents and where the interests of rural communities are taken to consideration;
2. The idea of extracurricular education for the cultural development of the public;
3. The idea of rural schools as social and cultural institutions, rather than existing exclusively for teaching;
4. The idea of taking national and regional characteristics into account in the management of schools;
5. The idea (of S. S. Uvarov) of using national character (“Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality”) as the basis for nurturing “useful and effective tools of government” upon which the government-run education system can rest;
6. The idea (of G. N. Volkov) of education with a national character, taking on specific local features of each ethnic education system;
7. The idea of education based on national traditions and the creation of the field of ethnopedagogy (also by Volkov) and related technologies for ethnocultural education.

These ideas can be seen in practice in the development of rural schooling even today. For example, the Russian State program for “Development of Education 2013-2020” states that Russian education should assist the consolidation of Russian society through facilitating the creation and implementation of new and entertaining educational programs. In addition, the document states that most rural schools should serve sociocultural functions as well as educational ones.

Today, rural schools are the same as city schools in many aspects: teachers and students have access to computer technology, use the Internet, participate in and win various educational and professional competitions, and so on. But at the same time, the rural school has its own unique characteristics determined by the nature of the rural society in which it is situated, and first and foremost of these influences is existence of traditional culture. There is great potential for rural schools to use this factor in their educational processes.

Specific differences in rural schools include the smaller number of staff, staffing instability, and a more significant potential for consolidation compared to city schools; there are also issues of poor material and technical resources, the remoteness of the school from cultural centres and institutions. Specific social differences in rural school arise from poorly developed social infrastructure, isolation and remoteness from other populated areas or regional centres. The social and educational environment of a rural school generally involves several villages, often separated from each other, which creates difficulties with regards to transportation and organisation of extracurricular activities. Rural schools are obliged to react

in a quick and timely manner to constantly emerging social problems among their children. Taken together, this creates the necessity for schools to perform not only educational, but also social and cultural functions.

Sociocultural functions of rural schools should facilitate:

- The creation of conditions for self-realisation of not only students, but their families (youth and adults) in various aspects of life, including education, labour, culture, etc., thus facilitating the development of the cultural and educational environment of the village;

- Interaction with the community, while continuing to play a leading role in consolidating the efforts of social educational institutions (museums, community centres, vocational colleges, etc.) and facilitating the achievement of socially valuable results from activities;

- The revival of folk traditions and rural customs (art, aesthetic, ecological, labour, etc.).

All of these are extremely important conditions for the successful socialisation of children and the development of the micro-environment and community that facilitates the well-being of individuals.

It is important to remember, in discussing the social function of the rural school, that its presence plays a crucial role in the existence and well-being of the village itself. The school acts as an organising body in the village, protecting the healthy relationship between family and local community.

The social and educational benefits of ethnocultural education for rural children include:

- Assimilation of the cultural and intellectual traditions of their community, including moral values and special cultural and historical forms of interaction between people in that community;

- The possibility of choosing and creating a personal trajectory of self-development and self-realisation, taking personal interests into consideration;

- Realisation of the cultural uniqueness of other nations and ethnicities, of the cultural diversity of the region, the mother country and the world.

The educational and social benefits for teachers include:

- Professional development, social activity, cooperation with colleagues;

- Implementation of new educational technologies at school and in extracurricular activities.

The positive effects on the quality of educational processes include:

- The renewal of educational content, the development of new academic and pedagogical techniques, and the creation of diversity

programs which take into consideration the cultural environment of rural communities;

- The development and implementation of new educational technologies, in particular ethnostaging;
- The organisation of educational processes in diverse ways which reflect the needs and interests of students and teachers;
- The use of the educational potential of the rural social environment, cooperation with rural institutions, cultural centres and other schools.

Resolution of the above-described issues plays a crucial role in the successful socialisation of children living in the countryside and the development of communities and micro-environments that facilitate the everyday life of the individual; it is, in fact, essential for the survival and development of the village itself, and thus the school.

The Establishment and Development of Rural Schools in Russia (18th-21st Centuries): An Ethnocultural Perspective

(Abstract)

Analysis of the establishment and development of rural schools in Russia requires a clear understanding of rural education from a historical perspective, in order to reveal the reasons behind the specific characteristics they display today, and from there identify opportunities for further prospective changes. This article gives an overview of establishment and development of Russian rural schools, highlighting the most important personalities and ideas that played crucial role in their history up to the present time.

The article also consolidates and reflects on the ideas behind the social and ethnocultural aspects of rural schools' historical development. These include the idea of school management that involves parents and considers the interests of rural communities; the idea of extracurricular education for the cultural development of the public; the concept of rural schools as socio-cultural institutions; the idea of ethnically- and regionally-oriented management of rural schools; the idea of using "national character" as a basis for nurturing "useful and efficient tools of government"; the idea of education taking on national characteristics; the idea of a folk tradition-based education; and the idea of ethnopedagogy. These ideas show that development of rural schools has progressed by passing on ethnocultural traditions, and that the preservation and reproduction of ethnocultural values is a crucial factor in maintaining the viability and development of both the rural settlement and the school.

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Keywords: ethnocultural traditions, rural school, ethnostaging, ethnopedagogics, education.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerica. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

REVISITING THE COLLECTION OF TATAR MUSICAL-ETHNOGRAPHIC MATERIALS BY THE TEACHERS OF THE KAZAN ECCLESIASTICAL ACADEMY IN THE CONTEXT OF THEIR MISSIONARY-EDUCATIVE ACTIVITY (19TH CENTURY)

Elmira Ilgamovna SAFIULLINA*

The history of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy has been academically interpreted in the works of famous historians such as P. V. Znamenskiy,¹ K. V. Kharlampovich,² Russian theologian I. S. Berdnikov,³ and historian M. Z. Khabibullin,⁴ who dedicated his career to the studies made by teachers of Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy of the Volga region and the Transurals.

Active work on the religious conversion of non-Russian nations of the Russian Empire was carried out by notable academics within the Academy, such as E. A. Malov, N. F. Katanov, N. I. Ilminskiy, G. S. Sablukov, N. P. Ostroumov, M. A. Mashanov, M. G. Ivanov, P. K. Zhuze, Y. D. Koblov, N. V. Nikolskiy⁵ and others.

The activity of ecclesiastical writer Protoiereus E. A. Malov⁶ was especially significant. For the purpose of his ecclesiastical-educative work,

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¹ Znamenskiy 1891-1892.

² Kharlampovich 1907.

³ Berdnikov 1892.

⁴ Khabibullin 2009.

⁵ Nikolay Vasilyevich Nikolskiy (1878-1961) was a Doctor of Historical Sciences and a professor of Kazan University, the Eastern Pedagogical Institute and the Mari Pedagogical Institute. He made great contributions to the understanding of the history, ethnography, folklore and language of Chuvash and other Volga region nations. From 1903 to 1917, Nikolskiy worked in the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy as a teacher of history, ethnography and language of Chuvash. His works were highly significant within the ethnographical field and were of great academic and practical value for their time.

⁶ Evfimiy Aleksandrovich Malov (1835-1918) was a prominent member of the clergy as a churchman, academic and missionary. He was a distinguished professor of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy in the department of anti-Muslim missionary subjects. In 1884 Malov became an associate member of the Society for Archaeology, History and Ethnography in the Imperial Kazan University. He wrote a great number of works on theology (in the sphere of missionary work), church history, the study of Turkic languages, and the ethnography of the Tatar nation.

he stayed in various villages of the Kazan district.⁷ Based on the materials he collected, Malov published several academic works on Tatars in which he presented accounts of national holidays. In the article, *Chetyre dnya sredi musulman*, he observes the Jien⁸ celebration with great interest:

“Here are [seen] games, fights, songs ... mainly young people gather together for Jien ... Towards evening you can hear Tatar songs, mainly with sad, monotonous motifs, in the houses; or young people gather in crowds, walk through the village, sing, play the violin and clap their hands.”⁹

It is notable that Malov paid attention not only to the peculiarities of this holiday celebration, but also to the role of music and the character of folklore melodies. The songs, as characterised by Malov, corresponded to plangent melodies,¹⁰ which differ from other genres of Tatar musical folklore thanks to their lyrical, monotonous content. Frequently, the singing of plangent songs is connected with phenomenon such as “mon” (literally grief, sadness) which is associated with an ability to sing melodiously, with lyricism.¹¹ As Khurmatullina and Salpykova describe:

“When listening to Tatar music, one can feel the opulence of the national flavour, the tunefulness of folk songs, the beauty and splendour of Tatar villages, the tender sadness of folklore. When you listen to the masterpieces of these centuries-long traditions, you feel like a part of eternity. Folklore is something very natural, like spring water or flowers.”¹²

It is hard not to agree with this statement, as the music of any nation has its basis in that nation’s spiritual and moral culture, in the national mentality.

In the 19th century, plangent lyrical songs were an important part of the everyday musical life of Tatar, but in the 20th century, due to the development of urban folk styles, short melodies gained greatly in popularity.¹³ Malov’s observations regarding national instruments are also

⁷ Kazan district: a territorial-administrative unit within Kazan province. The capital city of the province is Kazan.

⁸ Jien: a Tatar national holiday at the end of the spring agricultural work.

⁹ Malov 1892, p. 6.

¹⁰ Plangent songs in Tatar folk music are typically solo lyrical and lyrico-epic songs. They are characterized by undulating melodic development, rhythmic freedom, and asymmetrical structures. Melismatic chants improvised by the singer play an important role in plangent songs. On the whole, the melody is developed calmly, smoothly, with deep breath and without accentuation.

¹¹ Saydasheva 2007, p. 101.

¹² Khurmatullina, Salpykova 2014, p. 29.

¹³ Within Tatar folk music, short melodies songs present a genre opposition to plangent songs. Short songs are typically gay in character, fast-paced, with a certain squareness to their melodic and metrorhythmic structure, characterised by periodicity and equal alternation of rhythmic parts.

valuable to the study of Tatar ethnography. Instrumental music also had a very important place in Tatar culture: every holiday, traditional event and custom was accompanied by playing folk instruments, the violin¹⁴ in particular. Use of this instrument was widespread not only in Tatar but in other nations of the Volga region. For example, the 19th century researcher Colonel A. Rittich mentioned the important role played by the violin in Chuvash wedding rites, such as Chuvash musicians competing on the side of the bride or the groom, vying to outdo each other in terms of technique, endurance and volume.¹⁵ The late 19th-early 20th century researcher K. Prokopiev described how “violinists, sitting next to each other, play the violin as loud as possible, trying to outdo each other.”¹⁶ Violin was also one of the most popular national instruments among the Udmurt: new recruits, before being sent to the military, danced and sang to the accompaniment of a violin in order to say goodbye to their relatives.¹⁷

Many academics from the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy worked towards the propagation of Russian scientific, ethnographical, linguistic, regional and historical knowledge among non-Russian nations. Among them, N. F. Katanov in particular stands out.¹⁸ In his academic works, he underlined the importance and necessity of studying Russian culture and language; in his opinion, progressive change could only come about if different nations cooperated with Russian.

¹⁴ Safiullina 2012, p. 111.

¹⁵ Rittich 1870, p. 113.

¹⁶ Prokopiev 1903, p. 25-26.

¹⁷ Vereshagin 1889, p. 110.

¹⁸ Nikolay Fedorovich Katanov (1862-1922) was a Russian Turkologist, a professor of the Imperial Kazan University and the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy, Doctor of Comparative Linguistics, ethnographer, folklorist and public figure. From 1884 to 1888 he studied at the Faculty of Oriental Languages of the Saint Petersburg Imperial University. In 1893 he was appointed to Kazan University as a professor in the Department of Turkic-Tatar Dialects. In 1903 he defended his doctoral dissertation *The Experience of Study of the Uryankhaisk Language*. For some time Katanov was a member of the Kazan Interim Press Committee, where he considered books written in the Tatar language. In 1907, the Imperial Kazan University awarded him a second doctoral degree without a dissertation defence. From 1911 to 1917, he was a member of the international Société des Sciences et Lettres (Leuven, Belgium) and Ungarische ethnographische Gesellschaft (Budapest, Hungary), a corresponding member of Finno-Ugric Association in Helsingfors (Finland), an active member of the Imperial Russian Geographical Association, Russian Archaeological Association, the Imperial Amateur Association of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography in Moscow, and Turkestan Archaeological Amateur Club in Tashkent. From 1898 to 1914, Council Chair the Society for Archaeology, History and Ethnography in Imperial Kazan University. He was also the dean of the North-East Archaeological and Ethnographical Institute and an Actual State Councillor.

During the time he spent teaching in the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy, Katanov took part in many fieldwork expeditions, collecting and processing a vast amount of material on the history, culture and ethnography of nations living in the territories of the Volga region, the Transurals and Central Asia.¹⁹ In the Academy his professorial role was Chair of Ethnography, researching the Tatars, Kirghiz, Bashkir, Chuvash, Cheremis, Votyaks and Mordva, and specifically the history of how Christianity spread between these nations. He lectured on the ethnography of the Turkic and Finno-Ugrian nations of Russia, on linguistics and Tatar language. Besides this, he was also a director of the Academy's historical-ethnographical missionary museum and managing editor of the magazine *Inorodcheskoe obozrenie* (a supplement to *Pravoslavnyi sobesednik*). In his time as a missionary-teacher at the Academy Katanov wrote many reviews of other academics' research. For instance, the National Archive of the Tatarstan Republic holds his review of the coursework of one student, a priest called Sergey Pokrovsky, entitled *Legalization and Orders of the Department of Religious Affairs, Referring to non-Russian nations of the Volga Region, Transurals and Siberia (as per the published part of the archive of the Holiest Synod)*, in which Katanov evaluates this work and presents his academic viewpoint on issues surrounding Christian evangelism among non-Russian nations.²⁰ Katanov not only contributed greatly to the development of missionary-educative activity, but also to the humanities, in fields such as Orientalism, history and the ethnography of Turkic nations.

In consolidating Orthodox Christianity among non-Russian nations, studies of their everyday life, traditions and culture published in the Academy magazine *Pravoslavnyi sobesednik* and its supplement *Inorodcheskoe obozrenie* played a very important role. On 15 March 1912, in the Missionary Department of the Ecclesiastical Academy, Bishop Anastasia chaired a meeting concerning the founding of *Inorodcheskoe obozrenie*. While *Pravoslavnyi sobesednik* published historical-religious and philosophical articles, this supplement would be a vehicle for publishing materials of an ethnographical and informative character (for instance, government orders; accounts of the everyday life, customs, religious beliefs, laws and establishments of the "non-Russians" of Eastern Russia and Siberia; reviews of current non-Russian literature; and bibliographies and reference lists).²¹ *Pravoslavnyi sobesednik* and *Inorodcheskoe obozrenie* gained wide popularity not only in the Volga region but in other regions and cities of Russia: the editorial board received requests for copies from Omsk, Kalmykia, Tomsk,

¹⁹ Safiullina 2014, p. 101.

²⁰ NATR, fund 10, list 2, folder 2176, p. 26-32.

²¹ Ibid., fund 968, list 1, storage unit 79, p. 6.

Perm, Orenburg, Simferopol, Ufa, Astrakhan and other places.²² N. V. Nikolskiy,²³ S. Sattarov, G. A. Filippov published works on Tatar ethnography in *Inorodcheskoe obozrenie* and in separate supplements to it. For instance, G. A. Filippov's musical notations for Christened Tatar and Chuvash Round dances were published in the article *Tatarsko-chuvashskie devichi horovody v Tetyushskom i Tsivilskom uezdakh Kazanskoy gubernii* in *Inorodcheskoe obozrenie*.²⁴

An active role in missionary-educative activities among Christened Tatars was taken by Professor N. I. Ilminskiy, an Orientalist²⁵ at Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy and Imperial Kazan University who contributed much to Tatar ethnography. He was one of the first to study the everyday life, national beliefs and languages of nations of the Volga region such as the Mari,²⁶ Udmurt,²⁷ Chuvash,²⁸ Mordva²⁹ and Tatar-Kryashens.³⁰ He lived in the Old Tatar Settlement³¹ for a long time, travelling to villages in Kazan province and becoming acquainted with local traditions and religious customs. The philological and ethnographical knowledge gleaned from these expeditionary trips helped the academic in both his investigative and missionary-educative activities.

The Kazan Central School for Christened Tatars (1864)³² and the Kazan Non-Russian Normal School for the Nations of the Volga Region (1872), both established by Ilminskiy, were the result of the Christianisation

²² Ibid., fund 969, list 1, folder 79, p. 48, 59, 60, 62.

²³ Nikolskiy 1914.

²⁴ Filippov 1915, p. 753-760.

²⁵ Nikolay Ivanovich Ilminskiy (1822-1891) was a Russian Orientalist, pedagogue-missionary and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences. In 1846 he graduated from the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy, where he stayed as a teacher of natural sciences and Turkic-Tatar languages; in 1847 he was awarded Master's and Bachelor's degrees from the same academy. Between 1851 and 1854 he was sent to Damascus, Cairo and other cities of the Middle East. On his return, he taught Oriental languages and some other subjects in the Missionary (anti-Muslim) Department of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy. After a long-term expedition in 1861, Ilminskiy returned to Kazan and taught at Kazan University in the Department of Turkic-Tatar languages, Historical-Philological Faculty (Gusterin 2014, p. 42). From 1870, he was a corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. In 1872, he became a Director of the Kazan Non-Russian Normal School.

²⁶ Mari: Finno-Ugrian nation based in the Mari El Republic (Russia).

²⁷ Udmurt: Finno-Ugrian nation based in the Udmurt Republic (Russia).

²⁸ Chuvash: Turkic nation based in the Chuvash Republic (Russia).

²⁹ Mordva: Finno-Ugrian nation based in Mordovia (Russia).

³⁰ Tatars-Kryashens: ethno-confessional group belonging to the Tatars of Volga and Ural regions, residing mainly in Tatarstan (Russia).

³¹ Old Tatar Settlement: a historical area in the centre of Kazan.

³² Reshetova 2008, p. 329; Ilminskiy 1887, p. 75.

policy. Later, Christened-Tatar Schools were developed beyond Kazan in Simbir, Samara, Ufa, Orenburg and Vyatka provinces. Ilminskiy regularly reported on his missionary education work among non-Russians to the Ministry of Education, as evidenced by the following words of acknowledgement in a letter from the Minister, D. A. Tolstoy:³³

“Thank you for your letter, containing so many curious facts about the modern religious situation of the non-Russian population of the Kazan eparchy. I find your methods for consolidating Christianity amongst Tatars, based on all-round study of their everyday life, as most fit for purpose”³⁴

As a result of face-to-face contact with the Tatar population, Ilminskiy was able to draw academic conclusions about the peculiarities of language, everyday life and rituals of the Kryashen and Tatars.

Church music was of great importance amongst non-Russian nations that adopted Christianity; it was considered a significant way to implement Christian ideology.³⁵ One of Ilminskiy’s students, a missionary and teacher at Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy called V. T. Timofeev, opened a special school for the children of converted Tatars in which music had a significant place, with concerts regularly organised in which children sang Kryashen songs and liturgical chants.

Alongside collection of ethnographical material relating to the Tatars, the teachers of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy made interesting observations regarding features of religious holiday celebrations and the chanting of the Koran.³⁶ For example, the missionary, Orientalist and Islamic studies expert, S. Sablukov,³⁷ on visiting a mosque characterised the imam’s³⁸ Koran performance as:

³³ Dmitry Andreevich Tolstoy (1823-1889) was a Russian statesman, State Councillor (1866), senator, attorney-general of the Holy Governing Synod (1865-1880), Minister of National Enlightenment (1866-1880), Secretary of the Interior and chief of the gendarmes (1882-1889). He was also an honorary member (1866) and a President (from 1882) of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, an honorary member of Saint Petersburg Mineralogical Society and Imperial Moscow Technical School, and an Actual Privy Councillor.

³⁴ NATR, fund 968, list 1, folder 8, p. 45.

³⁵ Salitova 2008, p. 89-90.

³⁶ The Koran is the sacred book of Islam. The word Koran derives from the Arabic for reading aloud, edification. According to Islam, the Koran is a code of revelations pronounced by the Prophet Mohammed on behalf of God.

³⁷ Gordiy Semenovich Sablukov (1803-1880) was a Russian Orientalist, Professor of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy, and a specialist in Islam. In 1826 he graduated from Orenburg Ecclesiastical Academy and from 1830 to 1849 taught History and Oriental Languages in Saratov Ecclesiastical Seminary. From 1849 to 1862 he taught Oriental and Classical Languages in the Anti-Muslim Department of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy.

³⁸ Imam: religious leader who leads worship in a mosque.

“having softened, guttural sounds [which could be] likened to the light sound of the flute; all singing took on an expression of some solemnity, so that its listeners seemed to feel the same pleasure a European experiences under the influence of the magical sounds of Rossini or Beethoven.”³⁹

This is a very important observation by the academic, who noted the characteristics of Koran chanting and made an analogy with European music. Islamic culture and Oriental languages were Sablukov’s main academic fields and he was, notably, the first person to translate the Koran from Arabic to Russian.⁴⁰

As a active figure in missionary education in the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy, Sablukov was tasked to compile a brief manual for priests of the Kazan eparchy⁴¹ to deny Mohammedanism and to improve the missionary anti-Muslim department because it was deemed that “under the circumstances of the quite considerable detachment of Mohammedans, Christened Tatars of the Kazan eparchy ... from Christianity, the manual was necessary.”⁴² The reconversion of Christened Tatars back to Islam (or as it was known at that time, Mohammedanism) was one of the religious and political problems in the Volga region in that period, hence Sablukov participated in the work of various commissions, regularly visiting villages of Christened Tatars to persuade them of the genuineness of Christianity.

It is clear that the collection of Tatar musical-ethnographic material by the teachers of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy was closely connected with their missionary-educative activity. However, despite these ideological purposes, the investigations of these researchers are of great historical value and take an important place in the history of Tatar musical ethnography.

Revisiting the Collection of Tatar Musical-Ethnographic Materials by the Teachers of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy in the Context of Their Missionary-Educative Activity (19th Century)

(Abstract)

Musical and ethnographic observations of the Tatars by the research faculty of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy are discussed in this article. Their scholarly works allow us to consider the specifics of national traditions and culture of the 19th century Tatars, reveal features of Tatar holidays and folk music performance, and understand the distinctiveness of their songs and instrumental music. Questions concerning collection of Tatar musical and ethnographic material by Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy faculty members are discussed in connection with their mission and educational work.

³⁹ Sablukov 1845, p. 187.

⁴⁰ Sablukov 1878.

⁴¹ Kazan eparchy: the eparchy of Russian Orthodox Church, Kazan.

⁴² NATR, fund 10, folder 25, list 1, p. 6.

The nature of these first forays into Tatar musical ethnography as an independent academic direction is related to the specific context of the mid-19th century. In this era, the collection and study of Tatar musical and ethnographic material had a goal-oriented character, due to the active efforts of many academic and educational institutions including the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy. This institution was a science and educational centre for the study of the history, culture, ethnography and languages of the non-Russian nations of pre-revolutionary Russia. In 1854, special missionary departments were created whose activities focused on the conversion of Tatars and other nations of the Volga region, the Transurals and Siberia, to the system of Christianity. To fulfil this mission, specialists with sufficient knowledge not only in language but also the history, culture, ethnography of the non-Russian nations were required. Therefore teachers and scholars of Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy went on the ethnographic expeditions to various localities, where they collected information on national holidays, customs, rituals and the musical culture of non-Russian nations.

Teachers of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy regularly published historical and religious works, tutorials with a spiritual and religious content, ethnographic, reference and bibliographic materials. As a research and educational centre, the Academy contributed greatly to Tatar musical ethnography. The gathering of Tatar musical ethnographic material by the academics and teachers of Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy was closely related to their missionary outreach.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
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| Filippov 1915 | - G. A. Filippov, <i>Tatarsko-chuvashskie devichi horovody i Tetyushskom i Tsvil'skom uezdakh Kazanskoy gubernii</i> , in <i>Inorodcheskoe obozrenie</i> , vol. 1, book 10, 1915, p. 753-760. |
| Gusterin 2014 | - Pavel Vyacheslavovich Gusterin, <i>Koran kak ob'ekt izucheniya</i> , Saarbruecken, 2014. |
| Ilminskiy 1887 | - Nikilay Ivanovich Ilminskiy, <i>Kazanskaya tsentralnaya krescheno-tatarskaya shkola</i> , Kazan, 1887. |
| Khabibullin 2009 | - Mars Zabirovich Khabibullin, <i>Vklad prepodavateley Kazanskoy dubovnoy akademii v izuchenie istorii, yazyika i etnografii nerusskikh narodov Povolzh'ya i Priural'ya v 1854-1881 gg.</i> , in <i>Vestnik Ufa</i> , 6 (44), 2009, p. 84-91. |
| Kharlampovich 1907 | - Konstantin Vasilievich Kharlampovich, <i>Kazanskaya Dubovnaya akademiya (1842-1907). Istoricheskiy ocherk</i> , in <i>Pravoslavnaya Bogoslovskaya Entsiklopediya</i> , vol. VIII, Saint Petersburg, 1907, p. 702-853. |
| Khurmatullina, Salpykova 2014 | - Rezeda Kamilevna Khurmatullina, Indira Maratovna Salpykova, <i>Tatar Folklore in the Creative Work of Composer Rafael Belyalov</i> , in <i>MEJSR</i> , 19, 2014, 1, p. 29-41. |
| Malov 1892 | - Yevfimiy Aleksandrovich Malov, <i>Missionerstvo sredi muhammedan i kreschenykh tatar: Sb. statey</i> , Kazan, 1892. |
| NATR | - National Archive of Tatarstan Republic. |

- Nikolskiy 1914 - Nikolay Vasilyevich Nikolskiy, *Krescheniye tatarski. Statisticheskie svedeniya za 1911 g.*, Kazan, 1914.
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- Sablukov 1845 - Gordiy Semenovich Sablukov, *O magometanskom penii pri bogoslužhenii*, in *SGV*, 3, 1845, p. 186-189.
- Sablukov 1878 - Gordiy Semenovich Sablukov, *Koran, zakonodatel'naya kniga mohammedanskogo veroucheniya*, trans., Kazan, 1878.
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Keywords: the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy, missionary-educative activity, ethnographic research, Tatar musical ethnography, the Society for Archaeology, History and Ethnography.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheskij jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

THE FORMATION OF SOVIET CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY BY THE CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA OF THE CENTRALNO-CHERNOZEMNYI REGION

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At the 14th Congress (December 1925) the Communist Party proclaimed a course of economic independence for the USSR based on the industrialisation of the country and the development of a domestic engineering industry, leaving room for economic manoeuvring.

Having noticed a digression from the general Party line amongst the working class and peasantry, the Congress found it dangerous to promote class differentiation in rural areas. Under these circumstances it was necessary to take measures to ensure the inflow of funds to industry and facilitate the transition of personnel from villages to towns.¹

In 1928-29 tension in Soviet society, including in the Centralno-Chernozemnyi region, was rising.² Short-term strikes were taking place, although luckily the number of people taking part in them was not high. At some plants the workers adopted resolutions containing requirements for salary increases and reconsideration of norms and rates.

Under these circumstances I. V. Stalin set two goals: to create an obedient elite at the head of the government to deal with societal issues and to speed up industrial modernisation. The latter was regarded both as the means of achieving the first goal and as an important historic task.³ The fundamental concept of the program was that the development of heavy industry should be a priority to achieve economic growth. All the country's resources were concentrated on heavy industry. As for industrial

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¹ Gorinov 1991, p. 118.

² The Centralno-Chernozemnyi region includes the Ryazan, Tula, Orel, Kursk, Voronezh, and Tambov provinces. In 1928 the central black-earth area was founded with the Centre in Voronezh.

³ Lazutina 1970, p. 89.

modernisation, the government intended that USSR should catch up with the West, achieve economic independence, modernise its defence industry and develop its basic industries (energy industries, chemical industries and engineering).



Fig. 1. Poster “Cultural live-productive work” (1930)

In the resolution *On Perspectives of the Industrial Development of the Centralno-Chernozemnyi Region*, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the National Economy of the USSR confirmed that the internal resources of the region had not been taken into account in the Five-Year Plan, hence the major problems of industrial modernisation had not been solved. By internal resources, the government referred to not only human, economic and natural factors but also ideological ones. According to the listed circumstances, it was necessary to shake up the work of the Komsomol⁴

⁴ Komsomol: the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League.

and Party organisations, and actively use representatives of the intelligentsia to help solve the problem of mobilising the population.⁵

As the regions were agrarian, the government had one more problem to tackle - stimulating the transition from peasantry to working class. To this end it was important to excite the population about the change. To build a socialist society, an economic spurt was needed to catch up with the economic growth in developed European countries; the Soviet government chose the course of forced industrialisation to achieve this. To achieve all their stated objectives the government had to encourage the population by all possible means, methods and forms. Party members assigned this job to cultural figures amongst the intelligentsia.⁶ There were a number of facets to this approach.

Firstly, art workers were required to raise the cultural and educational levels of the population, because the new government needed to develop a new generation of Soviet workers and peasants. The work of the intelligentsia was vital to achieving this. It was recorded at a meeting of the Narkompros (People's Commissariat for Education) Arts Sector on 13 July 1930 that "It is necessary to move the centre of gravity to villages and industrial areas because the public demand for culture is very high."

In fact, the efforts of the literati, artists, musicians and actors were already focused on cultural work before this meeting took place. Literary types were involved in educational activities with the population. The creative intelligentsia founded various clubs, village libraries and reading-rooms; organised literary events, musicals, concerts in rural areas; and arranged meetings with actors and politicians. Voronezh writers and poets strove to reflect the innovations brought about by the Soviet government on the pages of *Voronezh Kommuna* and *Nasha Gazeta*. Local journalists, writers and poets, such as M. Lyzlov, M. Kazartsev, P. Zagorovskiy, V. Korablinov, I. Gilevich, A. Shubin and others who were members of the literary cenacle "Chernozem," were in fact carrying out government assignments.⁷

The new life of the peasantry, described in the works of members of various literary cenacles, can be confirmed by pieces of folk literature from Voronezh, Kursk, Orel, Lipetsk and other regions.

We used to be illiterate,
Uninformed and unenlightened.
But yesterday in our izba⁸

⁵ RSALA, fund 645, list 1, doc. 149 (2), p. 127.

⁶ *Izvestia*, 17 August 1921, p. 3.

⁷ Kuzmina 2011, p. 82.

⁸ Izba: Farmstead.

We were reading Gorky.

The class struggle, which had worsened in rural areas during the period of collectivisation, was reflected in the Russian *chastushki*⁹ such as “Do not threaten us, kulaks; we are not afraid of you” and “All the kulaks were turned out of the village yesterday.” Most new *chastushki* were devoted to the building of socialism and description of the unremitting toil of the Soviet people. Earlier literary characters were replaced by *kolkhozniks*,¹⁰ tractor-drivers, combine-operators, agronomists, team-leaders, *Stakhanovites*,¹¹ etc. The policy of industrialisation was reflected in the peasant folk literature in Kursk, Voronezh and Tambov regions:¹²

We used to pray to God
For sending rain to us
Now the irrigation canal
Is being built by us.

A second role of art workers was to take an active part in propaganda, highlighting the achievements of the industrial modernisation of the country. Thus in literature, theatre, painting and cinema a unique genre reflecting the ideas, goals, challenges and achievements of industrial modernisation emerged.

Researchers such as S. G. Kara-Murza, G. V. Grachev, I. K. Melnik and A. A. Andreev have published studies on propaganda as a means of manipulation and persuasion, both on individuals and on a societal level.¹³ Outside Russia, Harold P. Lasswell, Elliot Aronson, Anthony R. Pratkanis, L. Voytasik, Herbert Marcuse, O. Thompson, W. Lippman, Richard Harris and others have studied the importance of various social groups as a means of social influence and governance.

During the period under consideration, oral propaganda was continually gaining in scope. As declared at a meeting of the leadership of the Arts Sector of the RSFSR Central region in 1929, “The idea of the enlightenment of the peasantry and the working class should run through all public events, beginning with public libraries.” Meetings, lectures, reports, discussions, dialogues and performances were very important in the Centralno-Chernozemnyi region. Central figures of the Communist Party, commissars, leaders and members of the Party apparatus, outstanding

⁹ *Chastushka*: simple rhyming poem.

¹⁰ *Kolkhozniks*: collective farmers.

¹¹ *Stakhanovites*: mass movement in the USSR involving followers of Aleksey Stakhanov, innovators in socialist production aiming for workers, collective farmers and technical workers to significantly exceed the established norms of production.

¹² Lazutina 1970, p. 45.

¹³ Kara-Murza 2004, p. 34.

representatives of science and culture, and distinguished writers and journalists who had obeyed the Soviet government were all actively performing before the population. "I like the naive pride and patriotism of the Soviet people," Lion Feuchtwanger wrote in his book:

"The young people have created something spectacular at the cost of heavy sacrifice; they stand in front of their creation and cannot believe that they managed to do it and they are glad of their achievement."¹⁴

Pressmen propagandising Russia's industrial growth were under the control of Glavlit (The Main Directorate for Literary and Publishing Affairs) and the Union of Soviet Writers, as confirmed by historic data and correspondence with regional branches of the Union of Soviet Writers in Voronezh, Kursk, Tambov and Orel. For example, there was a case in which an issue of the Voronezh digest *Na Novey Putyab* containing articles by O. Kretova and B. Peskov devoted to the problematic state of the construction of the Moscow-Donbass highway was delayed.¹⁵ The situation received the following comment:

"These days this problem is being discussed in the regional committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). All relevant materials have already been given to I. M. Vareikis (the secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks]) and a decision will be made in the near future. This problem is very urgent and the leaders of the Union of Soviet Writers are preoccupied with it."¹⁶

It is necessary to mention that delaying the issue of *Na Novey Putyab* was not the only solution to this problem: several communist writers were sent to Voronezh to examine the situation with the highway in detail.

The strategy of forced modernisation in the Soviet system was closely allied to the development of social creativity because it helped to control and hold back social tension in the country. Thus, the third function of the creative intelligentsia was their active role in directing the energies of the working class not only towards the building of the country but also in the development of amateur performances.¹⁷

To achieve this, the intelligentsia engaged closely with the population. Along with state cultural institutions, many different cultural clubs and societies were founded. The government began creating favourable

¹⁴ Bugrov 1986, p. 12.

¹⁵ SAVR, fund 842, list 3, doc. 18, p. 9-10.

¹⁶ RSALA, fund 645, list 1, doc. 149 (2), p. 103.

¹⁷ Yakovlev 1999, p. 53. The ruling Politburo of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) "on party politics in the field of literature" from 18 June 1925.

conditions for the population's cultural education and recreation by establishing cultural centres, palaces of culture, Red Army Houses, etc.¹⁸

Cultural clubs appeared in Voronezh, Kursk, Tambov, Borisoglebsk, Elets and Oboyan. Alongside these, proletarian clubs were founded in urban areas. Various kinds of musical and theatrical amateur groups, brass bands, folk bands, singing and dancing circles, living newspapers¹⁹ (for example, the *Golubaya Bluzhka*) and other agitprop theatre collectives were formed. Despite many difficulties caused by a lack of money, musical instruments, printed materials, qualified stage directors and composers, multiple small amateur theatre groups arose in various cities in the 1920s, joined by an ever-increasing number of plant, factory, industrial, construction and transport workers.²⁰

On 7 July 1930, exactly these forms of work were mentioned in the report of the First Year Plan of the development of Amateur Arts. It was resolved "to recognise the policy of developing amateur arts in rural and urban areas as being necessary and important to the building of socialism and the cultural revolution."

Members of the Central Committee, in a number of resolutions passed during the period of industrial modernisation, drew attention to the need to develop amateur activities amongst the working class. In the meetings of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1934-1936) the problem of training personnel for urban and rural cultural establishments remained high on the agenda.²¹

The Soviet government did its best to make the population feel involved in the social processes taking place in the country. Unity between government and the public was considered a means to solve some of the most urgent problems. Thus the fourth role of representatives of the creative intelligentsia was to propagandise the ideas of socialism among people of different backgrounds - giving performances and holding rallies for workers, staging concerts for inmates of the psychiatric hospital in the village of Sapogovo, etc.

For example, on 12 August 1921, a theatre troupe called Calais (from Tambov) staged a play called *Ne Vse Kotu Maslenitsa* (Every Dog has His Day) by A. Ostrovskiy. Before the play several speakers delivered speeches. The play tackled the problem of a severe famine affecting the main grain-growing regions of the Soviet Union, including Povolzhye, as a result of

¹⁸ *Obshchestvenno-politicheskiy*, 14, 2002, p. 8-9.

¹⁹ Living newspaper: theatrical groups presenting factual information on current events.

²⁰ RSALA, fund 645, list 1, doc. 103 (1), p. 52.

²¹ Kuzmina 2013, p. 204.

droughts in the summer of 1921. The spectators were, apparently, highly satisfied with the performance. In spite of the fact that it was a weekday, many came to watch the play, and the audience expressed sympathy with victims of the famine. The proceeds from the play (94,000 rubles) were sent to the famine-stricken population of Povolzhye. Music was equally important. Between September 1920 and February 1921, one musical troupe gave:

- 16 public concerts which were free of charge;
- 115 concerts in various institutions, hospitals and camps;
- 2 concerts with musical illustrations for children;
- 3 concerts in orphanages.²²

These performances were free of charge because their main purpose was not only to cheer people up but to mobilise workers and peasants to work hard, to help them build a “new life” in their “new country.”

In order to facilitate the process of modernisation, the government rated any technical, cultural or social achievement very highly. The march of science, successes in the health service, positive results in manufacturing and the next generation’s upbringing were sources of pride for the Soviet government.²³



Fig. 2. A. Deyneka, *Donbass*, 1947

²² SAKR, fund 309, list 3, doc. 282, p. 22.

²³ Ponomareva 2004, p. 474.

The Stakhanovite movement was one of the most widely popularised. As a new stage of socialist competition, it was described in literature, depicted in paintings and shown in cinemas and theatres. Works of the artist A. Deyneka, such as *Donbass* (fig. 2), *The Tractor Drivers*, *The Stakhanovites* and *The Space of Building Sites under Moscow* testify to this.

Sheila Fitzpatrick, whose research focused on the Stakhanovite movement, states that in the Soviet Union the movement worked perfectly well.²⁴ Other researchers (K. Clark, J. Leyda) share this point of view. “Heroes” and ordinary people are shown in feature and documentary films, literature and painting connected to the Stakhanovite movement.²⁵



Fig. 3. A. Deyneka, *At a Construction Site of New Shops*, 1926

Many chastushki referring to ideas of socialist competition and the achievements of the Stakhanovite movement appeared at this time, for example:²⁶

I am a Stakhanovka in the kolkhoz
I have got a bonus.
And my darling entered
The Agricultural Academy.

²⁴ Fitzpatrick 2008, p. 90.

²⁵ Clark 1985, p. 136-141.

²⁶ Lazutina 1970, p. 56.



Fig. 4. Soviet film posters promoting industrial development and the Stakhanovite movement²⁷

²⁷ RSASPH, fund 312, list 2, doc. 114, p. 29. A transcript of the meeting of filmmakers in the Editorial Office of the newspaper *Pravda*, with the participation of Alexander Dovzhenko.

In spite of its widespread propaganda value, the Stakhanovite movement was short-lived. The Stakhanovite movement represented a type of labour mobilisation during the industrial modernisation process,²⁸ in which highly efficient work by individual peasants won them leading positions in their kolkhozes. These opportunities were offered to both men and women. The promotion resulted in very high social status, public recognition (transmitted by the mass media through photographs and articles in newspapers), awards, prizes and attendance of various all-USSR events which took place in Moscow.

Thanks to the works of literature and cinema created by the artistic intelligentsia, the government was able to raise a generation of unified behind the idea of industrialisation and accepting responsibility for its speed.²⁹

Outstanding cultural figures were needed to communicate the ideas of industrial modernisation to the Soviet people. At a meeting of film industry workers that took place in the editorial office of *Pravda* on 23 November 1935, A. Dovzhenko delivered a report stating that there were two problems urgent to the government that it was up to the creative intelligentsia to solve: “the problem of the kolkhozniks and Stakhanovites, and the problem of defence.”³⁰

I. V. Stalin specifically mentioned the work of the creative intelligentsia during the period of the industrial modernisation:

“The Soviet intelligentsia works devotedly towards the task of national defence, continuously improving the armaments of the Red Army. It helps the workers and the kolkhozniks to increase their industrial and agricultural productivity, promoting Soviet culture and science even during periods of war.”³¹

In 1939 the Soviet government awarded honours to 172 writers. Poets, writers and other representatives of the intelligentsia had a genuine opportunity to influence the minds of the peasantry and the working class. Along with the intelligentsia, other state figures helped to solve the problems of industrial modernisation. By the end of the 1930s the population was highly mobilised.³²

Analysis of archival documents shows that on the one hand the Soviet Party used the creative intelligentsia to assist in pursuing the policy of

²⁸ Yakovlev 1999, p. 488.

²⁹ Shubin 1984, p. 31.

³⁰ SAKR, fund 209, list 8, doc. 54, p. 2.

³¹ Gorinov 1991, p. 89.

³² Maksimenkov 2003.

industrial modernisation, to promote the USSR's industrial achievements, and to develop the social activity and creative life of every Soviet man and woman. On the other hand, the intelligentsia themselves understood the importance of their activities in achieving industrial modernisation and in the process of reshaping people's mindsets to this end. All these circumstances led to the creation of remarkable pieces of poetry, prose, music, theatre and art. These works were vital in the development of USSR and remain of great interest today.

The Formation of Soviet Culture and Ideology by the Creative Intelligentsia of the Centralno-Chernozemnyi Region

(Abstract)

This article focuses on the influence of cultural workers in solving the urgent problems of the industrial modernisation of the USSR. Archival documents show how the creative intelligentsia carried out work with the population implicitly directed towards the acceleration of industrial modernisation. Questions of the construction of culture were of great importance to the party and State, which needed to attract the intelligentsia's aid in forming a new Soviet ideology and culture. This ideology, based on the principles of denying past cultural developments, aimed to form a new type of person willing to work for the homeland and for its ideals, rather than for money. It was up to the intellectuals - through posters, works of art, paintings, music and dramatic performances - to create this new Soviet citizen.

Thanks to their output, the symbols of the Soviet era were recognisable in any society. Cultural workers served as a "starting point" for others, offering a "guiding light" on the path to modernisation. Creative intellectuals helped to form a new type of Soviet personality: the worker capable of self-sacrifice for the sake of collective and State interests.

The party and government tightly controlled this process of creating a new culture and new models of spiritual development, setting up special monitoring bodies and authorities for censorship, whose task was to inspect works for their appropriateness. If their authors did not reflect the position of the Party and the country's leadership on the processes of industrialisation, collectivisation and cultural promotion, then they faced repression on many levels, beginning with exclusion from the unions and ending with the death penalty.

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- | | |
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| Clark 1985 | - K. Clark, <i>The Soviet Novel. History as Ritual</i> , Chicago, 1985. |
| Fitzpatrick 2008 | - Sheila Fitzpatrick, <i>Povsednevnyi Stalinizm. Sotsialnaya Istoriya Sovetskoy Rossii v 30 godi: Gorod</i> , trans., Moscow, 2008. |

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- RSALA - Russian State Archive of Literature and Art.
- RSASPH - Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History.
- SAKR - State Archive of Kursk Region.
- SAVR - State Archive of the Voronezh Region.
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Keywords: industrial modernisation, the Soviet government, art workers, methods of work with the population.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciiajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

MUSICAL IMAGES AS A REFLECTION OF THE ARTISTIC UNIVERSALISM OF MARC CHAGALL

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Introduction

The works of Marc Chagall achieve an organic synthesis of art, literature, architecture, theater, circus and music. The holistic picture he creates of the world involves the participation of different kinds of art, speaking through the language of colors, sounds, voices, rhythms, acrobatics and dance. Although Chagall's artistic and literary connections, as well as the images he captures of circuses, buffoonery and town squares have been studied in detail, the theme of music in his art has not yet received in-depth coverage. Furthermore, the representation of musical components in Chagall's paintings aside, conclusions on the senses and meanings in his pictures are incomplete.

Study perspectives

The theme of music runs through the artistic works of Marc Chagall; it accompanied the artist throughout his life. Consideration of musical iconography in his works reveals the artistic universalism of the personality and creativity of the artist, and makes it possible to discover new nuances in the relationship between fine arts and music in the 20th century.

Marc Chagall (1887-1985) is one of the most mysterious painters of the 20th century, affecting the beholder emotionally with his phantasmagorical personages, mystic colours and incredible sense of soaring. Belonging equally to Russia and France, his home village in Vitebsk and Jewish traditions, throughout his long - almost centenary - life, Chagall often changed countries, cities and continents, absorbing and creatively elaborating on numerous national, technical and stylistic influences. He represents a vivid intercultural phenomenon; universal concepts of the macrocosm were implemented in his creative work. As psychologist Erich

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Neumann notes, his unification of male and female origins anticipates the double nature of Chagall's artistic expression.¹ Tatyana Zatsarnaya distinguishes the hierotopic character of space in his works, visualizing the vivid, saturated medium of humans' internal world.² Natalya Apchinskaya highlights the painter's reproduction of the integral image of the world - "incessantly in scope and depth, free-chaotic, and yet, at the same time, subject to some highly consistent patterns," through which "the inextricable connection between present, past and future is realised."³

Chagall was not only a painter, graphic artist, glass artist and scene painter, but also a literary artist. His autobiography *My Life*; numerous articles, essays and lectures included in the book *Mark Chagall about Art and Culture*; poems gathered in the collection *The Angel above Roofs*; and the text for the author's album of lithography, *Circus*, issued from his pen. Thus, Chagall was also a memoirist, essayist, publicist and poet, covering various genres of literature. Literary modes of thinking had a direct impact on the artistic creativity of the "cornflower man,"⁴ filling him with deep content-richness, multiplicity and symbolism.⁵ Following Andre Breton, who declared the triumphal implementation of metaphor in modern painting with Chagall, many researchers state that "poetry found a picturesque form in his creativity, became its internal content."⁶ Aiming to carry out artistic missionary work, Chagall codified the ideas of freedom, miracles, brotherly community and the unity of all as the basis of his universe.

Chagall's creativity presents an organic synthesis of not only painting and literature, but also architecture, theatre, circus and music, making it possible to speak of his artistic universalism. The term "artistic universalism" was developed in literary studies, where it is understood as "a drive for synthesis at the level of 'covering' reality ... and at the level of apprehension of laws and consistent patterns,"⁷ or "the synthesis of genres or different artistic systems in the creativity of one author."⁸ Olga Studenko distinguishes "the universalism of integrity" ("universalism of coverage," "universalism-encyclopedia") and the "universalism of bases and

¹ Neumann 1996.

² Zatsarnaya 2011, p. 52.

³ Apchinskaya 1990, p. 5, 13.

⁴ Description of Chagall according to the poet Voznesensky. <http://www.m-chagall.ru/library/Angel-nad-kryshami1.html>, accessed 15 June 2014.

⁵ Although Chagall himself repeatedly told, that "literariness" for a painter is an unflattering characteristics (Ge 2013), thus dissociating from vulgarly understood narrativeness in painting.

⁶ Vakar 2013.

⁷ Studenko 2006, p. 284.

⁸ Shkrabo 2011.

meanings.” The essence of “universalism of integrity” lies in the systemacity and inclusivity of creative representation, correlating with such phenomenon, as “the polyphony of methods, genres and styles in the creativity of one author as an echo of experience of ‘the fullness of existence,’ not staying within the selected form once and for all.”⁹ The “universalism of bases and meanings” proclaims humanistic ideals, accentuates timeless aspects of the subject matter and orients towards “historical foresight,” going beyond the scope of the “visual field of modernity.”¹⁰

We see that these provisions are relevant for each type of art and can equally be the basis for analysing the developmental paths of painters, musicians, theatre professionals and so on. Ludmila Daryalova points out the generalizing character of the creativity of authors to whom the term “artistic universalism” is applied, noting the reliance on forms assimilated in historical-cultural development:

“Here can be found the romantically enlarged vision, the mythopoetic vision, modernistic devices of deformation, dictates of artistic rationalism, realistic psychologisms, etc., accompanied by a pathway out to symbolic discourse - all this is presented in synthesis, in new formation, as something integral and poetic.”¹¹

Thus, artistic universalism of personality implies a certain diversity of thought, an aspiration to express one’s self in different types of art and even science, to open new horizons in learning the world.

It is generally accepted that artistic universalism of personality was especially notable in the Renaissance. In the opinion of American academic Eugene Marlow, Mark Chagall was the direct successor to this aesthetic.¹² Being gifted in different types of art, and despite experiencing the influence of expressionism, symbolism, cubism, surrealism and neo-primitivism, he managed to preserve his uniqueness of idiom. The wide range of themes, images and genres covered by the painter from Vitebsk - from mythological and iconographic scenes to present-day events of a historical scale, from the thinnest love lyrics to comedic and circus performances - in all, the epic proportions of his creativity, demonstrated through thousands of works, make it possible to speak of the artistic universalism of Chagall’s personality and creativity as a whole.

⁹ Studenko 2006, p. 287.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Daryalova 2003, p. 39.

¹² <http://www.eugenemarlow.com/2013/09/30/the-musical-icons-of-marc-chagall>, accessed 20 June 2014.

Chagall's integral worldview demanded the participation of different types of art, drawing upon the language of colours, lines, sounds, tones, rhythms, acrobatic stunts and dance steps. Although his artistic-literary connections, along with his use of images of circus acts and buffoonery have been studied thoroughly,¹³ the theme of music in his art has not been explored in detail, though it is worth mentioning articles by Miriam Rayner,¹⁴ Alexander Maykapar,¹⁵ a note by Eugene Marlow¹⁶ and some well-observed comments in the works of Natalya Apchinskaya¹⁷ and Aliya Reich.¹⁸ Yet any account of Chagall's canvases, of their enclosed essences and meanings, would be incomplete without the musical aspect. The theme of music runs throughout the painter's work, accompanying him through his entire life, emerging in different genres of his creative output. Music initially appeared as a central theme in his works, then faded into insignificance, but never disappeared completely from his field of vision.

The purpose of this article is to study the musical iconography in the works of Mark Chagall, offering a conceptual interpretation of the images of musicians and musical instruments in his paintings, graphics, stained glass works, panels and frescos, revealing the universalism within the personality and creative output of artist, as well offering new perspectives on interconnections between the art and music of the 20th century.

Chagall himself possessed musical skills: he liked to sing and play violin. In his later years, he reflected upon the reasons behind his attraction to musical performance: "Why did I sing? Why did I know that the voice is required not only for bawling and for railing at sisters? One way or another, I had a voice and I could develop it."¹⁹ Chagall recalls his first experiences of performance, singing in synagogue, with humour, recalling his childhood dreams of becoming a musician:

"I was assigned as an assistant to the Cantor, and on holidays the whole synagogue and I myself clearly heard my sonorous soprano. I saw the smiles on faces of the diligently listening congregation and dreamt: "I will be a singer, a Cantor. I will enter the conservatory.... In addition, one violinist

¹³ David Simanovich considers different aspects of the problem "Chagall and poetry in the 20th century" (Simanovich 2008); Elena Ge focuses attention on the topic of Chagall and language, analysing, amongst other things, the correlation between Chagall and Apollinaire (Ge 2013); Natalya Apchinskaya and Olga Klepatskaya reveal the role of circus imagery in the painter's creative output (Apchinskaya 2006; Klepatskaya 2008).

¹⁴ Rajner 2005; Rajner 2008.

¹⁵ Maykapar 1990.

¹⁶ <http://www.eugenemarlow.com/2013/09/30/the-musical-icons-of-marc-chagall>, accessed 20 June 2014.

¹⁷ Apchinskaya 1990; Apchinskaya 1995; Apchinskaya 2004.

¹⁸ Reich 2012.

¹⁹ Chagall 1994.

lived in our precinct. In the afternoons he worked as a sales clerk at the ironmongers, and in the evening he taught the violin. I rasped with difficulty. He beat the measure with his leg and constantly said: "Perfectly!" I thought: "I will become a violinist and enter the conservatory."²⁰

Childish recollections played a significant role in Chagall's creative development. The violin, although it did not become his main vocation, entered deeply into his artistic consciousness and occupied an everlasting place within his works. Klezmer melodies, which accompanied the main events in Jewish provincial life, became a vivifying medium, feeding all his creativity; Jewish traditional music was a unifying element, a "theme song," in his works.

On the painter's canvases fantastic images of stringed instruments frequently appear - violins, cellos, mandolins and harps (depicted with various degrees of realism) - as well as musicians playing instruments. A precisely selected colour palette conveys the character and emotional state of the "sounding" fragment.

An entire thematic gallery is formed by the portraits of violinists depicted in the process of performing, including *Sitting Violinist*, *Violinist* (**fig. 1**), *Street Violinist* (**fig. 5**) and other works shown below (**fig. 2-4, 6**). The soul of a klezmer ensemble, the violinist is always the most delicate and poetic exponent of the eternal melancholy and hope of the Jewish people. Chagall frequently depicts him alone, or surrounded by animals, or by listeners some distance away from him. Dressed in traditional clothes, the violinist on the one hand symbolizes Chagall's native, small-town upbringing (it is not without meaning that the painter used the expressive image of a green-skinned violinist for the panel decorating a Jewish theatre, and elsewhere; see **figs 1** and **2**). On the other hand, the violinist personifies the eternal, the timeless. Concentrated, as if illuminated by inner light, face of the musician personifies the spiritual-creative element, the creative energy of art, sent out into the world.

The mystery of musical performance in Chagall's works is comparable to prayer; it offers reconciliation with the hardships of everyday existence and opens a way to the sphere of the highest ideals. In Chagall's art, we do not see ceremonial portraits of violinists: almost all are "inscribed" into the surrounding atmosphere, closely connected with the surrounding world and yet, at the same time, rent from it. They are generalized images, based on family members and close associates of the painter, such as his Vitebsk friends and neighbours (in particular, his Uncle Neuch, whose unskilful but sincere music-making Chagall describes in *My Life*). The character of these depictions is mainly lyrical, even intimate,

²⁰ Ibid.

although sometimes dramatic, social-critical notes appear. For example, the watercolour *The Musicians* (1908) shows a blind violinist, playing for alms in the company of another miserable disabled individual.²¹

The colour of not only the violinist's face, but also his clothes, instrument and interior elements are of great symbolic importance, as well as the background selected by the painter. Non-standard, sometimes shocking combinations, aimed at revelation of ingenuity, the "distance" of the performed set the "key-note" of the whole picture, bear aesthetical information to the viewers. A paradigmatic example is the above-mentioned green violinist who Chagall depicts several times: in *A Violinist* (1912-1913, **fig. 1**), on the panel *Music* for the State Jewish Chamber Theatre and in *Green Violinist* (1923-1924, **fig. 2**), duplicating the successfully-rendered image of the panel. A violinist in the picture *Juggler*, found in the lithography *The Musicians against a Green Background*, is depicted against a green background, which to Chagall means joy, welfare and love for life.



Fig. 1. *A Violinist*, 1912-1913. Oil on canvas, 188/158 cm. Amsterdam, Stedelijk



Fig. 2. *A Green Violinist*, 1923-1924. Oil on canvas, 198/108.6 cm. New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum

The range of Chagall's colour "score" is deeply impressive: faery blue (*Blue Violinist*, **fig. 3**), passionate red (*A Violinist and an Inverted World*, **fig. 4**), flushed orange (*Street Violinist*, **fig. 5**), fervent yellow (*A Violinist and a Cock*, **fig. 6**) and depressing black-brown (*The Musicians*, 1908).

²¹ A detailed analysis of the watercolour *The Musicians* is carried out by Miriam Rajner in the article *Chagall's Fiddler* (Rajner 2005).



Fig. 3. *A Blue Violinist*, 1947



Fig. 4. *A Violinist and an Inverted World*, 1929



Fig. 5. *A Street Violinist*, 1911-1914. Oil on canvas, 94.5/69.5 cm. Dusseldorf, North Rhine-Westphalian Art Collection



Fig. 6. *A Violinist and a Cock*, 1982. Paper, Lithography, 66/50 cm. Nice, National Museum of Marc Chagall

Chagall's violinists possess the art of levitation and easily "hang" above the roofs of the houses, devotedly rocketing to the moon and clouds - sometimes together with their chair - as in *Blue Violinist*, or perched on the foundations of world turned upside-down, as in *A Violinist and an Inverted World*. In the sky, birds - the most creative and sweet-voiced representatives of the natural world - become the musicians' companions. Olga Burenina associates the effect of the "floating body" with the development of new forms of artistic vision at the beginning of the 20th century, connected with polymodality and paradoxiality of perception. Viewing the image of the violinist raised into the sky from the panel picture, she observes that music, penetrating into space,

“deprives the habitual form of the classical determinacy and turns one object into another. As a result, ... the violinist’s body, vertically hanging in the air ... becomes fluid, weakly structured, deprived of not only prominent organs (head, hands, legs), but gender differentiation ... [The] flying person bears similarity both with caterpillar and with cocoon woven from finest fibre.”²²

Levitating on high (*A Bride with Blue Face*, **fig. 7**) or floating in the air, as if jumping (*A Painter and His Bride*), violinists wrap the enamoured lovers with tender musical covers, “repeating” their harmonic relations and motifs, “joining” two halves - male and female - into a single unity. The semantics of musicians’ flight in Chagall’s art is connected with the ability of art to endow the feeling of freedom, delight and happiness, to direct us towards beauty and reveal the angelical, the divine in a person.



Fig. 7. *A Bride with Blue Face*, 1932. Oil on canvas, 100 x 81 cm. Private collection

The position in which the violin is held in Chagall’s canvases is schematized, conveying the playing style of folk performers rather than academic string players. The side of the cheek or the front of the shoulder is used as a support, which does not happen in professional classical performance, but is typical of street musicians. Sometimes Chagall’s violinist lowers the instrument down to his torso, inverting it and playing it like a small cello (a technique sometimes practiced by village violinists, a distant likeness of which can be seen in ancient viol playing). Sometimes the

²² Burenina 2004.

instrument simultaneously represents the performer's hand, as in *Blue Violinist* (**fig. 3**). The violin is frequently kept at arm's length, as in the picture *Circus Maximus* (1968, **fig. 8**), where the actress, placed in the foreground on the back of giant animal with a bird's head, demonstrates her vaulting skills.

Sometimes the painter uses mirror images, placing the violin on the musician's right side (even left-handed violinists hold the instrument in their left hand) or painting his fingers on the wrong side of fingerboard, above the strings, which would make it impossible to play the instrument. These kinds of "spoonerisms" can also be observed in Chagall's self-portraits, when the painter's palette and brush change places with each other. Often, Chagall's violinists use all 5 fingers of the left hand to perform, despite the fact that the thumb is not used for playing, being needed as a counterbalance on the other side of the instrument's neck. The bow is occasionally depicted in an arched form, similar to a horn, or turns into a "peak," disproportionally short or wide for the depicted instrument. The way the bow is held is also indicative; it resembles the way a paintbrush is held, when support is shifted from the forefinger. This speaks of the fact that Chagall does not strive for documental precision in the musician's pose or the position of his hands: the most important thing for the artist is to reconstruct the essence of the creative act, to accentuate its spiritual meaning. It is also important that the violinist's image in Chagall's creativity is presented by the painter as a creative artist - by himself, using the violin in the same Chagall uses his working instruments, the palette and the brush.²³

The violinist's image also appears in Chagall's graphic works. The pen drawing *The Violinist at Night* (1939, **fig. 9**) presents a half-length semi-section shaped performer, inspired by music, accompanied by the figure of naked girl and a sketch of a goat - a visualization of the klezmer's thoughts about his beloved (muse) and faithful friend (companion). The gouache drawing *A Violinist* (1926-1927, **fig. 10**) has a satirical orientation: it shows a tipsy musician who has disturbed the district with his fiddling. The woman behind the fence looks at the peace-breaker disapprovingly and throws up

²³ Natalya Apchinskaya suggests that Chagall identified himself with a musician only in his later period of creativity: "The painter in Chagall's later works is frequently identified not with the poet, as it was in 1910, but with the musician, possibly, because music presupposes an address not only to the individuum, but also to the masses; it met the 'missionary' orientation of the master's creativity in that period, clearly demonstrating the ability of art to unite people" (Apchinskaya 1995, p. 163). Evidence for this is provided in one of the lithographies to the book *Fairy Show and Kingdom* (1972) by Kamil Burnikel, in which the painter depicts himself as a winged band-master, floating above the orchestra and the whole earth. However, as follows from the analysis of previous works, Chagall, due to universality of his creative thinking, had compared himself to musicians before.

her hand in an indignant gesture. The drunken step of the woe-begotten performer lacks secure footing - his leg, raised for stepping, threatens complete loss of balance. One moment more and the sot will be on the ground, yet even in this precarious moment, he keeps hold of the violin, continuing his endless play-acting. This work is interesting both from the viewpoint of depicting a “pre-zero-gravity state,” and the musician’s appearance, endued with a beast-like face and powerful paws at the painter’s pleasure. Possibly, it is a metaphor for the unenviable state of the drunkard, gradually losing human features and grasping the violin as his only source of salvation.



Fig. 8. *Circus Maximus*, 1968. Oil on canvas, 169.7/160 cm. Private collection



Fig. 9. *A Violinist at Night*, 1939. Paper, pen, 43.2/28 cm. Private collection



Fig. 10. *A Violinist*, 1926-1927. Paper, gouache, 49/64 cm. Private collection

However, this beast-musician in Chagall's art is not merely a paradoxical image. Lyrical images of animals playing music or carefully holding instruments are frequently encountered in his works: a swine and a horse with a violin (*A Clown and a Nude with a Bouquet, Horsewoman*), a donkey-violinist (*Strolling musicians*), a fantastic flute-playing animal (*Clowns-Musicians*), a cello-playing goat (*Newly Married and an Eiffel Tower*) and others. A pathetic animal-violinist with a trustingly raised muzzle dissipates the strain, condensed to the limit, in the picture *The Angel's Fall* (**fig. 11**), which contains overtly eschatological motifs. The simple melody of the performer, as if directly addressed to the throwing down of blood red Lucifer, consoles, brings hope for a possible favourable outcome. Burenina interprets the theme of falling in this picture as "the underside of the flying theme," and in the image of Lucifer she sees another confession, of how "the painter is falling head-down to earth."²⁴



Fig. 11. *The Angel's Fall*, 1923-1947. Oil on canvas, 148/189 cm. Private collection

In Chagall's artistic world, flying cow-violinists play music in the sky above Vitebsk (*The Cows above Vitebsk*, **fig. 12**) as does the mysterious monodactylous winged fish in the pre-sunset twilight (*Time is the River without Shores*, **fig. 13**).²⁵

²⁴ Burenina 2004.

²⁵ Emily Genauer interprets the content of this picture in the following way: "The title of this painting, paraphrasing a metaphor that can be traced back to Ovid, illustrates the affinity between Chagall's pictorial conceptions and poetry.... [T]he big elements of this picture - the fish and the clock - are set against a blue-suffused riverscape. Only here we find nostalgic recollections of home in Vitebsk - the winged fish, Uncle Neuch's violin, the old family pendulum clock" (Genauer, Chagall 1956).

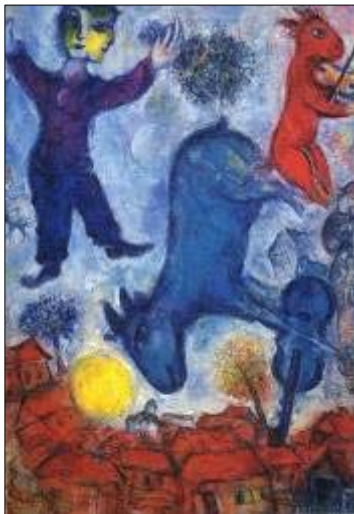


Fig. 12. *The Cows above Vitebsk*, 1966. Oil on canvas, 116/89 cm. Private collection



Fig. 13. *Time is a River without Shores* 1930-1939. Oil on canvas, 40.5/32.3 cm. New York, The Museum of Contemporary Art

A goat with thrust-out chest, wearing a two-piece outfit on whose shoulder a small woman with flowers has made herself comfortable, is ready to touch the strings of his green violin (*Spring*, **fig. 14**). As with the fish (**fig. 13**) one of his hands is human, while the other is represented as a bifurcated hoof. Thus, music is interpreted as a guide between the earthy and high-minded, low and high, real and imaginary. It erases the boundaries between the world of people and animals, destroys the barriers, appeals to consensus and unity.

One of the most capacious of Chagall's pictures, demonstrating a thesis about the unity of all living things, is *A Violinist* (**fig. 15**). It depicts a musician, full of inspiration, playing a cello which is represented as his own body.²⁶ In this way, Chagall underlines the continuity between the artist's fate and his talent, the inseparability of the musician's



Fig. 14. *Spring*, 1938. Lithography, 35/26 cm.

²⁶ The main hero of this picture again holds the bow incorrectly in the left hand, as does his duet partner.

personality and art. Music is depicted as a fate, professional art as a verdict, persistently accompanying a person throughout his whole life. Apart from the player's confluence with his instrument, male and female origins are combined here. A bifacial androgynous creature (full and half-face), whose head is covered by a bridal veil and a hat, personifies the eternal striving of enamoured lovers for the undivided possession of each other. The uncontrollable affinity of opposites, described in the Greek myth of Hermaphroditus, and embedded in the imagery of Zbruchky idols by Slavonic pagans, was represented for Chagall by his happy match with Bella Rosenfield, and was spurted into his canvases through the imagery of dual and triune creatures. A friendly animal, accompanying the musician with a tiny violin, is also present in the picture.

The person-cello is one of Chagall's stable images which migrate from work to work. We see variations of it in the etching *A Musician* (**fig. 16**); in the paintings *Music* (**fig. 40**), *Concert* (**fig. 39**) and *Revolution* (**fig. 17**); in the painting of the dome lamp of the Parisian opera, where it is endowed with wings; and in other works.



Fig. 15. *A Violinist*, 1939. Oil on canvas, 100/73 cm. Private collection



Fig. 16. *A Musician*. Illustration for the book *My Life*, 1922-1923. Paper, etching, drypoint, 25/19 cm; 27.5/21.6 cm.

In some works, this metamorphosis, the intergrowth of instrument and its possessor into each other, has not happened completely (*Wedding Candles*, *A Bride with Blue Face*, **fig. 7**), but it is obviously specified. Chagall's cello frequently exceeds the standard size, approaching bass-viol dimensions in length of body, if narrower. The musician plays standing, not always

pressing the strings with his fingers, pointing at the conventional, symbolic character of representation of the instrument.



Fig. 17. *Revolution*, 1937. Oil on canvas, 50/100 cm. Private collection

In 1914-1915 Chagall created a number of works, depicting mandolin-players, in which he embodies different stages and sides of the processes of musical performance. One of his seven sisters, Liza, and his only brother David act as his models. The portraits are created in an expressionist manner, with typical distortion of the body's natural proportions and grotesque thinning of facial features. A portrait *Liza with Mandolin* (**fig. 18**) depicts a girl only just learning to play the instrument. Her mouth is slightly open from concentration; her head is bent to one side to better see the fingerboard and the published notation beside her. The pupil's diligence and scrupulousness can be seen through her pose, although red flaming aurora of the fading evening, falling on the windowsill and echoed in the colour of the girl's skirt, destroy the tranquillity of this idyllic picture of home music-making. The apparent discrepancy between the sizes of her hands demands the beholder's attention, creating a feeling of physical inadequacy: her rachitic right hand is almost twice as small as the left one, a massive hand with inverted fingers. A disturbing impression is also left by the face, depicted briefly, in general terms, with a twisted nose and apparently empty eye pits (these are indeed lowered eyelids), resembling a clown's mask.

Chagall provides a quite different variant of musical performance in the *Portrait of Brother David with Mandolin*, of a stately, seated young man with a hand-rolled cigarette in his mouth, confidently playing his instrument. The act apparently gives him pleasure, takes him away to his recollections, as

evidenced by half-closed eyes and the smile wandering across his face (fig. 19).



Fig. 18. *Liza with Mandolin*, 1914.
Oil on cardboard. Private collection

David was the painter's younger brother, who lost his leg in the First World War and died young, far away from his relatives. This picture, created in nostalgic moderate blue tones, reflects the painter's grief. Chagall left the following lines in his autobiography:

"Poor David! He sleeps in Crimea among the aliens. He was so young and he loved me so much - the sound of his name is dearer for me than the names of attractive far off countries, - with him I feel the smell of native land.

My brother. I could do nothing. Tuberculosis. Cypresses. You died away in a strange land.... My memory is burnt. I made your portrait, David. You are smiling, your teeth are shining. A mandolin is in your hands. Everything is in blue tones.... My heart is with you."²⁷

His recollections of David held Chagall fast and, many years on, troubled with feelings of guilt and bitter loss:



Fig. 19. *Portrait of Brother David with Mandolin*, 1914. Cardboard, gouache, 49.5/37 cm. Primorsky State Gallery of Vladivostok

²⁷ Chagall 1994.

“Be recollected, my brother, David,
young, exiled from life
without honour, ceremonials,
funeral feasts ...
only God knows where he lies now.”²⁸

Chagall made several portraits of David in which he is inseparable from the mandolin.

The idea of being consoled by music in hardships and grief is presented in the picture *Loneliness*. Although the melody does not “sound” here formally, the violin in the centre of composition testifies to the curative influence of musical art on the human soul.



Fig. 20. *David sings, accompanying himself with the harp before Saul, and relieves his sufferings* (The First Book of Samuel, XVI, 19-23), 1956. Paper, etching, 30.7/24.8 cm. Nice, National Museum of Marc Chagall



Fig. 21. *David with his Harp*, 1956. Lithograph, paper, 36/26.5 cm. Nice, National Museum of Marc Chagall

The development of this idea can be observed in the etching *David sings, accompanying himself with the harp before Saul, and relieves his sufferings*, resurrecting a well-known Bible story about poor Saul, subject to sudden outbursts of melancholy and aggression which could be alleviated only by music (fig. 20). The Psalmist David is one of the Chagall's favourite figures; the artist created numerous pictures of the second king of Israel in his early and middle years in his Bible lithographs and pictures (*David with his Harp*, fig. 21, *A Tower of Tsar David*, fig. 22). Everywhere the hero is depicted with

²⁸ Chagall 1989.

a harp, based on the Hebrew string instrument, the kinnor, mentioned in the Bible.

King Solomon is also never parted from the harp (kinnor), praising the mighty power of love. In the series *The Song of Songs*, Solomon's strains, "accompanying" the embraces of lovers, straightforwardly express sensorially ecstatic feelings, showing considerable alignment with the wedding ceremony scenes that often occur in Chagall's canvases. It is not without cause that the canonical Testament story is interpreted not only as tale of the love borne by Solomon for the girl Shulamite, but also as a collection of hymeneal songs, reproducing the structure of a wedding rite. The use of bright, warm, inviting colours with erotic hidden motifs is typical of Chagall's works in *The Song of Songs* (fig. 23) series.



Fig. 22. *King David's Tower*, 1968-1971. Oil on canvas, 117/90 cm. Nice, National Museum of Marc Chagall

Ancient musical instruments - bells, lyres, shofars (Jewish ritual instrument made from a ram's horn), Greek cymbals (crotals), flutes, pipes and drums²⁹ are integral features of Chagall's works on mythological and Bible themes, such as *The Dance of Mariam* (fig. 24), *A Myth about Orpheus* (fig. 25), *Orpheus*, *Daphnis and Chloe*, *Sarah and Angels*, *Creation*, etc.

The theme of love and music in the Bible forms the basis for harpsichord cover painting, *A Biblical message* (fig. 26), which graces the National Museum of Marc Chagall in Nice. The painting is devoted to the meeting of Isaac, Abraham's son, and Rebecca, his future beloved wife. Several musicians are present here, but the most significant is the image of Tsar David, flying towards the enamoured couple. The rest of the musicians

²⁹ Eugene Marlow made a statistical calculation of musical instruments in Chagall's works: "His 10,000 + artworks notwithstanding, a cursory analysis of several hundred of his artworks reveals 16 different instruments: accordion, balalaika, cello, cymbal, flute, guitar, harp, horn, bass drum, keyboard, mandolin, saxophone, small bell, tambourine, trumpet, and violin. Further, there are several graphic references to a full circus orchestra. By far, though, the most frequently "painted" instrument is the violin, followed by the cello, and the horn. Further, there are several graphic references to a full circus orchestra. By far, though, the most frequently "painted" instrument is the violin, followed by the cello, and the horn" (<http://www.eugenemarlow.com/2013/09/30/the-musical-icons-of-marc-chagall>, accessed 20 June 2014).

are placed at the bottom; their size does not exceed the figures, scattered across the landscape. A violinist, playing inspirationally is also depicted on the harpsichord's cover.

“Love and music are presented against moderate nameless landscape, where soft heavenly bluest grades into yellowness of sands, separate small figures of people and animals are seen, dilapidated houses are placed far away. The composition is simple and harmonious. This landscape, inspired by Music and Love, as if saturated with them, dissolves them in itself.”³⁰

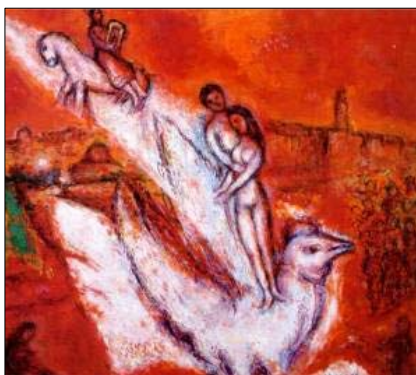


Fig. 23. *A Song of Songs*, 1974. Oil on canvas, 46/55 cm. Private collection



Fig. 24. *The Dance of Myriam*, 1966. Paper, watercolour, 44.3/32 cm. Nice, National Museum of Marc Chagall

The close entwinement of love and music is native to Chagall's genre of biblical paintings. Music fills the scenes depicting lovers with deep meaning, showing their eternal sensual attraction to each other, or, on the contrary, their alienation. In episodes connected with wedding rites and temples, the ritual role of musical art is vividly depicted. Later, the moment of his marriage to Bella, described by Chagall as “the most important in [his] life,” was frequently revisited by Chagall in his art. It is notable, that the autobiography does not focus on merrymaking on the occasion of ceremony, but on the contrary, describes how before the ceremony, his fiancé was “startled, seized with quivering, stood in the crowd,”³¹ and how after the wedding he “was sitting, like a statue, ... near my betrothed. Even in my coffin I could hardly have had such a statuesque and long face.”³² This description, despite the ironical tone of the narrator, shows the severe

³⁰ Maykapar 1990.

³¹ Chagall 1994.

³² Ibid.

colouring of the action, conveying sacrament of the wedding rite, and the deep excitement caused by the event. The music played at the moment when the souls of the enamoured come into contact with each other in Chagall's works, is suffused with a special spirituality, irrespective of whether a lonely violinist plays the motif, or a heavenly orchestra rewards the newly-married couple with a Hosanna (**fig. 28**). It is necessary note that during the Jewish wedding under the Chuppah (in the picture *Wedding*, **fig. 27**, its function is fulfilled by red angel's wings), the lovers are deprived of any passion and tenderness, their faces and poses express a deep concentration.



Fig. 25. *The Myth of Orpheus*, 1977. Oil on canvas, 97/146 cm.
Private collection



Fig. 26. *The Meeting of Isaac and Rebecca*. Harpsichord's cover painting, 1980, 95/299 cm. Nice, National Museum of Marc Chagall



Fig. 27. *The Wedding*, 1918. Oil on canvas, 100/119 cm. Moscow, The State Tretyakov Gallery



Fig. 28. *The Wedding*, 1944. Oil on canvas, 99/74 cm. Private collection



Fig. 29. *Russian Wedding*, 1909. Oil on canvas, 68/97 cm. Zurich, Collection of Emil Burle's Fund

It is music, through which Chagall tries to understand the peculiarities of wedding rites, which allows the viewer to touch the roots of ethnic culture. He vividly describes a ceremonial Russian wedding procession, headed by a bored military violinist and elderly guslar (poet-singer) (*Russian Wedding*, fig. 29) and documents a table at Jewish wedding (*Jewish Wedding*, fig. 30).



Fig. 30. *Jewish Wedding*, 1912. Paper, ink, 20.5/30 cm.
Private collection

These scenes of everyday life are interesting from the viewpoint of Chagall's reflection of the psychological characteristics, mood and behaviour of various personages. The Russian wedding procession involves emotional states such as the bride's quiver of expectation, the peaceful sorrow of the father, the curiosity of children and run-down passers-by, the joy of the woman following the bride (possibly her mother or kinswoman) and the excitement of the man who has taken alarm in the background.

They are all united by the melancholic motive of the instrumental duet, creating the impression of the ceremony, the seamliness of the event. The music played at the Jewish celebratory feast is much more dynamic. Although part of klezmer ensemble, located in the top left corner of the picture, is cut off by the edge of the picture, the viewer gets the impression of a fiery partner dance performed in the middle of the room. The figures of a corpulent woman, heated from these vigorous movements (evidently not a Jewess) and her cumbersome partner with awkward, cast up knees, stand in stark contrast to the static poses of the quiet newlyweds and the sullen male guests, busy with discussions of their problems. This satirical sketch has, to some extent, an autobiographical character.

Another rite accompanied by music in Chagall's art is the funeral, as in the picture *The Departed (Death)*, **fig. 31**. A violinist, sitting alone on the roof, sends forth with his melody an excessive expression of grief, formed by the anguished cry of the woman, and the departed, who is turned towards the viewer. In Aliya Reich's opinion, the musician is a metaphor for the painter, the story-teller, narrating what has happened.³³

³³ Reich 2012, p. 59.



Fig. 31. *The Departed (Death)*, 1908. Oil on canvas, Paris, National Centre of Art and Culture, Named by George Pompidu

Chagall's musicians are direct participants (eyewitnesses) of epochal historical events. Thus, in the picture *Revolution* (**fig. 17**), the ensemble placed in the top right corner personifies an independent witness of change in the social-political coordinates of the state, regarding the event from outside.³⁴ Busy with their peaceful labour of performing, the musicians withstand the acerbic armed battles of humanity, thus affirming the inviolability of creative activity under any regime.

Frequently in Chagall's pictures, musical-sound associations appear by means of conveying plasticity of movement, through dance (*Dance*, **fig. 32-33**), demonstration (*In the Motion [Martial Music]*, **fig. 34**) or acrobatic feats (*Red Horse*, **fig. 35**). These pictures are saturated with a sense of procedure, rhythm and time more characteristic of music than fine art.



Fig. 32. *Dance*, 1928. Paper, aquarelle, 50.5/65.7 cm. Private collection



Fig. 33. *Dance*, 1967. Oil on canvas, 129/ 80 cm.

³⁴ Apchinskaya points out that the revolution for Chagall meant not only a political convulsion, but also an internal spiritual revolution.

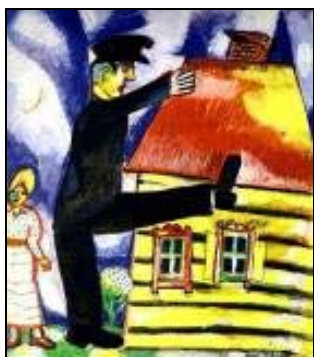


Fig. 34. *In the Motion (Martial Music)*, 1916. Cardboard, gouache. Moscow, State Tretyakov Gallery



Fig. 35. *A Red Horse*, 1938-1944. Oil on canvas. Paris, Centre of George Pompidu



Fig. 36. *A Circus Horse*, 1964, 49 x 61 cm. Private collection

Olga Klepatskaya distinguishes musicality as a feature of painter's aesthetic vision, analysing the circus images of Marc Chagall in the context of the Russian avant-guard: "Its [musicality] appears in compositional solutions, in the playful whimsicality of colours, in

the depiction of music-making or dance."³⁵

In Chagall's circus works, which reconstruct the world, as "a festival, dream, flight of imagination, where there is no place for melancholy and greyness,"³⁶ musical fragments receive more effective orchestration and brighter dynamics. The collective performance is dominant; alongside



Fig. 37. *The Circus Musicians*, 1965. Lithography. Private collection

³⁵ Klepatskaya 2008, p. 167.

³⁶ Ibid.

string instruments, the clear timbres of wind and percussions instruments are “heard” (*Circus Musicians*, **fig. 37**).³⁷ The choreographed and acrobatic movements of the performers and the participation of the clowns in music-making (*Circus Horse*, **fig. 36**) suggest certain conclusions about the characteristic genres (dance, march, fanfare), the tempo (fluid) and the character of pieces (merry, sparkling, humorous).

The picture *Clowns in the Night* (**fig. 38**), with its mystical colouring, is the exception. However, the grief of the play-actors is ambivalent and could pass into abandoned hilarity at any moment. In this sense, unavoidable parallels with Schoenberg’s melodrama *Pierrot Lunaire*, cultic in the 20th century, imbue the picture with polysemy. Dense darkness, from which the faces of playing and singing comedians emerge, makes the performed music illusive, unreal, balancing the dynamics up to a soundless state. This is the music of calm and silence, the music of dream, which will dissolve into the night without trace along with the clowns.



Fig. 38. *Clowns in the Night*, 1957. Oil on canvas, 95/95 cm. Private collection

The peculiarity of music images in Chagall’s circus works contrasts vividly with his proper “musical” pictures which reflect the processes of music creation and performance (*Concert*, **fig. 39**; *Music*, **fig. 40**).

Flowing, rounded lines corresponding to legato strokes; slow, calm tempos and rhythms conveying the timeless character of the work being played (in opposition to the in-the-moment, dynamic alternation of routines in circus performances) symbolizes the unfading beauty and heavenly harmony of classical compositions (as distinct from the particularly material pleasures of circus performance). The presence of a great number of musicians playing string, wind and percussion instruments, their unification into a group, the introduction of a musical director (composer, demiurge, creating his own musical world as according to his own laws), the presence of music stands (in the *Concert*) suggests a symphonic orchestra with a truly inexhaustible expressiveness. The universalism of Chagall’s thinking manifests itself in the people, animals and birds adding their voice to general sound, combined in one musical ensemble (a goat with a violin and an unknown animal with wings and a bird’s beak can be distinguished

³⁷ As evidenced by Olga Klepatskaya, the Lithography *Circus Musicians* was dedicated to the composer Rodion Shchedrin in whose collection it is still kept (Klepatskaya 2008, p. 167).

among the players of the *Concert*, along with a man-cello). Old and modern instruments - bell, lyre and saxophone - are also combined.



Fig. 39. *A Concert*, 1957. Oil on canvas, 140/239.5 cm. Private collection



Fig. 40. *Music*, 1962-1963. Oil on canvas. Private collection

Chagall was also known as a talented painter of musical scenes. Throughout his life, he undertook challenging theatrical projects in which a direct role was given to music. In 1920, on becoming the art director of the State Jewish Chamber Theatre in Moscow, Chagall painted several panels. Besides the panel *Music* described above depicting a green violinist, musical images and symbols are plentiful in the main wall panel *Introduction to the Jewish National Theatre* (fig. 41). Natalya Apchinskaya³⁸ suggests that the green cow crashing down from on high, located on the left side of the panel, symbolizes the musical character of the performance, as cow's horns in Yiddish denote fingering. The horns bump into the fingerboard of a broken violin which the actor Solomon Mikhoels holds out to the mysterious animal, expressing readiness to learn new theatrical aesthetics from Chagall. There are four klezmer musicians in the delineated central section - a drummer, a violinist, a clarinetist and a cembalist who is also the musical director. The right hand side of the composition shows other participants of the performance -

³⁸ Apchinskaya 2004.

acrobats and actors with musical instruments. Chagall's innovative creativity is manifested in the way his geometrical plans produce their own rhythm, which accompanies the movement of figures and explodes, breaking the contours, creating the illusion of a ragged, syncopated rhythm.³⁹ Taken as a whole, the panel presents the theatre as a world, and the world as theatre, penetrated by light and simultaneously conveying the chaotic nature of existence.



Fig. 41. *Introduction to the Jewish National Theatre*, 1920. Canvas, tempera, gouache, 284/787 cm. Moscow, State Tretyakov Gallery

Musical images come to life in two panels created much later - in 1966 - for the lobby of the Metropolitan in New York, the city which sheltered Chagall during the Second World War. Forming a diptych, *The Sources of Music* (**fig. 42**) and *Triumph of Music* (**fig. 43**) contrast in colour: the first canvas is made in blue-green colours against an ochreous background, while the second presents the idea of triumph in a passionately pulsating red palette. The panels present scenes from well-known musical dramas *The Firebird* by Igor Stravinsky, *The Magic Flute* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and *Carmen* by Georges Bizet. In the centre of each work, surrounded by abundant depictions of violin, cello, mandolin, aulos (double flute) and shofar, appear mythological and Biblical figures with musical instruments: a bifacial,



Fig. 42. *The Sources of Music*, 1966. Panel, 9/11 m. New York, the Metropolitan

³⁹ <http://sites.utoronto.ca/tsq/12/ichin12.shtml>, accessed 20 May 2014.

crowned David-Solomon⁴⁰ with a harp in *Sources* and the winged goddess Nike in *Triumph*, announcing the victory of music with trumpet exclamations. While creating the panel, Chagall worked with the outstanding Russian ballet-dancer Maia Plisetskaya. Through free improvisation to Felix Mendelsohn's violin concerto, performed by Yehudi Menuhin, she demonstrated for Chagall the main poses and motions of classical dance, which the painter immediately recorded in his sketches.⁴¹



Fig. 43. *Triumph of Music*, 1966. Panel, 9/11 m. New York, the Metropolitan

The panels presented to the Metropolitan were a variation on the theme of one of Chagall's most magnificent works - his painting of the dome ceiling in the Paris Grand Opera (**fig. 44**) - which refreshed the pompous baroque interiors of the famous theatre with rich colours and the vivid breath of modernity. In the mural, Chagall shows his vision of the main developmental stages of theatrical music, paying tribute to outstanding musical playwrights of the 18th-20th centuries through referencing their best works. At formal opening of the dome in 1964, Chagall said:

"I wanted to depict, as if in a mirror, the works of artists and composers, like a bouquet of dreams; hanging high above their heads, they are aligned with

⁴⁰ A bifacial image of David-Solomon with a harp in *Sources* corresponds to the picture of half-man-half-animal in the *Triumph* with a lute-like instrument on its shoulder.

⁴¹ In her memoirs, Plisetskaya describes her first impression of the panel *Triumph of Music*, seen in 1968: "A flying sunny angel with pipe, cornflower blue Ivan-Tsarevich making music, the green cello, birds of paradise, a double-headed creature with the mandolin near the horse's chin, glazed violin with bow on the blue sparkling tree. In the middle is a matronly buxom dancer with foxy unfastened hair, diligently holding her legs in first position. She is strained, her face is screwed up, as if she is going to fall ... A mottled covey of ballet dancers is in the left top corner. With tight thighs, wasp waists, in different poses: some jump, some stand motionless, some stand on fingers, some hold the hands in sweet coronal, some have prepared for tours with hapless partners ... One, me exactly, curved the thigh, lurching, stretched as a string, putting a hand on the shoulder, legs are in the second position. I showed something similar to Chagall in Mendelssohn concert. Mark Zakharovich caught that moment ... I have few similarities with dancers on the panel. However, when you look for a long time, steadily, attentively, you see something that is mine, caught by the hand of the great painter" (Plisetskaya 1997, p. 318-319).

the multi-coloured rush of public far below. I wanted to sing like bird, without the theory, without method.”⁴²



Fig. 44. *Dome painting.* Paris, Grand Opera

The dome is divided into 5 sectors, each of which recalls the pages of famous operas and ballets - French, Austro-German, Russian and Italian. In Chagall's interpretation, the whole history of dramatic musical art is presented as a landscape with a multitude of equal peaks. In the author's opinion, tendencies from the baroque period, classicism, romanticism, realism and impressionism are all reflected in this "colourful mirror of silk and sparkle of jewels," but without strains and conflicts typical of the change in artistic epochs. The painter's peacemaking approach is truly amazing, as it mainly appealed to compositions, which made a way in the art in the thick of polemic; they were met by public ambiguously or had complex scenic fate.⁴³ In Chagall's childishly clear, sheer vision, musical performances are free from stratification, from the ordinary, the debatable, from contest, or from their authors' vain chase for success; they are

⁴² Chagall 2009.

⁴³ This comment refers to a number of troubled works: Bizet's *Carmen*, the first staging of which on 3 March 1875 in the Theatre Opera-Comic ended with total failure; the repeated scenic failures of the opera *Fidelio* by Beethoven, which the composer named his most difficult and favourite child; to *Boris Godunov* by Mussorgsky, rejected twice by the Theatrical Committee and taken off the repertoire for several years after its first night; to *Orpheus* by Gluck which, after its first night in Paris in 1774, caused a famous war between pichinists and gluckists; and to the tragedy *Pelleas and Melisande* by Debussy, which marked the beginning of a new era in musical art - impressionism.

perceived as an expression of the endless triumph of genius over frail material. The wide coverage of different styles, national schools and historical periods in the fresco testifies to the artistic universalism of Chagall's concept.



Fig. 45. Dome lamp painting. Central circle. Paris, Grand Opera

Boris Godunov by Modest Mussorgsky and *The Magic Flute* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart peacefully cohabit the blue sector. Igor Stravinsky's *Firebird* and Maurice Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloe* are located in red sector; *Romeo and Juliet* by Hector Berlioz⁴⁴ and *Tristan and Isolde* by Richard Wagner are located in the green sector. *Swan Lake* by Pyotr Tchaikovsky and *Giselle* by Adolph Adan are presented against a yellow background; *Pelleas and Melisande* by Claude Debussy are depicted against a white background. Bizet's *Carmen*, Beethoven's *Fidelio* and Gluck's *Orfeo* are shown in the central circle of the dome (**fig. 45**), around the lamp. The names of Jean-Phillipe

⁴⁴ It should be noted that *Romeo and Juliet* by Berlioz is not a proper opera. It is work that synthesises the traits of cantata, oratorio, operatic scenes and symphony; the composer defined its genre as a dramatic choral symphony. However, Berlioz's music was performed on the theatrical stage in ballet shows with the choreography of M. Bezhar, A. Amodio, E. Valter, I. Chernyshov, E. Skibin, J. Taras, S. Golovin, V. Skuratov and T. Malanden. It is possibly this circumstance that led Chagall to add this work to his opera-ballet pantheon painted on the dome. There is also a credible version of events that suggests Chagall, not being a professional musician, mixed up an opera *Romeo and Juliet* by Gunod, which had great success in staging of 1897, with the same-name dramatic symphony of Berlioz, written in 1839.

Rameau and Giuseppe Verdi are also imprinted on the dome, without reference to any specific work (Gerard Fonten assumed that Chagall reproduced a scene from *La Traviata* showing Violet with Alfred and George Germone, standing behind).⁴⁵ The painting also presents sights of French capital: the Arc de Triomphe, the Eiffel Tower, Concord Square and the Garnier Opera building itself.

Theatrical performances, the majority of which have a tragic conclusion, lose their tragic pathos at Chagall's whim. The painter depicts not the intensity of emotions, the fatal course of circumstances, the fight for depth and feeling, but an ideal world where the heroes can live tranquilly and happily in the absence of irreconcilable contradictions. The musical-dramatic personages, pairs of lovers, angels, animals, and birds, musical instruments coexist in the brightly-mottled space of the dome lamp. The painter himself is also present with his palette and brushes, observing the audience from the top. Chagall's universe expresses the ideas of fraternal affection and mutual understanding through music, in artistic language that is clear and plain to everyone.⁴⁶ The dome painting, taken as a whole, sheds light and optimism, inspiring visitors to the Opera with the sharp thirst of life.

It can be seen that Italian opera is given a rather modest place, despite its brilliant history, and the achievements of English and American musical



Fig. 46. *Fantasy of St Petersburg.* A scenery design for the conclusion of the ballet Aleko. 1942. Paper, gouache, watercolors, pencil, 38/57.1 cm. New York, Museum of Modern Art

⁴⁵ <http://visitepalaisgarnier.fr/en/interior/marc-chagalls-ceiling>, accessed 20 June 2014.

⁴⁶ Chagall describes his musical theatre experiences in a poem:

“I painted a dome lamp and walls -
the dancers, violinists on the stage,
a green ox, a fey cock ...
I presented you the Spirit of Creation,
my wordless brothers.
Now - there, to the lands above the stars,
where night is light, and not dark ...
... And our songs, magnificent again,
will be heard in high places
and tribes of heavenly countries” [Chagall 1989].

drama⁴⁷ are not reflected at all in Chagall's works. This may be connected with the musical preferences of the painter, whose favourite composer was W. A. Mozart, or to his self-identification as Russian-French with Jewish origins.



Fig. 47. *Aleko and Zemfira in the Moonlight.* A scenery design for the "Aleko" ballet, 1942. Paper, gouache, pencil, 38.4 x 57.2 cm. Private collection



Fig. 48. *A sketch for Zemfira's costume for the first scene of "Aleko" ballet,* 1942. Paper, gouache, watercolours, pencil, 53.3/36.8 cm. Private collection

The significant proportion of works by Russian composers depicted can be explained by indelible impression left on Paris audiences by Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* at the beginning of the 20th century. The selection of works was also influenced by Chagall's own artistic involvement in developing decorative elements of ballets such as Pyotr Tchaikovsky's *Aleko* (based on Pushkin's poem *The Gypsies*) for piano trio, performed by Leonid Myasin (1942); Stravinsky's *Firebird* with choreography by Michel Fokine (1945), revisited by Adolph Bolm and later staged by George Balanchin (1950); and Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloe*, based on a libretto by Michel Fokine, with choreography by George Skibin (1959).

The painter created numerous decorations, curtains, panels, sketches for costumes and masks and advertising brochures for the above-named performances, which were staged in the New York State Theatre, Palacio de Bellas Artes in Mexico and the Paris Grand Opera. In Russian ballets Chagall revived the image of faraway Russia, lost to him forever, for example with the St Petersburg motives in *Aleko* (fig. 46-48) and fantastical metamorphoses in the *Firebird* (fig. 49-50).

⁴⁷ Representing no paucity of works of global scale, notable masterpieces of English and American opera include works by Purcell, Britten and Gershwin.

In these scenes, “the colour depth of decorations and costumes intensifies the sounding music, reflecting the circular motions of the actors.”⁴⁸ As related by his relatives, Chagall worked on *Aleko* with Leonid Myasin to the music of Tchaikovsky, and on the declamation of Aleksandr Pushkin’s poems by his wife Bella Rosenfeld Chagall, striving for a genuine concord between music, poetry, painting and choreography.

His scenography for Mozart’s opera *The Magic Flute*, staged in New York in 1967, became the concluding chord of Chagall’s theatrical career.

“Chagall repeatedly confessed his love for Mozart, considering *The Magic Flute* the best of operas, and the whole music of the Austrian composer - ‘harmonic, spiritual and religious.’ *The Magic Flute* was especially close to him in its combination of serious and ‘comic’ (folk) opera, love story with grotesque and buffoonery, religious-philosophical (masonic) problematics with a fairy tale.”⁴⁹

In last years, Chagall developed an interest in stained glass art, into which he also implemented musical plots. In his stained glass composition *American Windows*, which consists of six parts and was created for the Art Institute of Chicago, commissioned by the City Hall for the USA bicentenary, reminiscences of his early works appear.



Fig. 49. *The Firebird in the Enchanted Forest.* A sketch of curtain for the *Firebird* ballet by I. Stravinsky, 1945. Paper, watercolour. Private collection

⁴⁸ Cramp 2008.

⁴⁹ Apchinskaya 2010.



Fig. 50. *The Firebird*. Decoration for overture of the *Firebird* ballet by I. Stravinsky, 1945

As in the series of panels for the State Jewish Chamber Theatre, Chagall uses cubist devices creatively, allegorically presenting music, dance and theatre on separate panels.⁵⁰ Another three panels are devoted to the fine art, the Declaration of Independence of the USA and symbols of American national identity (national emblem, the Statue of Liberty against the background of silhouettes of American architecture). Amongst these, appear the outlines of Vitebsk streets, the Eiffel Tower, silhouettes of lovers, animals and fish also emerge. Such return in the later life line to the images of distant past in another context, makes the painter's artistic development concentric, thus summarising his search for a world outlook.



Fig. 51. *Windows of America*. First and second stained glass panels, 1977. Chicago, Arts Institute

⁵⁰ In 1920 Chagall created four panels for the Moscow theatre, personifying the synthesis of theatrical art: *Music*, *Dance*, *Drama (Theatre)* and *Literature*.

In this work Chagall unites different arts, different parts of the world (Europe and America), religions (Christianity and Judaism) and various painting techniques, summing up all the impressions of his life.

The theme of music is distinctly highlighted in the first stained glass panel of the *Windows*, devoted to musical art (**fig. 51**). It depicts a trumpeting angel, descending from the top of a gold throne. His splendid image creates a sense of the sound of solemn hymns. The violin and a page of printed music hanging in the air intensify musical effect. The curved body of the violin is echoed in the shape of the guitar, matching with it, repeating, endlessly scattering their contours across the whole glass panel. The wind player's figure is also "doubled," but in scarcely distinguishable hatching, bleeding through only with sunlight. Chagall's virtuosic play of colours and shadings, achieved through the technique of incomplete glass painting, makes a strong emotional impression: "Colour, as a magnet ... draws the eye ... Multitude of shades of dark blue, blue, cornflower blue, sky blue ... - the colour of the bottomless sky ... the magic world of Chagall's fantasy."⁵¹ Grace Calderon felt⁵² that in this panel the painter manages to convey the pathetic character of blues melodies, famous in Chicago - the city of Muddy Waters and Buddy Guy - since olden times.⁵³

Glorifying God with a trumpet fanfare, the ascension of a solemn *Halleluiab* skywards is represented in the stained glass of Chichester Cathedral in England (**fig. 52**). The narrative is based on lines from psalm 150: "... any breath praises the God." It is one of the most sonorous of Chagall's works, where the sound of shofars, trumpets, violins, keyboards (possibly a small organ), tambourine and cymbals merge in one musical greeting. The image of King Solomon riding a biblical donkey (mule) harp in hand is placed at the top of



Fig. 52. Stained glass window, 1978.
Chichester Cathedral

⁵¹ http://vankaremnikiforovich.blogspot.ru/2010/08/blog-post_2546.html, accessed 25 June 2014.

⁵² <http://gracecalderone.blogspot.ru/2014/03/america-windows-marc-chagall-1977-art.html>, accessed 17 June 2014.

⁵³ Muddy Waters and Buddy Guy are famous Chicago bluesmen.

composition. The intense red dominating this work conveys a state of exultance amongst all alive on Earth (people, animals and birds).

Direct musical associations, namely with the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (*Embrace, the Millions!*), appear in the stained glass *World Window*, located in the United Nations building in New York. The window is dedicated to the memory of the second UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, who died in a plane crash. His favourite composer was Beethoven, and the lines from Schiller's *Ode to Joy*, which call for the unification of humanity and are used in the finale of symphony, perfectly reflecting the nature of the activity of the peace campaigner. On the stained glass panel, Chagall depicts musical notation, which was firmly associated with Beethoven's enormous compositions as represented by his contemporaries.

Conclusions

In the course of this investigation, the following conclusions were reached.

Music is an important philosophical-aesthetic category within Chagall's artistic consciousness. Musical images in his artworks are connected with such essential notions as love, life, inspiration, consolation, harmony, beauty and consent. They connect the painter with his past, his ethnic roots and simultaneously with world artistic experience, underlying Chagall's understanding of religion, history and culture. Music in Chagall's works has a ceremonial-ritual meaning, it accompanies the main events in people's lives (weddings, death) and in society's existence (revolution) and motivates a spiritual quest. Confirming his humanist ideals and timeless values, performing the function of "peacemaker," music is the expression of "universalism of bases and meanings" in Chagall's creative works.

Images of musical instruments and musicians appear in Chagall's works in different genres - graphics, pictorial art, stained glass and painting. They reflect polymodality of the painter's thinking, reflect his whole worldview, an integral part of which is sound. The images of violinists hanging in the air, man-cellos, biblical King Davids and Solomons with harps in their hands, trumpeting angels, his brother and sister playing the mandolin, music-making animals, klezmer ensembles, popular (circus) and symphonic orchestras are widespread in Chagall's musical iconography. A musician in Chagall's art is a metaphor for a creator, the alter ego of the painter himself, due to which such images have a conventional-symbolic character.

The painter imprinted in his works a wide palette of dynamic colours - from pianissimo to fortissimo - and different orchestrations, implying solo, chamber ensemble and orchestral performances. He reproduced typical characteristics of simple and synthetic musical genres, such as dance, march,

adagio (in scenes with lovers), folk tunes, opera and ballet; drew upon folk, ecclesiastical, classical, pop and jazz music. His works are noted for their procedurality, their tempo and rhythm - both calm and equal, and "torn," syncopating - and for their bright imagery, from lyricism to eccentricity.

Starting with the reflection of klezmer melodies in his early art, Chagall later paid respects to composers many different epochs, styles and national schools: Mozart (his favourite composer), Gluck, Beethoven, Berlioz, Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, Bizet, Adan, Wagner, Verdi, Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky, balancing their achievements in the majestic musical pantheon of the dome of the Paris Opera. The painter also paid attention to famous mythological and biblical musicians - Orpheus, David and Solomon, thus covering the entire history of Western music - from antiquity to modernity - all spheres and genres of musical art, national and international. This testifies to Chagall's "universalism of integrality," "universalism-encyclopedia," and the systemacity and omnitude of his creative representations.

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Musical Images as a Reflection of Artistic Universalism of Marc Chagall

(Abstract)

Music is the most important philosophical and aesthetic category in the artistic consciousness of Marc Chagall. Musical images in his work relate to intrinsic concepts such as love, life, inspiration, comfort, harmony and beauty. They connect the artist with his past, his ethnic roots and, at the same time, with world artistic experience, forming the basis of his understanding of religion, history and culture. In the works of Chagall, music takes on a ceremonial and ritual significance; it accompanies major events in the life of individuals and society, and encourages a spiritual quest.

Images of musical instruments and musicians abound in Chagall's drawings, paintings and stained glass panels. They reflect the artist's polymodal thinking, allowing his visual works to restore a complete picture of the world, of which an integral part is sound. The most common elements in Chagall's musical iconography are violins floating in the air, cellos, humans, the biblical kings David and Solomon holding a harp, trumpeting angels and animals playing musical instruments, as well as klezmer ensembles, popular and symphonic orchestras. The musician is Chagall's metaphor for a creator, the alter ego of the artist, due to which such images bear a conventional-symbolic character.

The artist captured in his works a broad palette of dynamic nuances and varied orchestration. He recreated the characteristic features of simple and combinatory musical genres, appealing to folk, spiritual, classical, popular and jazz music. His works are characterized by procedure, tempo, rhythm and vivid imagery.

Having started by representing klezmer tunes in his artworks, Chagall went on to pay tribute to composers of various eras, styles and national schools, celebrating their

achievements in the grand musical pantheon that decorates the ceiling of the Paris Opera. The artist also gave attention to famous mythological and biblical musicians, such as Orpheus and David, thus covering the entire history of Western music from ancient times to the present day, and all areas and genres of musical art, nationally and internationally. This is indicative of the universalism consistency and comprehensiveness of all of Chagall's artistic representations.

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- | | |
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Keywords: artistic universalism, Marc Chagall, fine art, musical iconography, klezmer music.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
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Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
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Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskije i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
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Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheskij jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

THE EAST AND THE WEST: FROM HOLISM TO DIALOGUE THROUGH CONFRONTATION

Rustem Ravilevich MUHAMET'ZYANOV*

It could be said that of all the bipolarities defining the general trends of cultural development in the modern world, the one of greatest significance refers to the "East-West" divide.

The multiplicity of cultural worlds that represents humanity tends to be recast into the meta-cultural East-West dichotomy. According to the particular situation, this dichotomy may show itself through the interaction-opposition or interaction-dialogue between cultures, with nature of the interaction dependent upon the specific conditions of the contact between these cultures, their knowledge and abilities, and their understanding of each other.

It is well known that this kind of bipolarity has been a source of destructive historical events (such as in the Balkans in Europe, the Hindustan Peninsula, the Maghreb countries, etc.). However, history also offers some examples which prove the existence of the possibility of dialogic confrontation resolution (for example, the synthesis from which Moorish culture¹ was formed when Spain was conquered by the Arabs or the Métis in the Americas).

Thus, the measure of constructive contact between the East and the West depends on the extent of mutual understanding of Western and Eastern cultures as they come into contact with each other. Particular and specific features in the images of the East and the West should not negate things which are universal and general, that are inherent to humanity as a race. Detection of universal origins in Western and Eastern cultural traditions, as well as the comparative analysis of specific features in the

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¹ Moorish culture, Moorish art, Moorish style: this is the name given to the medieval art that developed in the 11th-15th centuries in North Africa and southern Spain. Moorish art evolved through the merger of the artistic traditions of the Arab Caliphate, the Berbers, and the Visigoths.

subsequent development of these cultures, is one of the most important tasks of the modern Humanities.²

Nevertheless, academics are not enthusiastic about the comparative analysis of modern Eastern and Western civilisations, and there are solid reasons for this. For a long period of time, under the influence of the political situation, cultural theorists contented themselves with superficial, simplistic oppositions between the “progressive,” “materialistic,” “active” West and the “retarded,” “passive,” “mystically oriented” East.

The main mistake of the comparative culturology of the past lies in an effort to seek some social, psychological or intellectual substratum of the culture and to use this to fix the specific content and features of a “national character.” Any metaphysical discussion of the “national” soul represents the same kind of myth as an image of a “good” or “evil” savage. This myth is inevitable, even useful sometimes as a dialectical moment of public self-knowledge. But the “myth of the image” should be followed by “logos of knowledge.”

Is it possible to trace some of the dialogical stages in the development of Eastern and Western civilisations (paying attention to their genesis, their parallel and crossover coexistence, and the facts regarding the diffusion of Eastern ideas being *ab initio* in the West and Western technologies in the East)?

The most important period in the joint history of the West and the East begins in the 4th-2nd millennia BC, when the first large-scale societies appeared in the Nile Valley, Mesopotamia, and in the river basins of the Indus, the Ganges and the Hwang Ho. Each of these four centres became a base for further dissemination of their influence on adjacent lands, and as populations and specific features of their culture spread, they gradually created zones with a unique interior habitat. But while cultural centres were shifting in the Mediterranean, in the Indian and Far East regions,³ according to A. M. Karapetyants, the “cultural centre did not shift, it was expanding and absorbing the periphery.”⁴ This meant that in the latter region a single cultural space appeared, while in the former region the displacement of the centre from one geographical location to another led to the creation of the ideal conditions for cultural and historical dialogue.

It could be said that the appearance of ancient Greece on the world stage represents the next important period in history. Ancient Greece (along with Rome) represents a historical foundation, a kind of *alma mater* for

² Reese, Rosenfeld 2012, p. 3-21.

³ Far East: a region that includes the Northeast, East, and Southeast Asia. Integral part of the geopolitical concept of the “Asia-Pacific region.”

⁴ Karapetyants 2000, p. 133-134.

Europe. These ancient civilisations incorporated much which can be seen in the further development of European culture. Since ancient times, Western civilisation was characterised by its focus on the objectification of spiritual practice, the desire to give a substantive and conceptual expression to this practice and, ultimately, its reduction to a technique which operates on ideas and concepts.

Nevertheless, if you compare the Oriental and Classical civilisations of antiquity, some mutual influence and borrowings can be detected. For example, Indo-Buddhist sculpture, which was widespread in China, dates back to the Kushan Hellenistic prototype.⁵ At this stage in history, we do not see such significant differences between the development of proto-European traditions and the Arab (Jaahiliyyah) or Buddhist-Confucian world. Thus, this ancient period of history allows us to speak of the unity and universality of historical processes. However, in the Early Middle Ages we see a radically different situation.

In discussing the unity of mankind in the ancient period of history, we might recall the term “axial age,” which was coined by the philosopher Karl Jaspers in order to designate the period (first century BC), when some radical changes in the attitude of a person to himself and the world around him occurred.⁶ The axial age was a period in which several new religions (“world religions”) and philosophical doctrines emerged which centred around the problem of the meaning of individual existence and the relationship between a man and the world, a man and his deity, a man and society and, finally, a man and other people. All these problems are essentially ethical problems: thus, we can see that people’s outlook and attitude began to be concentrated upon ethics and, in fact, to be determined by ethics. All the changes of this period occurred only in the spiritual realm.

The emergence of a new ethics was not spontaneous: it was based on the old norms and principles, as applied to questions of the ruler’s role. Later, this new ethics formed the basis of the new religions of the axial age. The relevant questions and proposed answers were explicitly formulated in the scriptures of these new religions (which is why they are also called “religions of salvation”), and in the new philosophies, many of which also had (or later acquired) semi-religious and, subsequently, overtly religious features, having acquired their own mythology (e.g., Buddhism). Within these teachings, a holistic understanding and perception of personality was developed. A self-aware person is an ethical person. However, the beginning of the ethical quest refers to a much earlier time - the epoch of the appearance of class-based society - and perhaps to even more ancient

⁵ Murian 2005, p. 85-87.

⁶ Jaspers 1994, p. 32-50.

times, when man first became aware of himself not as an inseparable part of a clan or a tribe, with no intrinsic value, but as a self-sufficient individual and as a unique personality.

Changes in the spiritual realm led to changes in all spheres of human life: economic, political and social. Hereupon, the face of culture changed. The result of this process was the appearance of many cultural worlds, which began to develop independently. The single history of mankind became divided into separate national local cultures. As Jaspers puts it, "The deployment of the few great cultures is parallel. These are different histories."⁷

As a result, in the Middle Ages we find a number of local cults that retained practically no memories of their past. The only exceptions were Chinese and Indian cultures; for them the past remained a reference point. The European medieval world began to remember its past only during the Renaissance. By the second half of the Middle Ages, it becomes difficult to find items that clearly show their common origin and development. In contrast, this commonality is preserved in the regions which retained closer ties to their historical and cultural development (such as Afro-Asian, Indian, Chinese societies). The evidence of such tightly-linked communities can be found in the introduction of round sculptures, pagodas and temples into both Chinese and Japanese Buddhist culture; in the Samurai code of honour, Bushido, which was based, amongst other things, upon Chinese Confucian principles of fidelity to the emperor or lord; and the philosophical acceptance of death associated with Zen Buddhism,⁸ which is a Japanese version of Chinese Chan Buddhism.⁹ In fact, here we face large-scale civilizations,¹⁰ such as Buddhist-Confucian.

The memory of the unity of ancient empires (such as the Roman Empire, which united the European and Afro-Asian worlds), led to the idea of a world empire, a world theocracy, but this idea was not typical of everyone in the Middle Ages. The bourgeois revolutions of the 17th-18th

⁷ Ibid., p. 94.

⁸ Zen Buddhism is one of the most important schools of East Asian Buddhism. It emerged in China in the 5th-6th centuries. It is believed that the teachings of Zen came from India to China, where it was brought by Bodhidharma, and was further extended to the Far East. Traditions of Chinese Chang, Japanese Zen, Korean Thien and Vietnamese Son continue to develop even now, retaining aspects of a single entity but with their own unique features and style of practice. The Japanese school of Zen is the most well-known in the West among all the schools of Buddhism, although historically Chinese Chan is considered to be its predecessor (Buswell 1992, p. 21).

⁹ Nikolaeva 1996, p. 5-13.

¹⁰ In the interpretation of the term "civilisation" we adhere to the views of Arnold Toynbee, who believed that civilisation is something more than the nation-state: it is primarily a spiritual and cultural unity (Toynbee 1991, p. 14-34).

centuries changed Europe both socially and politically, and the Napoleonic wars modified ideas of how Europe might develop. The concept of nation came to the fore in Europe in relatively modern times. In each European country, a national consciousness awoke that had been virtually absent until then. The isolation and restraint of states and nations decreased with the growing sense of national identity that characterised the 19th century. It could be said that Europe became unified only through the development of national identities in during this period. From that point onwards, there was an ongoing movement towards the formation of political unions with multiple states.

The world wars of the 20th century contributed to this process even more forcefully. Many countries around the world were brought into the global political and economic system. If the First World War drew old European powers into a violent global interaction, the Second World War brought to the fore many other countries that had previously been cut off from global processes. World Wars led to

“the end of Europe as a monopoly of culture, as a closed global province, claiming to be the universe. It brought the East and the West into closer contact than they had ever had previously in history.”¹¹

The interaction of Western civilisation with the East did not begin with the world wars. The crisis of European culture and the search for a way out encouraged the European creative elite to begin considering not only the origins of European art, but also the traditions of the East. This crisis was, in part, caused by the scientific and technological revolutions of the 19th century, which changed the European world view but left its methods of artistic reflection unchanged. As such, the appeal of Eastern culture was associated primarily with the search for new methods and forms for the creative reflection of reality.

Eastern culture was well known long before the crisis. During the 17th-18th centuries there was a passion for Eastern countries, as a result of which Europeans became acquainted with the cultural heritage of the Orient. But there was no comprehensive understanding of the East by the West at that time; indeed, such an understanding would have been impossible, as it was the West's first attempt to perceive the culture of the East. We can say that the Orientalist myth of the East as a fabulous, mysterious and distant corner of the earth was formed around that time. The European world began to act like or imitate the East. Nevertheless, this was still in the context of Enlightenment thinking, in which the idea that only Europe was “civilised and cultural” was entrenched.

¹¹ Berdyaev 1990, p. 106-110.

The end of the 19th century saw a qualitatively new stage in the interaction of civilisations. European artists were attempting to understand the creative principles of the Eastern masters, as is reflected in the works of a number of Impressionists.¹² The works of such masters as Edgar Dega, Oscar-Claude Monet and Vincent Van Gogh are imbued with Oriental motifs and colours. For example, Matisse was convinced that “the East opened up new aesthetic patterns for creating artistic imagery.”¹³ If at first this was mere imitation, artists nevertheless gradually began to develop a new understanding of line and colour in the visual arts. However, only in the first half of the 20th century do we see the emergence of the most interesting results of Oriental influence on the forms and methods of Western creative traditions. In Western Europe during this period, a desire emerged to truly know the world of Oriental culture and, through this understanding, to approach the creation of new cultural forms. Thus, from this period we can speak of a deeper interaction between the cultures of the East and the West.

As an example, consider theatre and cinema. European theatre of that period was experiencing a rather difficult period of reorientation, partly associated with the general cultural trends of the century, but also to do with the emerging role of theatre directors, who began to search for new forms and methods of expression. In Russia, one founder of a new theory, Vsevolod Meyerhold, believed that theatre needed movement and plasticity but not dialogue, and that the element of movement should dominate theatrical performances. He felt that a work was ideal if you can perform it without words, as a pantomime.¹⁴ In Europe, Antonin Artaud, following the ideas of Meyerhold, wrote that the theatre should be

“not just a reflection of the written text, not a physical representation of what is expressed in words, but a fiery projection of everything that can be extracted from gesture, expression, sound, music, and their relations.”¹⁵

It should be noted that during this period, the European public was only just becoming acquainted with the theatre traditions of the far East (China and Japan). In 1928, Japanese Kabuki theatre was toured in Russia. This was the first time Russian theatre audiences had been introduced to Oriental theatre, and the tour turned out to be a sensational event for the Russian intelligentsia. Representatives of the dramatic arts were amazed to see this distinctive Japanese theatrical form, so different from the Russian theatrical tradition. The Kabuki plays had a great impact on the works of S.

¹² Breuer 2010, p. 17-20.

¹³ Zavadskaya 1970, p. 82.

¹⁴ Zingerman 2001, p. 8.

¹⁵ Polyakov 2000, p. 64.

M. Eisenstein and V. Meyerhold. There was also great interest in the (male) Chinese actor, Mei Lan-Fang, who played the roles of women.

S. M. Eisenstein studied Japanese at the Department of Oriental Languages of the General Staff Academy,¹⁶ and was particularly interested in Mei Lan-Fang and Kabuki theatre. Eisenstein never missed a performance, and also communicated with Mei Lan-Fang during his visits to the Cinematography Institute (the Russian State University of Cinematography, named after S. A. Gerasimov, Moscow).¹⁷ Given this, his influence by the traditions of Eastern dramatic arts when director of the Moscow theatre was quite natural. Eisenstein carefully researched the compositional principles of Japanese poetry and the features of Far Eastern painting; he considered them to be the key to universal expressive manifestations. In his memoirs, recalling his own linguistic and cultural studies, he writes: “It is this” unusual “course of thinking that helped me to understand the nature of the installation.”¹⁸

Eisenstein deserves great credit for opening up new methods of film editing. The director himself explained the essence of this method, citing the nature of the hieroglyphs he had learned when studying the Japanese language. In the article *Behind the Scenes*, Eisenstein discusses the nature of the symbol and explains how the image of an object gradually becomes a conventional sign-symbol.¹⁹ He shows how the transition from an image of an object to the transfer of concepts by hieroglyphics is made by means of “editing.” This editing in hieroglyphics interested him as an analogy to editing in cinematography. Eisenstein’s greatest innovation was to suggest that scenes should not be edited according to the text (as theatre tended to push the director towards) but according to their associative semiotic relations. Through this, he discovered some very important principles and laws, but he came to these discoveries through studying features of the culture and performing arts of Japan and China.

Unfortunately, World War II interrupted this process of cultural interaction between the East and the West, but the post-war years brought dramatic change to the Western European world. The spiritual “flight to the East” began in the West in the early 1960s and gathered pace over time. The impact of philosophical and aesthetic postulates from the Chang/Zen

¹⁶ This was an educational unit, established in 1920, for training diplomats and military intelligence officers of the Red Army to become fluent in Oriental languages; it is now known as the Military Academy of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, Moscow.

¹⁷ Kuleshov 1975, p. 206-207.

¹⁸ Eisenstein 1964, p. 99.

¹⁹ Eisenstein 1998, p. 29-30.

school of Buddhism proved significant for Western culture.²⁰ The influence of Eastern philosophical and religious concepts and of Eastern philosophers was very strong, particularly among the youth. For many, Eastern philosophies represented a means of protest against the mass consumption society, against the “one-dimensional man.” This was a movement that changed the face of Western culture.

This situation lasted until the mid-1970s. Since the beginning of the integration process in Europe, there had been a change in attitude towards the East. There was no longer a search for an alternative to the European consciousness and European ways of development. Instead, people started to search for answers to the urgent questions of the West in the historical, spiritual experience of the East.

The flight to the East was also connected to the scientific and technological revolutions which changed the face of the West during the second half of the twentieth century. The cult of engineering and technology generated a sense of alienation, prompting a desire to go “back to the source,” to return to a natural state when people lived in peace and harmony with their environment and themselves. Eastern aesthetics still influence the nature of Western art and literature; their effect can be found in design, literature, films and philosophy. The European intelligentsia continue to seek various forms of interaction between Western and Eastern cultures.

During this period of time, the East was living within its cultural and historical paradigm, protecting it and trying to preserve it unchanged. This situation lasted until the 19th century, when the pressure of Western European countries became especially strong. A desire to adapt to these new historical conditions came in response to this “challenge,” as can be seen, for example, in the reform movement in the Arab-Muslim world²¹ (Islamic modernism).²² But at the same time, we also see the appearance of forces ready to defend their traditional cultural norms to the end. The desire to maintain traditional norms and institutions has led to some appalling scenarios. However, an alternative example of positive interaction can also be seen: the integration of the norms and values of Eastern cultures into the international system. Of particular pertinence in this regard are the role of

²⁰ Zavadskaya 1977, p. 23; Macfie 2003, p. 315-322.

²¹ A movement in Islam focused on reconsidering Islamic culture from the perspective of the changed conditions of modern life. Islamic modernism is a reaction to imperialist policies and economics and the dominance of the West, an attempt to reform the law, society and educational systems.

²² Kirillina 1989, p. 138.

the Chinese economy in the modern world, the attempts of the Republic of Turkey to join the European Union, and the parliamentary system in India.

Nevertheless, the East is forced to sacrifice and give up some elements of its traditional culture in order to move towards integration. As an example, consider Japan and South Korea. The peculiarity of the modern situation is that for all the differences between the historical paths of development of these two historical and cultural regions, they have resulted in very similar - to some extent even identical - outcomes. Both the West and the East in the 20th century experienced an acute spiritual crisis, the roots of which lay not only in the dehumanisation of human culture, but also the damage done to traditional Oriental culture, first through colonisation and subsequently as a result of globalisation.²³

According to these new circumstances, the heirs of Oriental sages, unburdened by the metaphysics of truth, had a distinct advantage over the Western heirs of Plato and Aristotle. The East can outrun the West, and can do so not only economically but also spiritually, as the rapid development of China's economy in recent decades proves.

It could be said that tradition, culture and civilisation comprise three levels, three dimensions of human practice, and culture occupies an intermediate, mediating position between tradition and civilisation. The main feature of modern times that defines both their greatness and their insignificance was the ousting of tradition by civilisation, whereby culture itself became essentially an appendage of civilisation. A peculiar feature of the modern situation is that despite all the differences between the historical paths of development of these two historical and cultural regions of the world, they have very similar, even identical results. Both the West and the East experienced an acute spiritual crisis, the roots of which lie not only in the dehumanisation of human culture, in the sudden alienation of the individual, but also in the constant denial of person's human-ness.

We can say that this latest and most dangerous form of human savagery goes back to the neglect of the symbolic dimension of experience and generated cultural norms. "My spirituality is my power over the material": this is the credo of the modern Western man, who made machines his idol. "I'll lead a materialistic life because the spiritual is still indeterminable": this is the position of the modern Eastern man, burying his pessimism under the cover of busyness. The world of electronic illusions arising from modern scientific and technological revolutions marks the end of both the West and the East. For the West, it is the end of the civilisation of Classical rationalism. For the East, it is the end of the recollection of "eternally absent" sources of spiritual power. Here and there during the

²³ Tomlinson 1999, p. 205-207.

post-modern era, life is deprived of depth, goes back to the relevance of personal experience and becomes a pragmatic reality.

In ancient times in an era of cultural and historical syncretism, the canonical image of Buddha appeared in Gandhara art²⁴ as a symbol of the merging of the two worlds: the Hindu-Buddhist and the Hellenistic. In the 20th century, the emergence of new European theatre owes a great deal to conscious acquaintance with Japanese and Chinese dramatic traditions. In the second half of the 20th century, Europe - the successor of ancient spiritual values - gave its attention to the East, trying to work out a new crisis-free and tolerant attitude. Relations between the West and the East have become isolated: now we talk of the quantity and quality of their perception of each other, about how to find a new global syncretism of Eastern and Western civilisations whilst retaining their identities and distinctiveness.

Various concepts based on aggregating and making connections between characteristics of the West and the East have appeared recently. These can lead to ideas that will help to build a dialogue between the East and the West. An important step in this direction is the comparative analysis of the logic behind Eastern and Western cultural development and the specifics of the dialogue between these cultures. But as long as

“the average European remains a barbarian with respect to the thoughts of the Upanishads and the Sung landscape, the intelligentsia of the East cannot abandon its role of zealous guardians of these traditions. Until the values of the East become congenial and relevant for the entire emerging world culture, the writers of the East will have to defend their “soil” from erosion of its colourless cosmopolitanism.”²⁵

The East and the West: From Holism to Dialogue through Confrontation

(Abstract)

The article deals with the development of Western and Eastern civilisations and their movement away from unity through opposition in order to seek ways out of geopolitical crisis. It is known that of all the bipolarities defining the general trends of cultural development in the modern world, the one of greatest significance refers to the “East-West” divide. The multiplicity of cultural worlds that represents humanity tends to be recast into the metacultural “East-West” dichotomy. It is well known that this kind of bipolarity has been a source of destructive historical events (the Balkans in Europe,

²⁴ Gandhara is the ancient name of the area in the north-west of Pakistan; on the territory of Gandhara during the first century BC - first centuries AD there existed a kind of art of one of the leading art schools in the time of the Kushan Empire, called Gandhara. Gandhara art is closely connected with Buddhism.

²⁵ Pomerants 1972, p. 302.

Hindustan Peninsula, the Maghreb countries, etc.). However, history also offers some examples which prove the existence of the possibility of dialogic confrontation resolution (e.g., the synthesis from which Moorish culture²⁶ was formed when Spain was conquered by the Arabs or the Métis in the Americas).

The article concludes that the spiritual “flight to the East” in European culture began in the early 1960s, and even now it is a very important indicator. Eastern aesthetics influenced the nature of Western art during the last decades of the 20th century. The impact of Western culture turned out to be highly significant for the philosophical and aesthetic postulates of Chan (Zen) Buddhism, as well as other religious and philosophical ideas of the East. In the 20th century, Europe - the successor of ancient spiritual values - gave its attention to the religious and philosophical systems of the East, trying to work out a new crisis-free attitude. The relations between the West and the East became isolated; and now we talk of the quantity and quality of their perception of each other, about how to find a new, global syncretism of Eastern and Western civilisations whilst retaining both their identities and their distinctiveness.

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R. R. Muhametzyanov

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Keywords: East-West, interaction-dialogue, Zen Buddhism, ancient civilisation, nation states, flight to the East, Eastern philosophy.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

BIBLIOMETRIC ANALYSIS IN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES (BASED ON THE EXAMPLE OF THESES ON RUSSIAN EMIGRATION WRITTEN BETWEEN 1980 AND 2005)*

Alexander Alekseevich PRONIN**

Introduction

An open-minded study of the Russian expatriate community has remained one of the most pressing academic questions for almost two decades. There are several reasons for this. The first is the collapse of the Soviet Union and, as a consequence, the emergence of a huge Russian diaspora in the newly-formed countries numbering, according to approximate estimates, 25 million people. Under these conditions, an unprecedentedly burning issue has appeared, namely the need to study the experiences of adaptation amongst various strata of Russian emigrants to the different conditions of life in a foreign country. The second reason is the need to conceptualise the substantive creative heritage of emigrants, which is crucial to the spiritual, cultural and socio-economic revival of Russia under the conditions of the new state and to the choices it faces regarding social development. Finally, the third main reason is the need to review many aspects of the country's history and give an objective assessment of its past, combining the cultures of Russia and other countries.

A large and diverse body of studies conducted since 1991, a significant proportion of which are in the form of theses written for academic qualifications, has led to the emergence of emigration studies as a new direction in Russian humanities. The constant growth in the flow of theses requires systematic study, the results of which will help to judge emigration studies in general, highlight its main tendencies, summarise the study of individual problems and outline perspectives for further research. Thus far, no analysis has been attempted of theses concerning "Russian emigration" published in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

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(Russia) in the years 1980-2005. This 26-year period represents in approximately equal lengths the Soviet and post-Soviet eras of Russian history, when Russia was part of an allied Soviet state and then an independent sovereign country.

About bibliometrics

Quantitative research methods are important in academic studies; their advantage lies in the way they facilitate the acquisition of knowledge through identifying the quantitative characteristics of the subject of study.

An investigation of the structure of the flow of discipline-specific documents is necessary to assess the status, tendencies and prospects for the development of various research fields and directions, as it has been found that the prevalence of certain types of documents in a given branch of academia depends on the intensity of its development. In particular, the emergence and development of a new academic field is usually accompanied by the intensive release of published articles in periodicals and journals.¹ The lion's share of such publications is generally dedicated to informing interested readers about the academic problem, as well as intensive accumulation of empirical data and conceptualisation of its different aspects. Periodicals and journals are traditionally the most important aspect of the academic communication system: up to 90% of the total flow of academic information passes through them.²

The next stage in the development of a new field is associated with a more profound and comprehensive study of the problem against the background of a partial reduction of public interest in it. As a result, there is a reduction in the number of operational publications and an increase in the number of monographs, theses and other works distinguished by the analytical depth, versatility and fundamentality of their content.³

Further development of the academic direction is characterised by the appearance of textbooks and reference books accumulating well-established, tested knowledge. However, this is evidence of a gradual loss of relevance of the academic direction and a reduction of interest in it.⁴

Document streams are in constant motion, which in turn leads to a continuous change in the volume, types, genres and material carriers of documented information. Based on experimental studies undertaken in the 1960s examining growth and decline in the flow of scientific papers, specific dynamic patterns have been established. As a result, it is possible to

¹ Larkov 2006, p. 365.

² Ivanov 2003, p. 187.

³ Larkov 2006, p. 365.

⁴ Zinovieva 2001, p. 201-203; Ivanov 2003, p. 187.

characterise the rate of development of a particular scientific field based on the period taken for the annual information flow to double. This made it possible, *inter alia*, to identify disciplines with accelerated development, those with an average rate of development, those developing at a slow pace (with a doubling period exceeding 20 years) and decaying disciplines (characterized by a decrease in the volume of documents produced).⁵

In the 1960s, scientists R. Barton and R. Kebler derived a consistent pattern according to which ideas of major importance to society are concentrated in a certain time interval. For academic documentation, this interval was on average equal to half the period of the formation of academic concepts in the social system, i.e. approximately 19 years. Of course, the rate of obsolescence depends on the actual academic area, the specific field and the academic direction.⁶

In 1948, English chemist and documentalist S. Bradford identified the phenomenon of information scattering, which he described in terms of distribution. Bradford's distribution shows a dependency between the number of articles on a specific subject in a journal and its rank amongst other journals in terms of relevance to that particular field, characterised by decreasing productivity of articles on that specific subject. According to this law, if we take as a unit the aggregate (cumulation) of all publications on any narrow field, about one-third of the articles are found in the small number of specialised journals (core). The second third of the publications on this subject are contained in a fairly large number (first zone) of thematically related journals. The final third of publications are "scattered" in journals, thematically unrelated to this area (second zone). This distribution is expressed in Bradford's Law:

$$p_0: p_1: p_2 = 1: n: n^2$$

where p_0 , p_1 , p_2 respectively indicate the core and subsequent zones, whilst n represents the number of journals in each zone, depending on their relevance to the subject area. Bradford found that if the core consisted of 10 journals covering 500 articles on the topic, the first zone had 500 articles across 50 less relevant journals, and in the second zone, 500 articles were scattered across 250 journals on diverse subjects, making $n = 5$.⁷

As the contemporary bibliography expert A. S. Sokolov remarked, this statistical formula does not so much express a dependency as a tendency, itself dependent upon many factors (area, subject, type of

⁵ Ivanov 2003, p. 366.

⁶ Efimov 1978, p. 55.

⁷ Sokolov 2008, p. 18.

document, etc.). Therefore, it is more accurate to talk about Bradford's consistent pattern, rather than law.⁸

Bradford's consistent pattern and other research on documentary methods opened a new and promising direction in the science of informatics, which came out of scientometrics and is now called bibliometrics (A. V. Sokolov considers the concepts of scientometrics, informetrics and bibliometrics as identical under present-day conditions).⁹ The term bibliometrics was introduced in 1969 by British scientist Alan Pritchard, extending the scope of statistical bibliography. Bibliometrics arose from the creation of bibliographic databases, thanks to the development of information technology. Bibliometrics and scientometrics are part of the wider concept of informetrics, that is, the discipline which deals with quantitative measurements of how information is stored and used.¹⁰

In the 1960s, the Soviet information scientists L. S. Kozachkov, L. A. Hursin and V. I. Gorkova, through studying the distribution of publications in periodicals, clarified and expanded the initial understanding of Bradford's distribution. The essence of these revisions was to show that with documentary flows that are in an ordered state, there is in fact no scattering phenomenon and the concentration is relevant to the subject area of information in a particular group of documentary sources. Kozachkov and Hursin refined the mathematical formulation of Bradford's consistent pattern and obtained a better correspondence between theoretically predicted distributions and practical findings.¹¹ In 1971, at the Union Institute of Scientific and Technical Information (UISTI),¹² Gorkova defended her doctoral thesis on *System-structural Studies of Documentary Information Flow*, in which she proposed new mathematical models and stated, regarding the scattering concentration law, that documentary information flows have two properties: they concentrate nuclear elements and dissipate non-nuclear components.¹³

Computer-tested statistical approaches to the study of documentary flows were developed during the period 1960-1980 and were used

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., p. 18-19.

¹⁰ Gorkova 1988.

¹¹ Kozachkov 1973, p. 56-57.

¹² UISTI - Russian (formerly Union) Institute for Scientific and Technical Information of Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia.

¹³ Sokolov 2008, p. 19.

experimentally by bibliographers such as G. V. Gedrimovich, L. V. Zilbermintz, V. A. Minkina and D. Y. Teplova.¹⁴

In the 1990s, works by G. F. Gordukalova,¹⁵ M. G. Kalinina and T. I. Rutkovskaya,¹⁶ A. V. Nesterova¹⁷ and S. A. Rozhkova¹⁸ appeared. Between 2000 and 2006, works by L. M. Hochberg and G. S. Sagiyeva,¹⁹ L. N. Gusev,²⁰ O. M. Zusman,²¹ E. V. Karikova,²² A. N. Kobelev,²³ V. A. Markusova,²⁴ O. V. Penkova,²⁵ N. S. Pedkina,²⁶ E. D. Sverdlov²⁷ and Y. D. Soboleva²⁸ were published in Russia, as well as translated articles by R. V. Wagner-Döbler,²⁹ V. Glyantsel,³⁰ M. Tilvol,³¹ etc. I. V. Marshakova-Shaïkevich's many works serve as a kind of "locomotive" for the development of Russian bibliometrics in recent decades.³²

Thus, discussion of bibliometrics as a complex field is, perhaps, possible no earlier than the first half of the 1990s. Currently, bibliometric methods, despite being (as described by Sokolov) "non-bibliographic genetics,"³³ feature prominently in bibliographic structures,³⁴ and the article *The Scattering of Information Law* took a prominent place in the recently published *Library Encyclopaedia*.³⁵

Bibliometrics is defined today as:

¹⁴ Voverene 1985, p. 1-5; Gedrimovich 1968, p. 12-17; Gedrimovich, Zilbermintz 1972, p. 29-35; Gedrimovich, Minkina 1976; *Documentary* 1983; Minkina 1979, p. 11-17; Teplov 1967, p. 5-8.

¹⁵ Gordukalova 1990.

¹⁶ *Bibliographic Index* 1990.

¹⁷ Nesterov 1990.

¹⁸ Rozhkov 1991.

¹⁹ Hochberg, Sagiyeva 2007, p. 44-53.

²⁰ Guseva 2006, p. 53-57.

²¹ Zusman 2000.

²² Karikova 2001.

²³ Kobelev 2001, p. 119-130.

²⁴ Markusova 2005.

²⁵ Penkova 2002.

²⁶ Redkina 2003, p. 76-86.

²⁷ Sverdlov 2006, p. 1073-1085.

²⁸ *Sostoianie* 2003.

²⁹ Wagner-Döbler 2004, p. 48-54.

³⁰ Gliantsel 2004, p. 43-47.

³¹ Tilvol 2004, p. 67-76.

³² Marshakova-Shaïkevich 1988a; Marshakova-Shaïkevich 1998b, p. 43-49; Marshakova-Shaïkevich 1995; Marshakova-Shaïkevich 2001, p. 1114-1117; Marshakova-Shaïkevich 2002, p. 314-345; Marshakova-Shaïkevich 2008.

³³ Sokolov 2008, p. 19.

³⁴ Vokhrysheva 2004, p. 166-167.

³⁵ Grikhanov et al. 2007, p. 847-848.

“a scientific discipline concerned with the study of documents on the basis of quantitative analysis of primary and secondary sources of information with the help of formal methods in order to obtain data on the effectiveness, dynamics, structure and laws of development of the studied areas.”³⁶

In other words, with the help of bibliometric methods, the intensity and nature of research work can be determined through the number, “scattering” and concentration of publications. This can help identify the most productive authors, potential “white spots” (gaps in the body of existing research) and others factors.³⁷

In 1999, the UNESCO Institute for Statistics in Montreal initiated a fundamental international review of policy within the sphere of information needs and use of statistical data in the scientific and technical field. In the review, it was noted that printed works are key indicators of knowledge release. The parameters chosen for measurement were the publications themselves and links to them. Thus, bibliometric indicators were formalised as quantitative indicators of the development of a particular branch of science.³⁸

It is important to emphasise that a bibliometric approach to the study of science generally uses secondary information on the publications contained in various databases³⁹ (bibliographic data of publications contained in the document flows and arrays). While content analysis methodologies can be used to characterize the meaningful development of the phenomenon under investigation by sampling key words directly from the texts, the bibliometric approach is limited mainly to the study of bibliographic descriptions. Results from document arrays on the subject of study obtained through both methods can be matched (completely or partially) depending on how well the document titles reflect their content, as expressed by the keywords.

The subject of bibliometrics can be considered not only as the study of the structure of knowledge and thematic distribution in documentary flows, but also in terms of that other mass phenomenon dealt with in bibliographies: the citation of academic publications, on the basis of which bibliographic references are created, revealing trends amongst readers, common streams of bibliographic queries, the nucleation of classical works, etc.⁴⁰

³⁶ Fokeev 2008a, p. 49.

³⁷ Fokeev 2008b, p. 11.

³⁸ Markusova 2005, p. 6.

³⁹ Marshakova-Shaikovich 2002, p. 315.

⁴⁰ Sokolov 2008, p. 19.

As Marshakova-Shaikovich pointed out, this information is of paramount importance in the study of many areas of human academic activity, especially scientific fields. Bibliometrics, like any statistics, is not only important for studies into the development of science, but also provides substantial assistance in science management - namely, planning and forecasting research - and even influences the way the state shapes its science policy.⁴¹

The unequivocal merit of bibliometrics is that it allows us to represent the quantity of research and its topics, which reflects the object and subject of study. The disadvantage of bibliometric analysis is that it provides no qualitative assessment of documents' contents, depriving the researcher of the opportunity to assess problems such as disagreements between researchers working on the chosen topic. Ultimately, this makes it impossible to characterise research of a historical character, such as classical historiographies, using bibliometric methods alone.

Applied bibliometric studies, along with information (computer) technologies, serve as tools for extensive quantitative data processing and the creation of visualisation aids (tables, charts, and graphs) representing the results. Illustrative material emphasises trends identified on the basis of quantitative analysis, revealing tendencies and promoting precision and clarity of perception.

In view of the increasing requirement for accuracy in the humanities in terms of objective descriptions of social phenomena, mathematical methods have, in recent years, acquired a growing number of supporters. The phrase, "If something cannot be measured, it cannot be scientifically described," has become widespread. At the same time, the number of historians who systematically use quantitative analytical methods is relatively small. According to G. V. Balayan - who in 2004 defended his thesis on *Information Methods of Historical Research in the Russian Historiography of the Last Third of the Twentieth Century*⁴² - information practices in Russian historiography have not developed a systematic methodological basis, while the empirical stage of development in individual academics' studies on specific topics has already passed.

How valid is the use of technology in historical research, what are the data realities of the global information space, and what are the typical advantages and disadvantages of this kind of research? These questions are asked by a growing number of historians. Balayan's thesis is historiographical in content, dealing with the problem of the relationship between qualitative and quantitative indicators in studies of history. Its basic

⁴¹ Marshakova-Shaikovich 2002, p. 315.

⁴² Balayan 2004.

methodological principle is the close dependency of quantitative and qualitative changes, the transformation of quantity into quality and vice-versa. He warns against an unreasonably broad assessment of quantitative methods, according to which measurements can replace qualitative analysis of events (a position shared by the author).

As Balayan rightly notes, the doctrine of information formed the theoretical basis for the development of the methodologies of historical science, for appraising the nature of historical sources as carriers of social information. Information technologies have expanded the scope of research practices in terms of historians' introduction of notions such as information requests, finding aids, primary and secondary documents, coding, classification and the systematisation of historical information.⁴³ The limited ability of historical science to tackle large volumes of historical information made it necessary to expand the arsenal of traditional methods. Historians are not limited to borrowing calculation techniques from mathematics, statistics, sociology and information theory. Among the new directions in historical scholarship, new methods of acquiring knowledge of historical reality were developed - information-based methods. The emergence of this new direction was accompanied by the detection of inconsistencies in the way these new methods for discovering historical reality were applied.

Thus, the relevance of exploring innovative research methods lies in the social significance of historical science in the context of globalisation, as well as in the need for objective processes to enrich and expand the arsenal of methodologies - including those based on information technologies - available to historical research.

Having made an introductory excursion into the history of bibliometrics, the following section explores the system of bibliometric indicators used in historiographical studies. Scientific and bibliometric methods provide an answer to the main research question: is it possible to speak of emigration studies as a new, emerging discipline within Russian humanities? At what pace is it developing? Which academic branches are found at the "core" of emigration research and which are adjacent? What topics form the centre of academics' focus and where are the "white spots"?

Mindful of the fact that formalised sources (documents) are the easiest objects to measure, since their relevant features have already been identified and formulated,⁴⁴ theses written for the purpose of attaining academic qualifications were analysed to answer the above questions. Specifically, information about the author, research topic, academic degree sought, code and title of the subject area (in accordance with the

⁴³ Balayan 2004.

⁴⁴ Mazur 2010, p. 157.

nomenclature of Russian academic specialties), the name of the host establishment, and the place and year the thesis was written (based on the release of the abstract) was gathered. This data formed the system of bibliometric indicators to be analysed.

Due to the incomplete nature of the Russian State Library's thesis collection in comparison with its collection of abstracts, the incompleteness of bibliographic descriptions of theses in comparison with descriptions of abstracts and, ultimately, the greater availability of abstracts compared to theses, it was considered more useful to apply bibliometric methodologies to abstracts than theses. Having studied the output data (which is the basis for bibliographic descriptions) of actual theses, it was found that the incidence of mismatches between output data and abstracts was very low (less than 0.5%) and such mismatches related exclusively to where the thesis was prepared (place of abstract release) and the date the document was released (year of completion/abstract release) - factors which were not essential to the analysis, since they have almost no effect on the results.

Bibliometric analysis of theses on Russian emigration defended in Russia between 1980 and 2005

A total of 903 thesis abstracts on the subject of Russian emigration, published in Russia between 1980 and 2005 were identified in the course of this study, and in-depth analysis was applied to the data they contained. In the years 1980-1991, i.e. during the time of the Soviet Union, only 85 theses were defended - 9.4% of the total number of identified works on the subject of Russian emigration written between 1980 and 2005.

From these, the following tendencies in the study of emigration were identified.

There was a significant increase in the intensity of academic studies in the 1990s - early 2000s. During this period, the number of theses defended on the subject of Russian emigration were: 1992 - 5 theses, 1993 - 12, 1994 - 17, 1995 - 36, 1996 - 46, 1997 - 43, 1998 - 50, 1999 - 63, 2000 - 81, 2001 - 89, 2002 - 88, 2003 - 88, 2004 - 93, and 2005 - 107.

The involvement of humanitarian disciplines in emigration studies has also grown. The number of academic fields in which such research is being conducted (based on the number of disciplines seeing thesis defences on the topic) has grown from 6 academic branches in the 1980-1991 period to 13 between 1992 and 2005.

There has been a significant increase in the number of specialties within which immigration studies are carried out. In 1980, theses were found in 5 different specialties, in 1981 - 6, 1982 - 6, 1983 - 6, 1984 - 7, 1985 - 5, 1986 - 7, 1987 - 2, 1988 - 6, 1989 - 1, 1990 - 4, 1991 - 7, 1992 - 3, 1993 - 6, 1994 - 11, 1995 - 19, 1996 - 19, 1997 - 17, 1998 - 15, 1999 - 24,

2000 - 20, 2001 - 20, 2002 - 23, 2003 - 27, 2004 - 27 and 2005 - 26. As can be seen, the number of specialities was 5.4 times greater in 2003 and 2004 than 1980, increasing from 5 to 27. The same list of academic specialties which saw theses defended between 1994 and 2005 included 62 specific areas, compared to 23 specific areas presented in the 1980-1993 period. Across the whole study period of 1980-2005, a total of 66 items were represented.

The range of cities and establishments where defences took place also widened: in 1980-1989, 9 cities hosted thesis defences, in 1990-1999 the number was 33, and by 2000 to 2005 the number had grown to 55 cities. Considered from the Soviet/post-Soviet split, from 1992 to 2005 59 cities hosted thesis defences, compared to 9 cities in the 1980-1991 period.

Regarding individual establishments, between 1980 and 1989 thesis defences were held in 24 establishments, from 1990 to 1999 - 70, and from 2000 to 2005 - 137. (When counting, the identity of renamed establishments was, where possible, established.) Comparing the two periods 1980-1991 and 1992-2005, it was noted that the former period saw defences held in 26 establishments and the latter in 152 establishments. In total, thesis defences related to the topic of Russian emigration took place in 158 establishments located in 59 cities in Russian territory between 1980 and 2005.

Among all theses identified from the period 1980-2005, PhD submissions numbered 104 out of 903 (11.5%) while MPhil theses represented 799 out of 903 (88.5%).

The two most important research centres - in terms of both the number of theses on emigration subjects and the breadth of coverage across various branches of academia - were, by a large margin, Moscow and St Petersburg. This can be explained by the ease of direct access, in these two largest Russian cities, to an important resource base: they are home to the main and largest library archives. They are also the location of thesis councils for most academic disciplines. In Moscow, during the period under consideration, 432 theses were successfully defended on the topic of Russian emigration - 47.8% of the total (903 defences). St Petersburg (Leningrad) hosted 103 defences (11.4%) and Rostov-on-Don saw 34 defences (3.8%). In Tomsk, 25 defences were held (2.8%) (Tomsk retained its fourth place throughout the 1990s and 2000s), while Ekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk) hosted 24 defences (2.7%). In other cities 1 to 17 defences were held.

In Moscow all areas of academia in which the study of Russian emigration and Russian expatriate communities takes place are represented. The undisputed lead institution in terms of the number of defences and range of academic branches in which they were carried out in the years

1980-2005 proved to be Moscow State University,⁴⁵ with 144 theses across 9 academic branches. Next, with 1.5 times fewer theses, came Moscow State Pedagogical University.⁴⁶ Here, during the same period, 77 theses were defended across 4 branches of academia. In the third place was St Petersburg (Leningrad) State University,⁴⁷ with 48 works across 7 branches. In other establishments 28 or fewer defences were held.

PhD thesis defences were held in 45 establishments between 1980 and 2005. The lead institution in this regard proved to be Moscow State Pedagogical University (15 defences); with Moscow State University second (13), followed by St Petersburg State University (9). The All-Russian Research Institute of Art (State Institute of Art) and Rostov State University (5 defences) took joint fourth place. In other establishments, 1-3 defences were held.

Based on systemically important signifiers of an academic school - thesis advisors, students, institutional unit and presence of a community tackling the theme within the school - information given by authors in their abstract was studied, namely, their academic advisors, the number of student supervisees of each advisor, and the academic and educational structures of their institution. These scientometric indicators made it possible to reveal already-formed or emerging academic schools in the framework of emigration studies. At the same time, it was noted that a single academic supervisor might accept theses on completely different subjects, the only thing in common being their relation to emigration research. The question arises as to whether such a chaotic and diverse array of works can be said to relate to a unified academic school. The author answers this question in the affirmative, based on the primary systematic importance of the indicators listed at the beginning of this paragraph, both the quantitative (the institutional advisor, his/her students, the institutional unit carrying out the study) and qualitative (presence of a community of researchers studying Russian emigration issues within the school) ones. Across the various universities and academic institutions in Russia, there are about 20 academic schools of historians and emigration experts.

Thus, through examining the scope and nature of studies carried out in the 1990s - early 2000s, the emergence of a rapidly developing new discipline of emigration studies can be identified within Russian humanities.

⁴⁵ Federal State Educational Institution of Higher Professional Education, Moscow State University named after M. V. Lomonosov, Moscow, Russia.

⁴⁶ Federal State Educational Institution of Higher Professional Education, Moscow State Pedagogical University, Moscow, Russia.

⁴⁷ Federal State Educational Institution of Higher Professional Education, Saint Petersburg State University, Saint Petersburg, Russia.

Based on statistical data from this study, it is possible to further refine this statement. Among the academic disciplines within which studies into Russian emigration were undertaken between 1980 and 2005, the leading fields were philology (376 theses, or 41.6%), philosophy (192, 21.3%) and history (179, 19.8%). The remaining 156 (17.3%) theses were distributed between the fields of art history (44, 4.9%), pedagogy (31, 3.4%), economics (19, 2.1%), political science (24, 2.7%), jurisprudence (11, 1.2%), cultural studies (11, 1.2%), sociology (7, 0.8%), psychology (6, 0.7%), architecture (2, 0.2%) and earth sciences (1, 0.1%).

In other words, there are three main (“core”) academic branches - philology, philosophy and history - within whose frame the majority of developments in knowledge of Russian emigration history and Russian expatriate communities have taken place. Other theses were accounted for in related disciplines, while some works were distributed over a large number of branches of academia only distantly related to emigration studies. This finding confirms the expected pattern of dispersion of information: an arithmetic increase in the number of theses containing information on a specific topic of research leads to an exponential increase in the number of academic branches within which such research is being conducted.

In terms of the number of specialties within each subject discipline in which Russian emigration studies took place between the years 1980 to 2005, it was found that theses were prepared within 14 groups of specialties. Within Engineering (subject code 05.00.00) theses covering 4 specialties appeared, in History (07.00.00) - 7, Economics (08.00.00) - 8, Philosophy (09.00.00) - 9, Philology (10.00.00) - 12, Jurisprudence (12.00.00) - 2, Pedagogy (13.00.00) - 2, Art History (17.00.00) - 6, Architecture (18.00.00) - 1, Psychology (19.00.00) - 3, Social sciences (22.00.00) - 4, Political sciences (23.00.00) - 4, Cultural Studies (24.00.00) - 3, and Earth Sciences (25.00.00) - 1. As you can see, the most ambitious field in terms of the number of specialties across which Russian emigration was studied, was philology.

Russian literature (10.01.01) was found to be the undisputed leader among the academic specialties: during the period 1980-2005, 238 theses on Russian emigration were prepared within this frame. It is primarily within this field that the literature of the Russian diaspora is studied. In second place was History of the USSR (Russian History, 07.00.02), with 116 works. Third place (90 works) was shared by History of Philosophy (09.00.03) and Russian Language (10.02.01). Other specialist areas followed these by a considerable margin.

The dominance of philologists and philosophers in the study of the heritage of Russian emigration can be explained, in the author’s opinion, as follows. Since the Petrine era (1689-1725), literature has consistently been

the main creative form of expression within Russian culture. Literature, in its variety of genres, including the philosophical, reflects Russian cultural ideals and is the most striking element of the identity of the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia can be seen as a kind of “brain of the nation” whose main role lies in shaping public consciousness by putting forward ideas. Society either accepts or rejects these ideas. Emigration, meanwhile, can be thought of as society’s flesh and blood. Issues raised by Russian writers and philosophers abroad reflect the future of Russia’s statehood and power, attitudes towards religion and social justice, the relationship between the intelligentsia and the people, violence and non-violence - all relevant in terms of finding ways to overcome socioeconomic and spiritual crises and bring about renovation of the country.

In the period 1980-1993 - during the years of Soviet power - the study of Russian (Soviet) emigration was in practice confined to study of the theoretical heritage and activities of those abroad. This included studying the works of representatives of Russian revolutionary emigration (such as G. V. Plekhanov, P. L. Lavrov, S. M. Stepnak-Kravchinski, M. A. Bakunin, P. A. Kropotkin, V. I. Lenin, N. P. Ogarev, P. N. Tkachev, A. I. Herzen and G. A. Lopatin), Russian emigrant composers (for example, S. V. Rachmaninov and I. F. Stravinsky) and works created in exile by Soviet writers such as Maxim Gorky and A. N. Tolstoy. As a consequence, the number of theses devoted to the life and work of such individuals is basically the same as the total number of theses on emigration subjects from that period. Of the few theses which did not include the names of émigrés in their title, any devoted to the first post-revolutionary waves of emigration waves contained negatively-charged emotive words such as “collapse” and “defeat.” Thus, the study of so-called white emigration in the Soviet period was of an ideologically specified, politicised character.

In the mid-1990s, along with an increasing number of émigré names mentioned in thesis titles, actual study of the phenomenon of emigration began to emerge.

Most researchers looking at the Russian expatriate community focused on the first post-revolutionary wave - the “white emigrants” who reflected the colour of their country - as the most vivid subject of study, and limited their research to the scope of 1917-1939. Out of 903 theses, 666 works were devoted to the life and work of individual immigrants, and of these 595 had names of representatives of the Russian expatriate community of 1917-1939 in their titles. 109 out of the remaining 237 theses which did not have names of emigrants in their titles, instead contained dates or concepts (for example, “first wave”) in their headings that clearly indicated the object of study was the first post-revolutionary wave of emigration.

The distribution of thesis research staff (indicated in the headers of collected theses) also demonstrated that the primary interest in was in the first post-October Revolution wave of emigration: out of 127 émigrés whose lives and works were written about in the academic theses examined for this study, 97 were representatives of this wave. In theses written in the second half of the 1980s-1990, 19 authors referred to those in exile before 1917, 2 were related to the second post-October wave of emigration, 9 related to the third wave and 3 were related to emigration in both pre- and post-revolutionary waves of emigration (including those on N. Gabo, M. Gorky, and V. V. Kandinsky).

Up until the 1990s, studies were limited almost exclusively to the pre- and post-revolutionary first wave of emigration. In 2000-2005, major advances were made by philologists in the study of the third post-revolutionary wave; as a result, the number of theses devoted to this topic increased from 2 in the 1990s to 50 in the 2000-2005 period. Indeed, 2000-2005 saw a significant increase in the number of theses across various fields dealing with Russian emigration and the Russian expatriate community in recent years (36 in 2000-2005, up from 12 in the 1990s). Though only slight, there was also an increase in the number of theses concerning the second post-October wave (8 in 2000-2005, compared to 5 in 1990-1999), a period still mostly studied by historians.

Amongst theses dated 1980-2005, 90 papers (10% of 903) were devoted to pre-revolutionary emigration; 716 works (79.3%) to the first post-revolutionary wave; 14 (1.6%) to second post-revolutionary wave; 52 (5.8%) to the third wave; and 48 papers (5.3%) to the fourth, contemporary wave of emigration. (It should be borne in mind that a number of theses examined several waves of emigration.)

Although contemporary researchers are studying all the waves of Russian emigration, attention is still primarily paid to the first post-October wave; the creativity of this wave of immigrants is reflected in fact that such studies appear in the broadest range of academic branches and specialties.

The results of this study clearly highlight a tendency towards personification within the history of Russian emigration and the Russian expatriate community. Of the 903 theses from 1980-2005 collected on the subject of Russian emigration, 666 (73.8%) were devoted to the life and work of named individuals.

The breadth of coverage of individual emigrants has also changed. In the 1980s, theses identified for this study dealt with the life and works of 23 Russian emigrants; in the 1990s, 60 individual emigrants were studied; and in the six years from 2000 to 2005 inclusive, 101 biographies were written. Over the same period, the number of emigrants mentioned in the titles of theses during one year increased to an average for 30 individuals per year

for the 1994-2005 period, compared with an average of 5 per year between 1980 and 1993.

A thorough study of the creative heritage of any one figure gives way to generalisations and classification. Over the years, the thesis titles examined featured more personalities. However, among the leading lights of the Russian expatriate community there remain many whose works have not yet been the object of research in this particular genre of academic paper, the thesis.

Conclusions

This paper has identified and demonstrated the capabilities and limits of applying scientific bibliometric techniques, proving that such methods are effective tools for studying the historiography of Russian emigration and the Russian expatriate community. With their help, the direction and pace of development of emigration studies as an academic area has been identified, along with the dynamics of academic interest in the subject; the contribution of individual regions, establishments and authors to the development of the field; the intensity of research centres (including academic institutes); and the integrative communication between branches of academia and the subject matter before them. The only thing that is objectively beyond the limits of applied bibliometrics is consideration of the actual texts of academic papers, because this kind of measurement is only amenable to formal sources. Therefore, to reflect the diversity of information contained in theses and their abstracts, in addition to such quantitative methods, it is necessary to use traditional, qualitative methods of document analysis.

Bibliometric Analysis in Historiographical Studies (Based on the Example of Theses on Russian Emigration Written between 1980 and 2005)

(Abstract)

The object of this article involves the study of theses and their abstracts on the topic of "Russian emigration." The purpose of the study is to identify and analyse dominant tendencies in the development of Russian humanities in terms of its understanding of the history of the Russian diaspora.

Cognitive features were identified through historiographical study that used knowledge-based systems and bibliometric indicators to characterise the distribution of institutions as well as the branches and specialities of theses on the history of emigration from Russia, explore the number of theses defended in a given period, pinpoint centres of activity for the study of this subject, and identify characteristics and trends in the study of Russian emigration in different stages of the country's history. These methods proved the effectiveness of using bibliometrics to analyse the body of thesis-based research dealing with the phenomenon of emigration.

The theoretical significance of this study arises from the proposal of an algorithm for perceiving theses as a form of academic work and a historiographical phenomenon, as well as the establishment and systematisation of the dominant tendencies in the development of Russian human sciences in terms of comprehending the problems of the Russian emigration history. Furthermore, the results obtained confirm the emergence of emigration studies as a new direction in Russian humanities, outlining the dynamics of its development, defining the discipline-specific “core” of emigration-related research and that taking place in allied branches of academia, and showing the pace of the subject’s development. Three academic branches (philology, philosophy and history) were identified within which the main developments in knowledge of Russian emigration history and the Russian expatriate community have taken place.

This article will be of use to academics and professors within higher education institutions whose professional interests are related to the history of Russian emigration, when conducting specific academic research or summarising their field.

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bibliometrics, scientometrics, thesis, Russian emigration, Russian expatriate community, scientific school of historians.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altai.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

RUSSIA-MIDDLE EAST: THE INFLUENCE OF THE ARAB FACTOR ON THE FORMATION OF MUSLIM EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE REPUBLIC OF TATARSTAN IN 1990-2000

Azat Marsovich AKHUNOV*

On 30 August 1990, the Supreme Council of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (SC of TASSR) adopted the Declaration on state sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan (RT). Wide prospects opened before the former autonomous republic to solve many problems and questions, including those in the religious sphere, without dependence upon Moscow.

By the end of 1990 in Tatarstan there were two official religious structures with pretensions to leadership in the spiritual sphere: the SAM of RT (short for Spiritual Administration of Muslims in the Republic of Tatarstan) created in 1992 and headed by Gabdulla Galiullin, and SAM of T (short for Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Tatarstan) which in 1997 was headed by Fareed Salman. The latter structure arose on the basis of the Main Mukhtasib Administration of Tatarstan in 1994 and reported to the Central Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Russia and the European countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CSAM of CIS) headed by Talgat Tadzhutdin.

At that time the administrations each controlled approximately 350 Muslim parishes in the Republic.¹ The continuing opposition between the competing muftiats was revealed in the form of scandals at the federal level. The desire of government bodies to work with a loyal body was quite clear and led an agenda item being raised regarding a new leader for the Tatarstan Muslims and a uniform Republican muftiat.

With support of the authorities, in February 1998 the first Unifying Congress of Muslims of Tatarstan was held, according to which only one muftiat - the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the Republic of Tatarstan - remained in the Republic. All these steps led to stabilization of the situation, making it possible to carry out quiet and fruitful work in the religious sphere. A system for controlling Muslim parishes was built, the

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¹ Yakupov 2008.

structures of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the Republic of Tatarstan were formed, and a wide educational network involving multiple levels of training was created. The number of parishes united around a mosque increased to one thousand, and by 2002 the Russian Islamic University, as well as two higher-education madrasahs, six specialized secondary madrasahs and one Muslim high school were functioning in Tatarstan.²

By the Second Congress of Muslims, which was convened in February 2002, it had become clear that in order to maintain this entire system in a functionally operating state, huge financial injections were required. The Muslims of Tatarstan could count only on donations from parishioners, certain sponsors and patrons, and incidental funding streams from local budgets that certainly did not solve the problem.

With the creation in 1992 of the first independent religious structure in Post-Soviet Tatarstan - the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Tatarstan - there was an urgent need to train imams and mudarrises for the mosques, madrasahs and maktabas of Tatarstan. The ties between Kazan, Bukhara and Tashkent - the traditional centres of training of Tatar imams - were broken after the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR); as a result, the absence of religious schools demanded a search for new approaches.

Help was received from various Arab funds and patrons, mainly from the Gulf States. At their expense, hundreds of young Muslim Tatars were trained abroad. On their return home in the late 1990s - early 2000s, they played an important role in the formation of religious institutes in Tatarstan, and held leading posts in the religious hierarchical system. Although in this initial period these graduates of Arab religious higher education institutions received universal support - including support from government institutions - as the possessors of a full ("real") religious education, as priorities in the domestic policy of the country changed, they suffered obstruction and even underwent prosecution.

1992 can be called the starting point of the mass departure of Tatar youth for training in higher education institutions of Islamic countries. This process would have been impossible without the financial support of various Islamic funds, primarily Saudi ones. After the collapse of the USSR, the Russian Federation (RF) stayed in deep economic and political crisis. Tatarstan, which declared the policy of a "soft entry" into the market, was in a rather favourable situation in comparison with other subjects of the Federation, but was not yet financially strong enough to finance the creation of its own system of religious education. Besides, the Tatarstan leaders -

² *Materialy* 2002, p. 37-38.

yesterday's communists - believed that religion was for pensioners and therefore did not consider this question to be of vital importance.

The Russian Federation needed loans and investments, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation was headed by the "liberal" Andrey Kozyrev who turned the vector of the Russian foreign policy from East to West. The attitude towards countries which had been in the opposing camp to the USSR changed as well. These conditions created the prerequisites for the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) which had been broken off in 1938. In December 1991 the KSA Embassy was opened in Moscow, and in May 1992 a major diplomatic reception took place at the Metropol Hotel, gathering together foreign delegates and the Russian establishment.³ The Saudi party was complimented greatly, and the hopes of Russian Muslims for moral and also material support were expressed. In particular, the Chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the European part of the CIS and the Siberia mufti Talgat Tadzhutdin declared:

"Saudi Arabia is capable of rendering invaluable assistance to believers in Russia, as well as in other states of the former USSR, in the revival of Islamic spirituality, cultural traditions, restoration of Muslim temples and pilgrimage to holy sites."⁴

These words were followed by actions, and in the spring of 1992 in Tatarstan, one of the country's first Islamic camps was opened, sponsored by the international association "Tayba" and organized by the Youth Centre of Islamic Culture "Iman" (headed by Valiulla Yakupov, who would later become deputy mufti and the main actor of the anti-wahhabite movement). Other events were also held, for example, a Koran-reading competition; and editions of Muslim books and newspapers were financed.

Cooperation was also organized in the field of foreign education. Zakabannaya mosque, the headquarters of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of RT at Sennaya (nowadays Nurulla) mosque and other mosques became special Kazan centres for selecting and sending students to Arab higher education institutions. To become an entrant was considered prestigious, therefore the first grants were distributed among young men who were close to the SAM leaders; statements released in the central press that "children from beggarly, dysfunctional families and even children

³ In May 1992, Andrey Kozyrev visited six leading Gulf States with the purpose of receiving a loan or securing contracts for Russian arms, but did not achieve success (Yusin 1992).

⁴ *V moskovskoj gostinice* 1992.

abandoned by their drunken parents went to Saudi Arabia”⁵ were certainly not true.

Accurate statistics were not collected, as there was no uniform body accumulating such information. Some students came back without getting a degree, others after a break continued studies in the same or another higher education institution or in another country, still others left their homeland forever. The main countries which Tatar Muslim youth left for were Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, Malaysia and, to a lesser extent, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Indonesia and the countries of Maghreb. Despite the most fantastical figures quoted in the mass media, in our opinion, a religious education in Muslim countries was received by no more than 300 people from Tatarstan. In 2000 the chairman of the board of muftis of Russia (BMR), Ravil Gaynutdin, designated this quantity as “several hundreds of people.”⁶ In 2011, a figure of 120 people training in Saudi Arabia alone was mentioned.⁷

The statistics were not recorded because there was no sense of any need for control over this group of youths, who were seen as harmless; the authority of Arabs as carriers of true religious knowledge was indisputable among Muslims, they were “elder brothers” in terms of belief, and there was no room for anybody to doubt the purity of their thoughts. The public consciousness was not yet ready to discuss “traditional Islam,” “Wahhabites” and “Salaphites”: Islam was perceived as the general property of all Muslims of the world, without division into legal schools and directions.

This situation changed dramatically after the beginning of the military conflict in Chechnya in December 1994, when high-profile acts of terrorism began to occur on the territory of the Russian Federation, troubling Russian society. Various Arab funds, “Al-Harameyn” being the most often mentioned, acted as sponsors of the Chechen fighters, who performed terrifying acts, according to law enforcement agencies. In the light of these events, Islamic religious institutions, including those in Tatarstan, came under the scrutiny of government power structures. Training in these institutions was conducted by Arab mentors, and also by graduates of foreign Muslim educational institutions. The participation of some shakirds in illegal actions in the Caucasus brought to the agenda the question of legality regarding the functioning of similar higher and secondary educational institutions, according to whose programmes future religious figures were trained, without educational licenses.

⁵ Postnova 2002.

⁶ *O neobhodimosti* 2000.

⁷ *Kak protivostojat* 2011.

The mufti of Tatarstan, Gabdulla Galiullin, was perhaps one of the first to start talking directly about the harm foreign education was causing to Tatars, though some statements, which did not name any addressees, had been given previously by the head of CSAM of CIS and Siberia, Talgat Tadzhutdin.⁸ In 1996, Galiulin was still trying to play on the federal field as the Chairman of the Highest Coordination Center (HCC) of spiritual administrations of Muslims of Russia, but some of his pointed statements, which lacked coordination with the opinions of the leadership of Tatarstan, along with inadequate actions, raised the question of changing the spiritual leader of Muslims.

Pretending to be loyal, in an interview for Interfax Agency, he declared that there was a danger of schism in Tatarstan, which would be “favourable for Moscow.” Graduates from foreign Islamic higher education institutions returning home were the source of this. According to his calculations, at that time approximately 100 people from Tatarstan were being trained in countries such as Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, the Arab Emirates, Malaysia and Indonesia. He opined that “they will inevitably bring something new that could come into collision with the settled customs. I don’t doubt that hostility, intrigues and, as a result, schism will follow. Harm will be done to the whole religious environment.”⁹ He saw a way out through creating local religious educational institutions, but there was no money for organizing these, and “the state [was] remaining aloof.”

It was difficult to take this statement seriously, as it was Gabdulla Galiullin who in the early nineties had organized the training of young Tatars in Arab countries, and the author of this article took part in an interview with him on this subject. Furthermore, according to another ex-mufti of Tatarstan, Ildus Fayzov, the boom in departures of Tatar youth for Islamic countries took place in 1995-6.¹⁰

The events of August-September 1999 in Dagestan introduced a new term - “Wahhabism” - into the lexicon of experts and politicians. The discussion began as to whether there was a basis for Wahhabism in Tatarstan. Against this background, the federal mass media were given carte blanche by the opponents of the acting mufti of SAM of RT, Gusman Iskhakov, and in particular by his former competitor Fareed Salman. In his famous letter to *The Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, Salman wrote that the Muslim clergy trained abroad:

⁸ *Lider musul'man Rossii protiv vmeshatel'stva zarubezhnyh islamskikh organizacij v duhovnuyu sferu svoej konfessii* (Postfactum.Ru., 20 July 1994, accessed 5 May 2014).

⁹ *Islam v Rossii* 1996.

¹⁰ *Kak protivostojat'* 2011.

“don’t hide their ideas hostile to national Russian Islam. After all, for them we are traditionalists, heretics and ignoramuses. The personnel situation is that there is a dramatic shortage of staff (mullahs). The majority of mosques have appeared recently and the number of these which are empty is great. Supporters of traditional Islam are in every possible way pushed aside and displaced. Graduates of Wahhabite institutions are put in their places.”¹¹

He also wrote that all religious power was in hands of people who had received a Saudi education or those depending on the Saudi financially.

The ideal time for attacking the official SAM of RT was chosen successfully. One could hardly say that the criticism was completely groundless, but the issues at hand did not come within miles of the events occurring at that moment in Chechnya and Dagestan. The authorities of Tatarstan, frightened by this letter, were compelled to issue a statement three days later in the same *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*. The Chairman of the State Council of Tatarstan, Farid Mukhametshin, reported that all competent authorities were currently conducting a review of all publications in the press and other information connected with penetration of alien ideology into the territory of the Republic. As Mukhametshin stated,

“If this information is confirmed, I don’t exclude the possibility of a ban on similar activity in the territory of Tatarstan. Besides this, we will address the federal authorities with a similar proposal.”¹²

Thus, the question of adopting the law similar to the one in Dagestan, *Regarding a Ban on Wahhabite and Other Extremist Activities*, was seriously considered.

After the situation calmed down a little, Tatarstan officials started conducting counter-propaganda activities. A well-known expert in Islamic studies, Professor Gulnara Baltanova, published an article *O zhupele “vakhkhabizma” ili politicheskoy bor’be vokrug islama* in the local press, declaring declared that: “it is obvious to any intellectual that real roots of Wahhabism in RT don’t exist as Islam and have no impact on the political situation in the Republic.”

Speaking about the system of religious education, she declared unsuccessful the approach of the President of Ingushetia, Ruslan Aushev, who ordered licenses to be withdrawn from educational institutions financed by foreign states or organizations:

“So in itself, rejecting foreign help will not solve the problem but will only aggravate it ... The same could be said about the second channel of influence of ‘Wahhabism,’ namely the training of our youth abroad. This practice is inevitable, and it isn’t worth rejecting it, it is another matter where

¹¹ Wahhabism 1999.

¹² *Predsedatel’ Gossoveta* 1999.

a well-thought-over policy is necessary in this situation. In the world of Islam there are many Islamic universities of moderate outlook where a thorough, broad education is given. But, certainly, there should be parallel development of the domestic system of training specialists.”¹³

Thus, the subject came to naught, despite numerous statements and speeches by the first Deputy mufti, Valiulla Yakupov regarding “the Wahhabite hold” in Tatarstan.

This question was widely raised again when in 2007 an expert in Islamic studies and correspondent for the Rosbalt news agency, Yana Amelina, moved to Kazan and combined efforts with a graduate of the local department of history at Kazan University, Rais Suleymanov, under the auspices of the Centre of Regional and Ethnoreligious Research, affiliated with Kazan University. Valiulla Yakupov’s concept of a “Wahhabite hold” in Tatarstan was repeatedly developed and expanded, and forecasts of inevitable acts of terrorism in Tatarstan were made.

The events of November 2010 in the Nurlatsky region of Tatarstan - where as a result of a special operation three fighters were killed attempting to blow up the car of the Chief of Chistopolsky Division of the Centre for Combatting Extremism of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tatarstan - seemed to confirm the prediction of these “experts.” Pressure was applied to the mufti Gusman Iskhakov, who was forced to clear the muftiat of some mukhtasibs who had received an education abroad. Soon he was also ousted and Ildus Fayzov, an irreconcilable fighter against Wahhabism and extremism, took over in April 2011. During his administration, a purge of staff began: practically all the graduates of the Saudi higher education institutions were removed from their posts, including such influential and symbolic figures as the imam of the Qul Sharif mosque and the popular preacher Ramil Yunusov. However, there were also some ambiguous exceptions. For example, in April 2011 a new imam-mukhtasib for the Almetyevsk area and kadee of the Northeast region, Rafik-hazrat Minakhmetov, was elected despite being the graduate of a Saudi higher education institution.

Ildus Fayzov, who in 2011 replaced Gusman Iskhakov in the post of mufti, despite his strong anti-wahhabite rhetoric (which was in part directed against graduates of foreign higher education institutions) nevertheless held a traditional meeting with students who were training in foreign Muslim educational institutions in August 2011.¹⁴ He did not conceal the fact that the religious organizations of Tatarstan were hungry for personnel and needed qualified, academically-trained staff, and he therefore urged students

¹³ Baltanova 1999.

¹⁴ <http://dumrt.ru/ru/node/704>, accessed 30 June 2014.

to complete the education they had started and to gain diplomas in full Sharia-based education.

Similar wishes (“to create Tatar associations,” “to establish relations with Tatarstan and with SAM of RT,” “to be engaged in translations into the Tatar language of works of classical theological thought,” etc.) were expressed by other heads of the muftiat. However, no specific program or plan was offered. Besides, according to the Chief of SAM of RT, Valiulla Yakupov, the muftiat did not possess exact data on the number of students pursuing an education outside Russia.¹⁵

Judging by the photographs posted on SAM of RT’s website, no more than 20 people took part in such meetings. A similar number participated in previous meetings during the times of Gusman Iskhakov. In the last meeting, which took place in July 2013 with the new mufti Kamil Samigullin, no new ideas were expressed either, only a traditional wish to choose a curator from within their circle for interaction with SAM of RT.¹⁶

Earlier, Ildus Fayzov had already spoken on this subject, stating that in the conditions of globalization it would be impossible to forbid training abroad, that people can use the Internet which enables them to read, listen and watch the sermons of Salaphite sheikhs. He felt the only way out was to receive an initial basic education in the homeland, in order to ensure some kind of “vaccination” against harmful ideas.¹⁷ Therefore, this meeting blended quite well with his concept of the construction of a new SAM of RT, free from any “-isms.”

Rustam Minnikhanov, who took up office as the President of Tatarstan in March 2010, initially held himself up as an economic executive who avoided politics, but only a year later, during a meeting with the heads of the republican mass media, specified his viewpoint on the Islamic question. He noted that historically Islam in Tatarstan had been tolerant, “but in the 1990s a huge number of young people went abroad and received an absolutely different education, having fallen under the influence of extremist trends.” He also declared:

“It is certainly bad, [and] this is the fault of the state which didn’t pay attention to it. Our task now is to keep our traditional Islam, and to suppress all extremist manifestations. The state is, of course, separated from religion, but not to such an extent that we see nothing. Therefore within our powers we will penetrate this question and take appropriate measures.”¹⁸

¹⁵ Samatova 2011.

¹⁶ <http://dumrt.ru/ru/node/9206>, accessed 3 June 2014.

¹⁷ *Kak protivostojat* 2011.

¹⁸ <http://prav.tatarstan.ru/rus/index.htm/news/82318.htm>, accessed 30 June 2014.

An attempt on the life of mufti Ildus Fayzov and the tragic death of the Chief of the Educational Department Valiulla Yakupov on 19 July 2012 again focused the attention of state bodies on graduates of Arab higher education institutions, who were considered to blame for the “Wahhabisation of Tatarstan.” Adoption by the State Council of Tatarstan of amendments to the law *Regarding Freedom of Conscience and Religious Associations*, according to which the imam in the system of SAM of RT should be a person who has received a religious education “on the territory of the Russian Federation or other states whose diplomas are recognized in accordance with the established legislation” in August 2012, was the culmination of all this. It was recommended to make such amendments in the corresponding federal law as well.

The local law contradicted the federal one, and Muslim activists became involved in the matter. Tawfeeq Vasilov, a parishioner of the Kazan mosque “Al-Ikhlās” and, in the recent past, a deputy of the Supreme Council of RT and an employee of law enforcement agencies, who was repeatedly pursued by power structures for belonging to a forbidden Hizb At-Tahrir party, claimed on his page on Facebook that it was he who succeeded in winning back the local amendment to the law:

“Due to the violation of constitutional rights and interests of an unlimited number of Muslims, I ... filed a Petition to the Supreme Court of Tatarstan with the request to recognize these changes in the Law of RT as contradicting the Constitution of Russia, violating legitimate rights of both the religious organizations and Muslims.”¹⁹

According to T. Vasilov, the State Council of RT had no right to change the law independently, and was to have put forward a legislative initiative to the State Duma of the Russian Federation. Further, according to the human rights activist, there were attempts to have the Tatarstan amendments passed by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation and the lower chamber of the Federal Assembly. As a result, the issue was resolved at the level of the State Duma of the Russian Federation. The innovations from Tatarstan did not pass, and the State Council of Tatarstan according to the decision of 28 June 2013 eliminated the amendments adopted a year earlier, leaving the question of imams’ activity at the disposal of the religious organizations.²⁰ Thus, the law now in no way limited graduates of foreign Islamic higher education institutions.

¹⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100005125389173&fref=ts>, accessed 20 September 2013.

²⁰ *Zakon Respubliki Tatarstan “O svobode sovesti i o religioznykh ob`edineniyakh.”* Adopted at the forty second meeting of the State Council of RT of the fourth convocation on 28 June 2013.

Attempts to raise this question again were made at the federal level in January 2014. The State Duma deputy, Mikhail Markelov, suggested making a list of foreign spiritual institutions whose graduates had returned to Russia and become engaged in “illegal activity.” In his opinion, for students who decided to study in higher education institutions from this list, “entrance to the territory of Russia could be limited.” As the deputy declared:

“They [students] learn the basics of non-conventional forms of interpretation of Islam in separate educational institutions in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Qatar, Turkey, Egypt - these higher education institutions are well-known. Free interpretation of the Koran only leads to the situation when the ranks of the so-called ‘forest brothers’ are joined, at the expense of young men.”²¹

This initiative did not go any further as it contravened Article 27 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, according to which citizens of Russia have the right to return to their country freely.

Thus, through the example of the events which took place in the religious sphere in Tatarstan in the last twenty years, we can see the attitude of the government to the problem of foreign Muslim education change from a neutral, sometimes optimistic one to a highly negative one. Attempts to legalize the ban on activities of imams who were graduates of foreign higher education institutions were made, but none of them led to any desirable results.

On the whole a cautious attitude to this group of Islamic figures still remains: SAM of RT conducts various courses for their retraining according to local religious traditions, and tries not to permit them to occupy high positions in the system of the Spiritual Administration. Nevertheless, the tendency is that gradually a process of rehabilitation of graduates of foreign higher education institutions is taking place, as well as their social adaptation within Muslim Ummah. New groups of shakirds go to Arab countries only after studying the fundamentals of Islam and local traditions on the basis of Tatarstan religious educational institutions. The stream of trainees is gradually decreasing though there is still a need for full higher religious education from the largest Islamic centres of the world.

http://www.gossov.tatarstan.ru/fs/site_documents_struc/zakon/3220_file_3022-IV_ru.pdf, accessed 30 June 2014.

²¹ <http://lenta.ru/news/2014/01/28/extremism>, accessed 30 June 2014.

Russia-Middle East: The Influence of the Arab Factor on the Formation of Muslim Education System in the Republic of Tatarstan in 1990-2000

(Abstract)

With the creation in 1992 of the first independent religious structure in Post-Soviet Tatarstan - the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Tatarstan - there was an urgent need to train imams and mudarrises for the mosques, madrasahs and maktabas of Tatarstan. The ties between Kazan, Bukhara and Tashkent - the traditional centres of training of Tatar imams - were broken after the disintegration of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR); as a result, the absence of religious schools demanded a search for new approaches. Help was received from various Arab funds and patrons, mainly from the Gulf States. At their expense, hundreds of young Muslim Tatars were trained abroad.

Through the example of the events which took place in the religious sphere in Tatarstan in the last twenty years, we can see the attitude of the government to the problem of foreign Muslim education change from neutral and sometimes optimistic to highly negative. Attempts to ban the activities of imams who had graduated from foreign higher education institutions were made, but none of them led to any desirable results.

On the whole a cautious attitude to this group of Islamic figures still remains: SAM of RT conducts various courses to retrain them according to local religious traditions, and tries not to permit them to occupy high positions in the system of the Spiritual Administration. Nevertheless, a gradual process of rehabilitation of graduates of foreign higher education institutions is taking place, as well as their social adaptation within the Muslim Ummah. New groups of shakirds go to Arab countries only after studying the fundamentals of Islam and local traditions on the basis of Tatarstan religious educational institutions. The stream of trainees is gradually decreasing, though there is still a need to obtain full higher religious education from the largest Islamic centres of the world.

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| <i>Islam v Rossii</i> 1996 | - <i>Islam v Rossii: na poroge novogo raskola?</i> , in <i>Vremya i den'gi</i> , 3 October 1996. |
| <i>Kak protivostojat'</i> 2011 | - <i>Kak protivostojat' salafizmu?</i> , in <i>Vremya i den'gi</i> , 15 February 2011. |
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| <i>O neobhodimosti</i> 2000 | - <i>O neobhodimosti tochnyh opredelenij</i> , in <i>Nezavisimaya Gazeta ("Religion" appendix)</i> , 29 November 2000. |
| Postnova 2002 | - Vera Postnova, <i>Yeshebe odno vzyatiye Kazani</i> , in <i>Nezavisimaya Gazeta-religii</i> , 4 March 2002. |
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Keywords: Russia-Middle East, Republic of Tatarstan, Islam in Tatarstan, Muslim education.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijskij na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

SOURCES OF FUNDING FOR CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN RUSSIA AT THE TURN OF THE 21ST CENTURY

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The turn of the 21st century has emerged as a period of profound economic changes in the sphere of culture and art. Reductions in state funding have affected all cultural institutions regardless of their departmental and territorial jurisdiction. New lifestyles have brought forgotten traditional approaches - such as patronage charity, philanthropy - to the cultural sphere, as well as introducing new concepts like subsidies, sponsorship, management, marketing, fundraising and public relations, all of which have been analysed by Russian and foreign researchers.

The relationship between business and culture, the opportunities for marketing and fundraising in the sphere of the arts, long-term forecasting of the development of artistic culture, and art's relationship with the economics of the socio-cultural sphere have all been discussed in the works of Russian researchers A. Dymnikova,¹ V. A. Barezhev,² M. P. Pereversev,³ V. A. Samorodov,⁴ V. A. Babkov,⁵ Y. M. Pompeev,⁶ G. L. Tulchinskiy, E. L. Shekova,⁷ B. A. Denisov⁸ and foreign authors A. McIlroy,⁹ J. Walsh,¹⁰ R. Florida and others.

Currently, sources of funding of cultural organisations in Russia can be divided into budget (state) funding - including current budget and programmes (federal, regional, multiregional, sectorial, intersectorial, local) - and non-budget (non-state) funding, which includes sponsorship, charity, international programmes, projects (grants, awards) and cultural institutions'

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¹ Dymnikova 2007.

² Barezhev 2005.

³ Pereversev 2010.

⁴ Samorodov 2006.

⁵ Babkov 2002; Babkov 2010.

⁶ Pompeev 2003.

⁷ Tulchinsky, Shekova 2012.

⁸ Denisov 1996.

⁹ McIlroy 2005.

¹⁰ Walsh 2007.

own business activities.

Most cultural institutions in Russia have a low level of income from self-generated sources which is not enough to cover all the necessary expenses. Therefore they must be either fully funded from the state budget (according to the level of institution, i.e. federal, subject of the Federation or local) or they obtain some financial assistance from the state budget to cover a part of their costs.

The ratio of state to private funding within the budget of cultural organisations is variable and determined by the priorities of the state's cultural policy, the institution's history of private philanthropy and sponsorship, tax laws and the economic efficiency of the cultural organisation. A similar situation defines the economic position of cultural organisations in any country. The use of different sources of funding means it is necessary to examine each single source as an independent sphere with its own relevant marketing requirements.

Employees of cultural institutions have become accustomed over the years to receiving full state support, so many do not trust new funding technologies and often do not possess the necessary knowledge to properly organise extra-budgetary funding. The experience of cultural professionals abroad may provide a useful example in this regard.

Budget cuts to museums in Canada and USA in the late 1980s prompted the Milwaukee Public Museum (Wisconsin, USA) to gain complete independence from the state, as it had lost a fair amount of government subsidies and realised that Milwaukee County would not allocate any further money. A joint commission was set up by concerned parties to consider alternative approaches to the museum's development. The Commission elected a Board of Directors to explore different sources of financing, to oversee management and development policies, and to control financial matters. The Board of Directors included business representatives and community leaders. As a result, the position of the museum changed dramatically. Since its independence from the county, it has been able to carry out several profitable projects. For example, the museum's exhibition space, which served as backdrop for the streets of the 1930s, was expanded for performances of avant-garde theatre groups; a centre of future technologies was established, etc. The museum did not shun traditional ways of obtaining funds, such as attracting new members to the Society of Friends of the Museum or expanding their donation campaign; but these kinds of major projects were implemented with the support of sponsors.

In today's parlance, sponsorship means more than just philanthropy or finding the money for a specific programme. Unlike charity (a single act of financial support), sponsorship is perceived by those who give money or

provide free services as a long-term programme of cooperation: it is a commercial agreement beneficial to both sides. Organisations or individuals that provide financial assistance to cultural organisations expect implementation of some of their own goals and interests.

Sponsorship in the sphere of culture has a number of attractive sides for sponsors. First of all, of course, it provides more opportunities for advertising the goods or services of the company. It can be far more effective and efficient than the cost of broadcasting airtime or advertising in print media. However, there are some other motivations for sponsorship, such as the creation of an attractive image in the context of the implementation of social projects and programmes, as well as demonstration of the company's consistency and social significance (in other words, sponsorship as a part of public relations).

The concept of public relations (PR) appeared in Russia in the second half of the 1980s and has still not received a clear interpretation in the Russian language. One of the more common definitions considers public relations to be the maintenance of good relations between official or business organisations and the public, through a variety of activities which create positive opinions about these organisations.

Sponsorship can take the form of allocating funds to pay bills; purchases of equipment; providing equipment directly; announcing awards and scholarships for fees; dealing with legal issues; providing engineering work, etc. Sponsors may be not only commercial but political organisations. In such cases, the desired outcome for the political organisation is the public support of its voters. Sponsors use the positive image of cultural organisations, which has been formed by potential voters for those authorities whose administrative decisions can affect the economic situation of the sponsors. Therefore, while choosing between seeking direct income and increasing the prestige and popularity of their organisation, managers would do well to favour the latter, because reputation is the main capital of any cultural institution in the literal economic sense of the word.

An example of active support for various activities of cultural organisations during an election campaign is provided by the political party United Russia. In February 2008, the Universum art gallery¹¹ featured an exhibition of amateur artists. As a contribution to the budget of this project, United Russia allocated money for the manufacture of frames for the works.

At the turn of 21st century, Russian traditions of philanthropy in the Altai region were upheld by A. P. Shchetinin and S. G. Khachaturian (1955-

¹¹ Universum Gallery (GU): Gallery of Modern Art, Altai State University, Barnaul, Altai Territory, Russian Federation.

2012), art collectors and founders of the first private art galleries in Barnaul. Since 2005 the creators of the best art works of the year, according to the results of local exhibitions, have been presented with the annual “Shchetinins’ Dynasty of Artists” award. Thanks to Shchetinin’s initiative and efforts, a monument to victims of political repression was erected on 4 November 2010 in Barnaul. Long-term work on the realisation of the project, such as the modelling, sculpting and improvement of *Farewell* (created by A. P. Shchetinin, 1987) was carried out directly by Shchetinin. The model of the monument and the executed work became a gift to the city of Barnaul from the Shchetinin family.¹² Annually Shchetinin donates gifts and offers discounts for artist-veterans on the Victory Day of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945.

In 2005 S. G. Khachaturian founded the charity Altai Cultural Foundation, which provides assistance to cultural figures, artists and young talents. In recognition of his educational activities, he was awarded a *Patron of Russia* medal. Sources of financing for private art galleries include workshops for manufacturing easels and stretchers or gallery shops where visitors can buy art supplies (examples include Gallery Carmine¹³ and the Shchetinins’ art gallery and exhibition hall, Turina Gora). Art galleries that exist thanks to income from commercial activities rather than from sales of artworks are a particular feature of the provincial art market.¹⁴

One area of business is publishing, the effectiveness of which depends on the goals and objectives defined by the organisation and the publisher of printed materials (museum, gallery). The present goals of publishing within cultural institutions include the popularisation of cultural values, maximising dissemination of information about the treasures of the organisation to all segments of the population and, of course, making a profit. Indeed, these goals cannot exist in isolation from each other under market conditions.

Publishing, in the sphere of cultural institutions, is multifaceted. It can be divided into the following types:

- Publication of results of the scientific activities of the organisation;
- Publication of documents, publications about exhibits of museums;
- Publication of promotional products including albums, brochures, booklets, postcards, brochures, guidebooks, etc.;
- Editions of regional printed material about museums, for example, collections such as “Museums of Moscow,” “Museums of St. Petersburg,” “Pavlovsk Museums,” etc.;

¹² Chernyaeva 2013, p. 85.

¹³ Art Gallery Carmine (HGK), Barnaul, Altai Territory, Russian Federation.

¹⁴ Chernyaeva 2013, p. 85.

- The publication of newspapers and magazines, covering the problems of the organisation;
- Scientific publications such as monographs, catalogues;
- Art books about museums, designed for audiences of all ages.

One advantage of the Shchetinins' Art Gallery (Barnaul, Altai Territory) is publishing, through which they popularise Altai artists not only in the Altai region, but also in the West Siberian region. Publishing activities are undertaken at the expense of the gallery, not the artists.

The Shchetinins' Art Gallery publishing output is of two types: informational catalogues and publications of monographic character. Informational catalogues are of high quality, as they are accompanied by an introductory article. The articles are written by T. M. Stepankaya, I. Shchetinina and A. Lisitskaya. T. M. Stepankaya was the author of introductory articles to the catalogues of artists I. Shchetinina, A. Shchetinin, A. Emelyanov, N. Ponomarev, I. Hayrulinova and others.

In cooperation with Grafiks printing house, the Shchetinins' Art Gallery published many exhibition catalogues in the 2000s, such as *Mr. Samovar* (2011), *Village - the Cradle of the Soul ...* (2011) and *Mongolia in the Works of the Altai Artists* (2011). Monographic publications are represented by the album *Irina Shchetinina* (2009), a scientific catalogue published for the exhibition "The Companions: Prokopi Shchetinin and his generation" (2009), the catalogue *Alexander Emelyanov* (2006) and a popular academic publication *Dynasty of the Artists Shchetinins in the Culture of Altai Territory* (2012). In the period from 2001 to 2012, the art gallery issued forty one editions. The Shchetinins' gallery has reached the status of a research institution, as it investigates important art movements of the 20th-early 21st century.

The periodical press regularly publishes articles about the Shchetinins' Art Gallery written by the gallery's researcher A. Lisitskaya, for example, *Ringtones of Soul Strings* (2008) which marked the 5th anniversary of the gallery, *This Is Our Victory!* (2010), *The Language of Painting* (2010) about the exhibition for the 70th anniversary of the Altai Union of Artists of Russia, *Procopiy Shchetinin and His Generation* (2009) and *Unfathomable Mysteries* (2005) about the exhibition *Contemporary Artists of Altai*.¹⁵

The development of private sponsorship and charity is in a formative stage in Russia. At present there is little information about those who are willing to sponsor or support cultural organisations, and patrons often have little understanding of those who are in need. Both sides need up-to-date, systematic information about each other, in order to find potential partners and establish appropriate contacts.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 87.

Unlike charity, sponsorship and donations do not involve any financial or other obligation on the part the organisation is receiving support. Motives of charities can be very diverse - psychological, economic, etc. Benefactors might be motivated by ordinary human altruism, the pride of making a personal contribution to culture, or gratitude for the opportunity to act in a sociable environment. However, modern patrons usually are not so disinterested, and maintaining a positive image of the company, advertising opportunities and certain tax benefits all play an important role in the allocation of money. In Russia today, donating money to cultural institutions can be perceived as an indication of the public and social security of the donor company, suggesting it was not established in order to grab excessive profits then self-destruct.

In the late 20th century, the term “sponsor” came into common usage in Russia. What is the difference between this and the traditional and somewhat forgotten term “patron”? The term Maecenate (a synonym for patronage) is derived from the name of Maecenas, a wealthy citizen of the Augustan age and patron of poets; similarly a patron is a person possessing power and wealth enough to provide protection and material support to artistic masters, or for any undertakings in artistic life. Patronage has been known since ancient times: kings, princes, churches, political rulers and bankers have all been important patrons. Noble and merchant patronage was of great importance for the development of the arts, museums and artistic crafts in Russia, especially in the late 19th-early 20th centuries. Well-known patrons of this time included P. M. and S. M. Tretyakovy, A. A. Bakhrushin, S. L. Mamontov, K. M. Tenisheva, S. I. and P. I. Shchukiny, and I. A. and M. A. Morozovy.

A sponsor is one who provides material support to the artists for the purpose of the self-promotion of the donor. This term has spread relatively recently; it is associated with modern life, since art patronage in the business world is considered to be good manners and good advertising. That is not to say that the phenomenon is new: in fact many powerful people became art patrons in earlier times to enhance their reputation or see their names captured by history, and this could also be called a kind of self-advertisement. However, in modern times this relationship is more direct. The tendency is usually natural and beneficial: on the one hand the sponsor helps the artist, and on the other hand, s/he gets a good reputation. The situation is more complicated when the negative reputation of sponsor impacts artist's reputation (and sometimes vice-versa).

Thus, these two terms are different by their definitions: a patron supports art out of the generosity of his/her heart, i.e. without expecting any return from the side of artist, while the sponsor helps his/her country and its people in return for advertising and beneficial cooperation;

nevertheless, the sponsor is often an inspired art lover. The sponsor expects profits in most cases, although this does not prevent him/her from being a connoisseur of art.¹⁶

While exploring the experience of charity, more attention should be paid to existing organisations and foundations established by:

- Individuals (for example, the Kress Foundation, Soros Foundation, Ford Foundation, Henry Moore Foundation, etc.);
- Social organisations (such as the Russian Cultural Foundation, International Foundation for Research in Art, World Monuments Fund, European Cultural Foundation, etc.);
- Corporations (for example the Coca-Cola Foundation, the Mitsubishi Corporation Fund, etc.).

The work of such organisations is based on the laws governing NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations) and the tax benefit system. Funds receive cash flows from donors, sponsors and the state (for specific programmes), as well as from their own commercial activities, and allocate the collected funds in the form of grant support. Currently, most non-profit organisations in the central part of Russia and a proportion of institutions in regional areas take part in charitable projects, and their number is constantly growing. Regardless of the answer to applications, the experience gained is positive.

Public authorities and sponsors usually allocate money not just to maintain the existence of cultural institution, but for the implementation of specific programmes. Attracting sponsorship money is a laborious and lengthy process. For this purpose, a programmatic approach is often used in Russia that allows coordination of the efforts of various partners and subcontractors.¹⁷

Any programme should be characterised by the following parameters (unless the grantor designates special requirements):

1. Statement and urgency of the problem underlying the need for the programme, i.e. showing how it is socially relevant;
2. Programme goals and objectives (goals should be achievable and results should be verifiable);
3. Methods and work plan of the project (for example, schedule of planned activities, the dates they will take place, and who the decision-makers will be);
4. The expected outcomes of the programme;
5. Reporting and evaluation;
6. Further development of the project and the prospects for its

¹⁶ Shlyakhtina 2005, p. 183.

¹⁷ Babkov 2002, p. 48.

financial stability (if applicable);

7. Budget/estimation of all costs required for the project (salaries, direct and indirect costs, etc.);

8. Summary of the qualifications of the project participants (biographical and professional data);

9. Background information about the organisation (copy of the charter, the financial report for the previous year, letters of support, publications about the organisation in the media).¹⁸

For the development of such programmes, it is often better to attract independent professionals who are well-versed in contemporary sociocultural processes, local customs and traditions and the specifics of the cultural institution. The success of any programme is primarily dependent on the funds collected for its implementation, therefore the solution to this problem involves intensive fundraising efforts.

Fundraising involves a complex of activities aimed at attracting funding from various sources for the implementation of non-profit projects. There are four types of funders attracted to participating in fundraising campaigns: state and international organisations (domestic and foreign), commercial organisations, the non-profit sector (charities) and individuals.

Researcher Y. P. Kulikova proposes several methods for classifying fundraising.¹⁹ Depending on the financial aim, project and operational fundraising can be distinguished from one another. In the first case, the funds collected are used for a specific project. Potential investors tend to treat this type of fundraising as preferable because the funds are spent on specific projects with clearly defined goals, objectives and expenditure. As a result, reporting is more understandable since each sum belongs to the work done. Although the question of profit in non-commercial projects is not the most significant one, project fundraising is nevertheless more suitable than other types for generating profits in the case of a successful project.

Operational fundraising is more complicated because it is not aimed at specific projects but the day-to-day running of an organisation (wages of employees, regular healthcare, the payment of rent for the premises, etc.). As a consequence, it is less formalised and therefore much less effective. Every investor wants to see what the funds are used for and the concrete results of their donation. On the other hand, the appeal of operational fundraising lies in the fact that the money is invested in long-term projects, functioning well into the future. In this case, the target of spending can be

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Kulikova 2012, p. 33.

easily verified and investment risk is reduced.²⁰

Another classification method suggests distinguishing between whether fundraising is implemented externally or internally. The first approach involves contracting special agencies (i.e. not using the cultural organisation's staff) to search for potential investors. The payment for such services can be assigned to operational fundraising, as a proportion of funds raised can go on salaries paid out by the non-profit organisation. In the case of internal fundraising, the non-profit organisation's own staff are responsible for seeking potential investors for specific projects (as well as for devising the projects).²¹

A positive example of the development and application of fundraising techniques is provided by the experiences of a municipal cultural institution, the Talmenskiy Local History Museum (Altai Territory, Russia). The museum staff won four grants of different amounts during the year 2013, including the President of the Russian Federation grant for projects of national significance in the sphere of culture, awarded for the project "Merry storyteller of darkness: Aleksandr Rou." The theme of the project was not random: in 1942-1943 the Soviet director and founder of the domestic fantasy genre, Aleksandr Rou, shot his film *The End of Koschey the Immortal* in the vicinity of the village Ozerki in Talmenskiy region, near Lake Bolshoe and the forest zone. The project "Merry storyteller of darkness: Aleksandr Rou" not only popularised the cinematic creativity of Alexander Rou, but also generated interest in Russian folklore heritage and respect for its material and spiritual wealth amongst a diverse public.

At the turn of the 21st century, Russian cultural institutions began to receive more opportunities to raise funds for their maintenance and for implementation of various projects, but often this has not been enough. The new market orientation of cultural organisations requires a new approach to marketing and advertising in the field of culture. To create this marketing strategy, organisations need to undertake comprehensive and in-depth sociocultural research. Good managers should use different sources of information and creative approaches to launch and sell cultural products on the market. According to the director of the Institute of Theatre, Film, Radio and TV (Belgrade), Professor M. Dragichevich-Sheshich,²² there are several marketing-oriented stages to the preparation of cultural programmes.

The first is market research. The purpose of research should be identification of the actual and potential audience, their lifestyles, values and

²⁰ Ibid., p. 34.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Dragichevich-Sheshich 2002, p. 4.

interests. Besides the audience's cultural needs and level of cultural development, the marketing manager should pay attention to the main features of individual and group motivation. When s/he has determined at what point and how a person or group of people become motivated, s/he has the content for the upcoming advertising and marketing campaign. Managers must establish, then skilfully use the needs and motivations of the public, for example, exploiting "snobbish" motives to visit cultural programmes, or following current trends, based on the desire to keep up with the times, to live in harmony with nature, or to get "back to basics."²³

The second stage is the definition of the overall marketing concept (the content, purpose and spirit of the advertising campaign). One of the misconceptions common to cultural and art spheres is that only educated people with well-developed cultural interests will be interested in art and cultural products; indeed, most advertising messages are directed in accordance with these views. However, advertising will be more effective if it is addressed to a wider range of people, if it attempts to attract new social groups to cultural life.

The third stage is defining the strategy of the advertising campaign. Once the concept is defined, the manager selects the appropriate forms of advertising, depending on the population s/he is targeting the most. In most cases, s/he should rely on print and broadcast media, enlisting professionals to prepare advertisements for newspapers, TV and radio. However, if s/he is addressing advertising to any particular group, using additional forms of targeted promotion such as press conferences, distribution of booklets and catalogues, mailing, etc. is desirable. Posters, tickets or booklets should reflect the characteristics of the cultural organisation: an organisation's image is mainly dependent on the quality and type of its programmes. To make an organisation's image clear and recognisable, it is necessary to adopt it across the entire public face of the organisation, through information, advertising and concerted actions.

The fourth stage is implementation of the plan, the general readying of the institution, its programmes, products and all available means of advertising. The plan should include a PR programme (unpaid advertising), as well as press conferences, presentations and the necessary contacts.

The fifth stage is the use of advertising (public announcement of a product or programme). Public advertising should have its own strategy; the manager must choose the most opportune moment for the launch of the campaign (commercials, adverts in newspapers, etc.), as well as the most appropriate form of advertising. Although a degree of mystery, reticence or enticingly incomplete information in the advertising campaign can help

²³ Ibid.

promotions at this stage, the critical characteristics of any kind of advertising remain clarity, accuracy and completeness of the information transmitted.

The final phase is giving informative presentations and running the planned advertising campaign. At this stage it is necessary to continue to use of all types of advertising and implement the PR plan through conferences, exhibitions, performances, using all possible presentation methods and techniques.²⁴

In modern society, cultural institutions should consider marketing as a necessary mechanism for their development; and in the hope that someday the cultural sphere will be one of the main priorities of state policy, they should seek new means of extra-budgetary funding and make efforts to ensure their own survival and prosperity.

Conclusions

1. Currently, the Russian sources of funding for cultural organisations are divided into budget (state) and non-budget (non-state).

2. The ratio of state to private funding in cultural organisations' budget is variable, depending upon the priorities of state cultural policy, the institution's history of private philanthropy and sponsorship, tax laws and the economic efficiency of the organisation. For the most effective running of an institution, all of these components should be equal.

3. The development of private sponsorship and charitable donation income streams is in a formative stage in Russia. As things stand today, there is not enough information on those who are ready to sponsor or give charitable support to culture organisations, while patrons often have a poor idea of who needs their help. Both sides require up-to-date, systematised information about each other so that they can identify potential partners and establish the necessary contacts.

Prospects for further research into the financial sources available to cultural institutions could include expanding the territorial parameters of the present study, and including the experience of cultural organisations that are already active in terms of applying fundraising techniques.

²⁴ Ibid.

Sources of Funding for Cultural Institutions in Russia at the Turn of 21st Century

(Abstract)

This article discusses the urgent problem of financing of cultural institutions in Russia. The last decades of the 20th century and early years of the 21st century turned out to be a period of profound economic problems in the sphere of culture and art. A reduction in state funding has affected cultural institutions regardless of their departmental and territorial jurisdiction. New lifestyles have brought forgotten traditional approaches - such as patronage charity, philanthropy - to the cultural sphere, as well as introducing new concepts like subsidies, sponsorship, management, marketing, fundraising and public relations. The research objective of this study is to explore sources of financing for cultural institutions in Russia at the turn of the 21st century. Practices in certain cultural institutions in Altai territory are offered as an example of how successful the application of modern fundraising techniques can be.

The article concludes that:

1. Currently, Russian sources of funding for cultural organisations are divided into budget (state) and non-budget (non-state).

2. The ratio of state to private funding in cultural organisations' budget is variable, depending upon the priorities of state cultural policy, the institution's history of private philanthropy and sponsorship, tax laws, and the economic efficiency of the organisation. For the most effective running of an institution, all of these components should be equal.

3. The development of private sponsorship and charitable donation income streams is in a formative stage in Russia. As things stand today, there is not enough information on those who are ready to sponsor or give charitable support to culture organisations, while patrons often have a poor idea of who needs their help. Both sides require up-to-date, systematised information about each other so that they can identify potential partners and establish the necessary contacts.

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Keywords: subsidies, patronage, management, marketing, fundraising, public relations, sponsorship, charity, philanthropy, grants.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

ETHNOCULTURAL TRADITIONS AS A BASIS OF NATIONAL ORIGINALITY OF SCHOOLS OF ART

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The problem of the originality of national schools of art is one of the fundamental questions, not only in art history but also in artistic practice, because its solution allows determination of the type of artistic phenomenon and, as a result, the source of idiosyncrasies in the school's creative method and style.

In the terminology of art, a "school" (from Greek and Latin *skholē* - leisure, occupation, reading, conversation) is defined as "a long-term artistic unity, continuity of traditions, principles and methods."¹ In art history, this term carries multi-levelled meanings, but it always underlines commonality, alongside uniqueness and originality. The term may be applied, firstly, to the art of a country; secondly, to the art of a particular geographical area or city, (in cases where it is marked by the obvious originality of features) within the limits of definite chronological boundaries; thirdly, to a group of painters similar in their creative position; or fourthly, to a group of students or disciples of a master.²

The first attempts to classify schools according to their type can be traced back to antiquity. Such classifications developed further, particularly in the art history of the Renaissance epoch, for instance, in the application of terms such as "the Sieneese School,"³ "the Florentine School," "the Venetian school," and so on. As applied to the art of the 19th century, a broader, national application of the term came to prevail, for instance, "the Russian School."⁴ National art history of the 20th century interprets the school of art as a category of historical-artistic process which, being localised in time and space in accordance with chronological, territorial and

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¹ Kantor 1997, p. 691.

² Ibid.

³ The Sieneese school: a school of Italian painting, Italy.

⁴ Nekhvyadovich 2009, p. 97.

geographical principles, finds reflection in national (regional) art.⁵ According to T. M. Stepanskaya, the basic features of the Russian School of easel painting are: the presence of common motifs; the stability of compositional schemes; the common character of coloristic developments; the relatedness of textural developments; the presence of facts of mastering general motifs in aquarelle, lithography and linoleum engraving; and also the significant role of landscape painting as a spiritual constituent of the picture.⁶ In this regard, the significance of artistic traditions and their role in developing the artistic canon is great, as such traditions are smoothly absorbed into the systems of the school itself offering, on the one hand, their unique characteristics and a way in to the study of the school's national idiosyncrasies and, on the other, their particular ethnocultural memory.⁷

The term "Russian style" is used in native art studies to describe the creative works of masters who draw upon traditions from Russian national art. The notions "Russian," "Russian tradition" and "national identity" are connected with native Russian artistic traditions, reflecting the originality of sources from within Russian culture.⁸ There is a theory that the originality of the Russian School arises from the mutual influence of two spatial-temporal models: the archaic-mythological or folklore model and the national-spatial model.⁹

The archaic-mythological (folklore) model is characterised by its connection with Slavonic pagan mythological traditions.¹⁰ Material for its reconstruction is provided by the analysis of folkloric works and the study of the more archaic and stable images in Russian decorative and applied arts. The national-spatial model of the world arises within the context of two influences. Firstly, there is the influence of natural-geographical factors (character of the landscape, typical climate, hours of daylight, local flora, etc.) which form not only the subject matter but also a number of archetypical images and, consequently, shape the worldview of Russian painters. Secondly, there are historical-ethnographical factors (specific location within the territory, population density, prior types of labour activity, threatening factors relating to the survival of the artist's ethnos). Essentially, the author of this theory, E. S. Medkova, insists on the role of ethnocultural tradition as a source of the national distinctiveness of the Russian School.¹¹

⁵ Vlasov 1998, p. 599.

⁶ Stepanskaya, Melehova 2013, p. 87-93.

⁷ Nekhvyadovich 2009, p. 97.

⁸ Kirichenko 1997, p. 8-10.

⁹ Medkova 2009, p. 113.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

V. M. Petrov, an expert in fine arts, offers a hypothesis regarding the role of geographical space: where different national cultures function, individual styles of each national school arise.¹² He suggests that the particular preferences of the Russian School have their roots in geographical circumstances, and their distinctiveness is determined according to the prevalent national “light-colour model.” The “light-colour model” is based on the concept that sunlight occupies a central position in the system of humanity’s visual life. With regards to local peculiarities of sunlight, Russia is a northern domain, whose light-colour model is characterised by diffuse solar rays; consequently, its model tends towards the use of white. The Russian school, in the opinion of investigators, can be characterised by the trinity of white, red and green.¹³ In the authors’ opinion, art in practice prevents the literal confirmation of this hypothesis, as artists’ interpretation of the surrounding world is characterised by variety and individuality of perception, creative method and style.

Historical circumstances prevented it from becoming the leading artistic idea of the epoch and creating a stable and mature tradition. As well as everyday themes, the emerging Russian genre painting was also characterised by a diversity of narrative material and a search for stylistic individuality. Y. V. Bruk states that the “genre issue in Russian art is a problem of art seeking a way into national life.”¹⁴ This was reflected in genre paintings of the mid-18th century: in pictures of Russian life, the “costume tableaux”¹⁵ of J. Le Prince, the depiction of Moscow streets by J. Develi, national portraits and “heads”¹⁶ by P. Rotari, and sketches of Russian peasants by A. Losenko. The second half of the 18th century saw efforts to distinguish the purely genre picture from other types, thus around this time the first examples of Russian genre painting appear. In 1770, the Academy of Arts started a “homework” class.

Two of M. Shibanov’s works, *The Peasant Dinner* (1774) and *The Celebration of the Wedding Contract* (1777), are considered to represent the origin of ethnographical themes in Russian genre painting. The pictures are held by the State Tretyakov Gallery.¹⁷ Let us consider the composition of

¹² Petrov 2004, p. 32.

¹³ Ibid., p. 32-34.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 32-34.

¹⁶ Bruk 1990, p. 231.

¹⁷ Costume tableau: a theme in Russian fine art of the 18th-first half of the 19th century.

¹⁸ The head: a type of small picture, where young girls, women and youths are depicted as far down as the shoulder or breast.

¹⁹ The State Tretyakov Gallery: A Federal State Budgetary Cultural Institution “All-Russian Museum Association *The State Tretyakov Gallery*” (STG), Moscow, Russia.

the picture *The Peasant Dinner*. We see the scene, full of inner significance and almost ritual solemnity. An old woman puts a dish of food on the table with gravity, whilst a young peasant is cutting the bread. His soft glance is turned to his wife, who has taken off her quilted jacket, and is gazing admiringly at her child. There is a feeling that she attracts him with her careful movements. Her face is lit with the expression of motherliness and hidden sadness. This barely perceptible expression, subtle, coming from eyes, adds to the heroine's spirituality. Essentially, in this picture, Shibanov conveys the poetry of peasant life and, at the same time, its hidden sadness.

The figures are depicted full-sized; they are placed in a group, close to each other. The action comes to the foreground. There is magnanimity in the position of the figures, in their calm actions. The location of the figures is subject to the rules of circular composition: the lines of silhouettes repeat each other, connecting individual figures to an organic whole. The detailed depictions of ordinary items such as a bowl food, a loaf of brown bread and the icon in the corner are attributes personifying the fundamental principles of peasant life. The graphic structure of the picture, the balance of colours in red-brown and golden-pink shades conjure thoughts of Russian ethnocultural traditions as a possible source of inspiration for the Russian master.

An ethnographical approach is also evident in Shibanov's *Celebration of the Wedding Contract*. The authors specifically highlight this picture from amongst all the artistic heritage of the 18th century for the way in which it demonstrates the painter's interest in depicting scenes from peasant life, underlining the peculiarities of everyday life typical of that district. The precision with which the costumes and headgear worn by Suzdalian peasant women are depicted, not to mention the detail in the embroidered motifs of the bride's dress, follows from this.

The picture's compositional structure has the following features: the location of figures is symmetrical with the main figures - the bridal pair - in the centre; they are emphasised by light and colour, in full accordance with academic rules. Seated male figures on the right and left denote the foreground, while a woman in a smart kokoshnik (decorative head-dress) is placed behind the young pair. The compositional and colouristic layout indicates the impact of the principles of historical painting. Y. V. Bruk correlates this phenomenon with general tendencies in Russian artistic culture:

"In their drive for authenticity, the Shibanov's pictures find their place in the range of such phenomena of Russian culture in 1779 as the first collections of national songs; the first 'dictionaries' and 'lexicons' providing

descriptions of folk festivals, plays, legends and superstitions; [and] the first comic operas, where vernaculars and dialects are used.”¹⁸

Art historians of the 19th century agree that Russian genre painting begins with the works of A. G. Venetsianov (1780-1847).¹⁹ The novelty of their ethnographical narrative and the originality of their artistic manner ensured the persistent significance of these works for many decades to come; indeed, they are seen as defining the national originality of the Russian School. Russian genre painting is seen as a variant of the peasant genre. In Russian genre painting, peasant scenes are accompanied by nature, set against a background depicting the landscape. The fine art expert M. Allenova characterises the value of Venetsianov’s artistic heritage, writing:

“Through his works, Russian art attained its picturesque language, its patterns of rhythm and colour, where not only the ‘face’ was expressed, but also the character, ‘the soul’ of Russian nature - the plain rural landscape of the Russian interior with a dim high sky, long soft lines [and] the melancholic colour of a monotonous desolate vastness.”²⁰

Canvases of the artist such as *In the Field: Spring* (1820), *During Harvesting: Summer* (1820), *The Soldier’s Return* (1830) and *Zakharka* (1825), testify to this.

The determination of nationalist issues resulted in the development of national-historical painting in the Russian fine art of the mid-19th century.²¹ This theme was vividly expressed in the arts of historical and genre painting, which were closely interrelated. National-historical narratives were subject to significant change, but one that remained constant over a long period of time was the connection of historical themes with modernity. As the art historian, A. Benois, states, “Historicism, as if embedded in modernity, became the internal property of art, overcoming genre boundaries.”²²

In the second half of the 19th century, the development of the Russian School took place under conditions of the formation of a national identity and the search for a new, personal identity by the Russian man; a movement which found personification in images of Russian nature. In academic literature, there is no definitive agreement on either the chronological boundaries of the Russian landscape painting tradition or the content of this genre. Among the variety of viewpoints, the fundamental one is the comparative-historical concept, developed by A. A. Fedorov-Davydov,²³ F. S. Maltseva,²⁴ V. S. Manin²⁵ and V. A. Lenyashin.²⁶ Defining the

¹⁸ Bruk 1990, p. 231.

¹⁹ Yakovleva 2005, p. 13.

²⁰ Allenova 2008, p. 100.

²¹ Yakovleva 2005, p. 17.

²² Benua 1998, p. 33.

²³ Fedorov-Davydov 1986.

²⁴ Maltseva 1952.

chronological frame, these academics state that Russian landscape painting existed as an independent genre from the 18th century, but its original national character formed gradually during the 19th century, and it was not until the second half of the 19th century that a mature school of Russian landscape painting began to develop, in which national artistic traditions were manifested in the depiction of nature. The artistic canon which forms this school has a particular dynamic. However, in its semantic, historical-typological and stylistic aspects, it is defined by certain limits, conditioned by historical-ethnographic and geographical factors. The beginning and peak of the Russian school of landscape painting is represented by the creativity of the Itinerants (Peredvizhniki) of the second half of the 19th century, such as A. K. Savrasov, I. I. Shishkin, V. A. Vasilyev, V. D. Polenov, I. I. Levitan and A. I. Kuindzhy. This was a period of intense development of the Russian style of landscape painting; it became a dominant genre within the fine arts of Russia and a central example of artistic integrity, a way to express not only aesthetic, but also social, moral, civil, patriotic, philosophical and religious ideas.

According to Russian academic tradition, realism, as a creative method, constitutes the conceptual basis of Russian landscape painting and determines its style, the range of themes and motifs, and the artistic means of expression. With regards to artistic content, the typical general feature is the use of motifs of the natural landscape of provincial Russia. Epic context is conveyed through the depiction of forest areas, boundless plains, roads and large expanses of water. The views of Russian villages are lyrical, as well as the paths covered with snow, forest edges and small pools; sunny mornings or midday scenes - transient states of nature - convey the feeling of tranquillity. The lyrical style of Russian landscape painting initiated by A. K. Savrasov was developed to its highest peak in the creative works of I. I. Levitan and K. A. Korovin, the masters of the Russian Painters' Union; the epic style grew out of the creative work of I. I. Shishkin, A. F. Vasnetsov and others.

As an example, let us consider the variety of artistic approaches to the World Tree image. In the creative work of I. I. Shishkin, this image occurs through motifs of forests of conifers (fir, pine) and deciduous woods. Published recollections of his contemporaries testify that, "Shishkin was a phenomenal expert in and lover of the forest. He knew the anatomy of different species of trees perfectly."²⁷ The work *Oak Wood* (1887) offers a deep sense of the oaks as a symbol of immortality and endurance; they are

²⁵ Manin 2000.

²⁶ Lenyashin 1985.

²⁷ Allenova 2008, p. 367.

similar to strong, wise old men, with young trees nearby, approaching them. The image of the World Tree appears here in genealogical divisions: from the forefathers to the current generation to the descendants (temporal sphere). Another variant of such interactions can be found in canvases where the dominant motif is of pines, a symbol of inviolability and long life, for instance, *Pine Forest: Mast Timber* (1872), *Pine Forest* (1885), *A Morning in the Pine Forest* (1889) and *A Pine* (1892). As a formal principle in his works, the painter uses features of Russian realist landscape painting: mytho-poetic imagery, monumentality, panoramic characteristics, planned nature, precision of detail, light-and-dark modelling, line and silhouette. Shishkin's forest landscapes offer a stable and majestic worldview.

The World Tree motif is also a conceptual constant of the landscapes of A. K. Savrasov. The picture *The Rooks Come Flying* (1871) presents the author's artistic reconstruction of this archetype: the trees join different levels of the world order, but are connected by means of the birds. The creative work of I. I. Levitan illustrates another angle in the interpretation of the tree motif. In his lyrical landscapes *Birchwood* (1885-1889) and *Over the Eternal Peace* (1894), realistic motifs of nature present a special world of complex mood. Ethnocultural motifs help the author to create a national colour and to deepen the ethnopsychological constituent of images. A striving for monumentality and epicism in landscape painting was dictated by the character of the Russian nationalist ethos, as well as the academic principles of the Russian School.

A particular feature of the artistic imagery of Russian realist landscape painting is the depiction of depth: a three-dimensional system of spatial composition is the one of the tradition's most stable aspects. The foreground, as a rule, is more energetic in terms of the colour, contrast, detail and depth of objects. Further back, the characteristics of objects become less prominent. They become softened by air and light. Moving away from the viewer, objects lose their depth; their colours become less intense, acquiring the shades of atmospheric mist.

Another consistent feature of Russian landscape painting is the tradition of reproducing the colours of natural objects, taking into consideration their tonal relationships and state of illumination. The tradition is pictorial, based on the conditions of nature, out in the open air. One major artistic contribution by Russian landscape painters lies in their development of techniques for tonal painting. Two types of tonal colouring were developed: dramatic, based on the contrast between light and shadow; and colour-based, utilising the contrast between colour tones. The main tendency of open-air transformations in Russian painting of the period from 1880 to 1890 was the move towards a life-like, three-dimensional environment, which was reflected in the formation of the

decorative tradition (A. I. Kuindzhy). In the composition of such landscape paintings, colour saturation was deepened in order to underline the conceptual accent and increase the emotional resonance of the artistic image.

Painting technique is another important aspect of the Russian landscape painting tradition; specifically, in the way the painter lays patches of colour onto the canvas. The main pictorial techniques of the Russian school of landscape painting were oil painting, watercolour, tempera and pastel drawing. The dominant artistic form was the picturesque landscape executed in an oil painting.

At the turn of 21st century, as the source of originality in Russian national artistic heritage again became an urgent problem, the phenomena of late 19th-early 20th century Russian art received renewed academic interest. If it is possible to juxtapose the facts of artistic life with the features of this epochal period, then the crisis in structure can be described as being connected to changes in the way of thinking, to the transition to a new philosophical model of perception of the world, to new images of man and the world. Historians of art note that for the (then) modern artistic image, an integral philosophical-aesthetic concept was required, based on which new artistic devices could be developed. Striving to create a national artistic style had become the main direction for painters by the end of the 19th century. This became the modern or new style in Russia.²⁸

In the search for a national style, the painters of the late 19th-early 20th century looked to the ethnocultural heritage of Ancient Rus. In their artistic interpretation of Russian ethnocultural traditions, art historians distinguish three stages: 1. folklore-realistic (1880s-1890s); 2. decorative-stylised (end of the 1890s - mid-1900s [decade]); 3. retropectivism (mid-1900s to mid-1910s). It should be noted that due to the large volume of extant material on this topic, the authors have limited themselves to the most typical examples which demonstrate the general concepts and typical features of the Russian School.

The activities of the Abramtsevsky Colony (1878) played a significant role in the actualisation of Russian ethnocultural traditions in art. At different times, A. M. Vasnetsov, M. V. Vrubel, K. A. Korovin, I. I. Levitan and others were all members of this club. The activity of these painters was connected to the renewal of folk crafts and the search for a national style. The artists connected folklore with the enrichment of realism and the revision of genres with fine art. The researcher V. I. Plotnikov in his monograph *Folklore and Russian Fine Arts in the Second Half of the 19th Century*

²⁸ Neklyudova 1991, p. 37-55.

distinguished two directions in the activity of the club: 1. national-folklore; 2. landscape-open-air.²⁹

The analysis of Russian fine art around the turn of the 20th century makes it possible to distinguish ethnocultural archetypes and mythological images. In the perception of Russian painters, the landscape is the origin: it is given semantic meaning, imbued with numerous subtexts relating to vital topics of Russian thought in the spheres of philosophy, aesthetics, morality and artistic cognition of the world. V. M. Vasnetsov, N. K. Rerikh, I. I. Biblin, M. A. Vrubel and A. P. Ryabushkin added a new element to fine art through the selection and interpretation of ethnocultural material. Russian folklore became the main object for artistic presentation. Narratives and motifs such as the World Tree, stones, images of mythological birds, characters from fairy tales and epic heroes were depicted based on the principles of Russian realist painting. Alongside this, an improvisational element appeared more actively in the systems of artistic imagery which suited the character of national folklore. Thus, for instance, a motif of a stone, connected in ethnocultural tradition with the selection of a path, forms a semantic element of works such as *A Knight at the Crossroads* by V. M. Vasnetsov, *About Ivan Tsarevich*, *The Firebird* and *Big Bad Wolf* by I. Y. Biblin, *A Giant's Tomb* by N. K. Rerikh and *Sitting Demon* by M. A. Vrubel. Art critic S. K. Makovsky suggests that "in Vrubel's painting, there is something stony. Does his *Sitting Demon*, created in 1890, not appear from the chaos of monstrous stalactites?... Is Vrubel's "Pan" not carved from stone ten years later ...? Vrubel's "Bogatyr" is the same: ... the horse appears as if sculpted from a primitive block."³⁰ The image of sacred stone also appears in the N. K. Rerikh's painting *The Treasures of Angels* (1905). The spatial composition of this work is reminiscent of icon-painting: the sacred stone is depicted at the base of the picture, on earth, and the figure of the Angel is located near it; rows of angels stand in the central part of the composition with trees full of mythical birds rising above them; the top layer is taken by New Jerusalem with its white-stone walls. The play of light and shadow on the sacred stone, angels' wings, and tops of trees is communicated through the contrast of golden and emerald hues. In its entirety, the compositional structure of N. K. Rerikh's canvas is aimed at revealing the symbolic content of the image, as is further proved by examining his other works *Ilya of Murom*, *The Holy Procopius who is Praying for the Unknown*, *Floating Everlasting Expectation*.

The motifs of sun, birth, roads and the cycles of nature are applied as symbols-signs in the creative works of the Russian Symbolist painters.

²⁹ Plotnikov 1987, p. 39.

³⁰ Makovsky 1999, p. 82.

Metaphorical and associative approaches appear in folkloric pictures by M. A. Vrubel (*Tsarevna Volkhova*) and V. M. Vasnetsov (*Three Tsarevnas of the Underworld*, *Sirin* and *Alkonost*). A comparative analysis of these pieces with the works of I. I. Shishkin and I. I. Levitan shows that the conventional-ornamental form, as distinct from artistic realism oriented towards three-dimensional space, corresponds more closely to the symbolic content of modern art. It should be mentioned that in V. M. Vasnetsov's works *Sirin* and *Alkonost*, *The Song of Joy and Sadness* (1896) and *Gamayun* (1898), the dominant motif is that of mythological birds. In Russian ecclesiastical poems, the sirin is a bird-maiden who comes to earth from heaven and fascinates people with her singing. In Slavonic mythology, the sirin is a wondrous bird who drives away sorrow and grief. The gamayun in Russian folklore is a prophetic bird that can speak. Its name comes from "gam" or "cam," which is also the root of the words "quack" and "shaman." In Old Russian tradition, Gamayun served Volos and Kolyada. V. M. Vasnetsov is considered in art history to be one of the most important representatives of the national-folklore movement, having had significant impact on the development of fairytale-mythological themes in Russian art.³¹ Further evidence for this is provided by the artist's programmatic pieces *After the Battle of Igor Svyatoslavovich with Cumans* (1880), *Flying-Carpet* (1880) and *A Knight at the Cross-Road* (1882). The image of the bogatyr appears in Vrubel's work *Bogatyr* (1898). The motif of epic peace is stated in the picture. The painter selects artistic devices relevant to this narrative, striving for simplification of form and a close-up, immensity of figure.

A mythologem of femininity became a regular feature of Russian painting of this period. In these creative works, special place was given to female characters of a fantastical or fairytale nature: princesses, snow maidens, mermaids and nymphs. In Russian ethnocultural tradition, the female figure was connected with the image of motherland and cultic-magic pictures of Tellus and Bereginya were traditionally used in folk art. The nature of the soul and the originality of the Russian nation were revealed in the anthropomorphising of the image of the Motherland, the native land in its historical perception, into female form as seen, for instance, in Vasnetsov's *Alenushka*, *Three Tsarevnas of the Underworld* and *The Snow Maiden*. The image of the Russian land is revealed through the image of women in works by M. Nesterov, M. Vrubel, N. Rerikh and K. Petrov-Vodkin.

The influence of ornamental devices from the traditions of amateur and folk arts was also brought to bear on professional artistic forms of painting and graphics. Examples of this can be seen in the works of A. P. Ryabushkin and F. A. Malyavin, where the arabesques and brilliant colours

³¹ Plotnikov 1987, p. 39.

found in the decoration of traditional clothes and furniture are depicted, bridging the gap between fine art and the ornamental forms found in folk art. In the works of A. P. Ryabushkin (1861-1904), the main narrative subject is of ceremonial events (round dances, Russian holidays). The bearers of “historicity” in these works are national costumes and objects in the environment, reconstructed with authentic precision. E. I. Kirichenko, analysing the creative method of the painter, states, that “the ideal of beauty of Ryabushkin is inseparable from the ideal representation of Russia, is the most logically expressed in female images.”³² There is no direct appeal to Russian ethnocultural tradition in the creative work of the painter, but its influence transforms the artistic-imagery system of his paintings: he works with pure colours, avoids the three-dimensional interpretation of forms, and strives for ornamentality of colour and delicacy in the lines of figures and objects, as seen in *Russian Women of the 17th Century in Church* (1899), *Moscow Woman of the 17th Century* and *Northern Idyll* (1888).

Ethnocultural sources also provide the basis for the artistic imagery of paintings by F. A. Malyavin (1869-1940), as E. I. Kirichenko writes:

“He is considered in art history to be a painter of peasant themes ... The images of peasant women become a symbol and the personification of everything Russian for Malyavin.”³³

This can be seen, for instance, in *Two Maids*, *A Peasant Woman* and *The Singing Peasants*.

In the Russian art of the period under consideration, ethnocultural traditions are of great significance; their source is the artistic heritage of Ancient Rus. Examples of this can be found in the creative methods of N. S. Goncharova and E. V. Tatlin (1885-1953). N. S. Goncharova’s idiosyncratic approach is most vividly demonstrated in *The Mystic Images of War* (1914). Fine art expert N. Guryanova describes this cycle as a unique phenomenon of artistic expression for which it is difficult to find a direct analogue not only in Russian and Occidental art, but also in the work of the master who created it.³⁴ In this graphical series, the painter unites novelty with strong influences from Russian ethnocultural traditions. Firstly, Goncharova provides a generalised image of battle; secondly, the composition of the cycle is built on the collision of sequential and simultaneous effects; thirdly, it directly appeals to the traditions of bast books, based on the principle of symmetry, and actively using the devices of citation and pastiche.

³² Kirichenko 1997, p. 383.

³³ Ibid., p. 384.

³⁴ Guryanova 1989, p. 63.

A tendency to draw upon Russian popular prints and folk art is demonstrated in much Russian art of the 20th century. The development of this tendency was connected with the desire to create an original national style. To demonstrate this, the works of painters such as E. Strulev, N. Nesterova, V. Sumarev, A. Ishin may be cited.

The consolidation of the role of ethnocultural traditions in art is also found in the creative output of the Vladimir School of Landscape Painting. A central movement in visual arts, the Vladimir School originated with the creative work of V. Y. Yukin (1920), K. N. Britov (1925) and V. G. Kokurin (1924). The nature of Mstera town³⁵ and Akinshino village³⁶ in the Vladimir Region³⁷ formed the subject-matter for these landscape painters, who created a new artistic language, characterised by a wide range of expressive means and support from Russian ethnocultural traditions. In other words, the source of the style of this school of landscape painting was nature and folk art. The creative methods of these artists were based on the principles of ornamental painting, incorporating stylistic features of folk art into the image-bearing system of professional fine art.

As a Russian artistic community, the Vladimir School of Landscape Painting existed up until the beginning of the 1980s. However, in the second half of that decade, fine art expert O. N. Nikulina, analysing materials in exhibitions, noted the artists had broken away from the idea of collectivity.³⁸ The value of the Vladimir School was not limited by the results of the artistic works of individual members. Much as with other artistic associations, the Vladimir School foreshadowed changes in Russian art of the turn of the 21st century, namely, an appeal to the ethnocultural traditions of the artist's own region. In this period, other associations with similar aims were being formed in Moscow, the Volga Region, the Far East³⁹ and Siberia. All these regional schools, distinct in their character and composition, breadth of activity and significance to the history of Russian art, had a similar social-cultural meaning: they were considered workshops of the regional style.

Thus, the artistic school is a relevant source of information for the study of ethno-art. Its originality arises from the historical conditions that

³⁵ Mstera: an urban settlement in Vyaznikov District, Vladimir Administrative Division, Russia.

³⁶ Akinshino: a village in Novomoskovsk Administrative Division, Moscow, Russia.

³⁷ The Vladimir Region: part of the Central Federal District of the Russian Federation.

³⁸ Nikulina 1987, p. 45.

³⁹ The Far East: the Eastern part of Russia, including the regions of river basins running into the Pacific Ocean, as well as Sakhalin Island, Kuril Islands, Wrangel Island and Komandorskie and Shantarskie Islands.

led to the formation of an ethnically-oriented mentality, from a complex interweaving of worldviews which have their base in local traditions, united in the formal-content and image-bearing structure of its artworks. The consideration of all these factors in combination is necessary to understand the source of originality in local art schools from the broader perspective of the history of art.

The use of ethnocultural traditions in the fine art of the turn of the 21st century is connected with the processes of globalisation, localisation and decentralisation. The transformation of the cultural context in which national identity is formed determined the nature of expressions of ethnicity found in Russian art: at first we see the non-purposeful manifestation of local influences based on the artist's own psychological basis in ethnocultural traditions; then comes conscious confirmation of ethnic origin, introducing a programmatic character to their works. This tendency highlights the need for further study of this subject.

Ethnocultural Traditions as a Basis of National Originality of Schools of Art

(Abstract)

In contemporary art, the problems of historical roots, ethnic and cultural identity, and intercultural dialogue are very relevant. Ethno-cultural traditions are naturally a part of the formation of schools of art; they contribute to their characteristics and provide a way to look at the school's national identity.

This article aims to define the role of ethnic and cultural traditions in shaping the ethnocultural identity of Russian schools of art, based on the works of Russian artists.

Its findings are as follows:

1. A school of art is a historically-constituted, stable community of artists, characterised by a common ideology, principles of creative method, and style.
2. Ethnocultural traditions represent a mechanism for the conservation, development and broadcast of the ethnocultural experience of the people and their values, created in the process of historical development.
3. The uniqueness of the natural and geographical environment; the common historical past of ethnic groups; the multiethnic and multi-religious character of images from mythology, folklore, arts and crafts; and creative method as a set of principles reflecting the ethnic worldview are all part of creating the ethnocultural uniqueness of the Russian School of art.
4. The Russian School of art is unique, valuable in itself and yet international; it is a part of world heritage, presented through the "cultural codes" of Russia. Its continuity manifests in the inheritance and preservation of ethnocultural traditions, artistic and aesthetic ideas and the principles of realistic painting.

With the development of globalisation, which proclaims the equality of all the traditions of the multi-faceted world, this topic has significant research potential. The results of this study suggest the direction of further theoretical and methodological questions regarding the relationship of ethnos and art, such as exploring the degree of

influence ethnocultural traditions have on the formation of the creative methods and styles of national schools.

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Yakovleva 2005

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Keywords: school, national originality, style, ethnocultural tradition, Russian art school.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijskij na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

RECEPTION OF THE ICARUS MYTH IN THE MASS ART OF THE LATE 20TH-21ST CENTURY

Evgeny Aleksandrovich CHIGLINTSEV*

One of the most important fields of research in modern historical science is a focused analysis of the public demand for reception of the historical past and the study of creative practices through exploration of how past social and cultural realities are understood in the modern world. A significant topic in this field deals with modern socio-cultural reality as a construct that embodies the synthesis of social needs in accessing the historical past and the representations of historical experience, historical phenomena and images of historical figures. Through this approach, the reception of the past can be treated as a way of updating, interpreting and representing historical experience, traditions and national mythology in the form of social presentations for modern society.

In the second half of the 20th century, the humanities and social sciences started to adopt, along with the term “notion,” such definitions as “group,” “mass” and “social”; now “from the standpoint of sociology and social psychology, researchers use this term [notion] as a synonym for ‘knowledge,’ i.e. socially objectified ‘opinions.’”¹ However, these opinions are formed from individual representations. The need for a shift in the perception of past periods in time - not just at the level of the individual self-interest of the creative artist but taking into account broader socio-cultural practices and social needs - has become apparent within the frame of the study of social-historical consciousness.²

To understand the relationship of the individual and society in shaping perceptions of the past, the position expressed by Wojtzech Vzhozek on developing within the “new historical science” a social history of culture as a method of learning past has become fundamental. Vzhozek uses the concept “social-subjective” as opposed to “subjective individual” as a way to understand the historical situation of the past. This allows the researcher to somehow decrypt the “mysterious dialectic” linking the

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¹ Savelyeva, Poletayev 2008, p. 35.

² Repina 1996, p. 35.

consciousness of the individual to the collective consciousness.³ John Tosh also expresses solidarity with this approach, proposing that the interpretation of history is formed with the help of social rather than personal experience. Since social values are changing, consequently the interpretation of history is becoming the subject of constant re-evaluation.⁴

One of the most popular periods for representation in the history of mankind is the period of classical antiquity, in which societies with European cultural roots began to take an interest during the Middle Ages and have not ceased to do so up to the present day. This can be seen clearly from analysing the reception of antiquity through the example of a particular culture formation - the European cultural and historical community - chronologically belonging to the period from the end of the 19th-beginning of the 21st century. Firstly, it combines traditional and innovative approaches to antiquity; secondly, it connects classical, modern and post-modern cultures; thirdly, it includes both academic and mass culture; and fourthly, it shows the possibility of the harmonious co-existence of the national and the universal under the conditions of cultural globalisation.

In modern society, mass culture targeting the broad strata of consumers plays a special role in the representation of ancient heritage. Any product of mass culture based on the representation of antiquity plays the role of a social message. At the same time antiquity, as a general, well-known cultural heritage of the past, has become a very common source of inspiration for contemporary directors, screenwriters, writers, visual artists and musicians. Specifically, those events, phenomena and characters whose images are updated through modern socio-cultural processes arouse the interest of the non-professionals. In this regard antiquity with its limited reserves of study-able source material and two-century-long tradition of research, thanks to which almost everything that is associated with modernity has been repeatedly analysed and proposed to society - becomes simply an invaluable field for the self-realisation of any individual.

In these multi-genre and stylistically different works, antiquity is split into a set of images; when real characters from antiquity are actively mythologised they lose their historical context, but each of them has their own semantic and semiotic content and a certain modern intellectual or cultural context.⁵

The creators of such works often focus on classical - especially Greek - myth among the myths of ancient heritage that are actively studied by

³ Vzhozek 1991, p. 72.

⁴ Tosh 2000, p. 164.

⁵ Chiglintsev 2009, p. 212-220, 240-241, 263, 284.

modern culture, including mass culture. However, the researcher often updates the hero of the sacred system of ancient mythology, in which case a sacred symbol is reinterpreted within the profane space. This symbol can be used for propaganda and ideological purposes. "Characters, interpreted through historical events form a system of symbols, mythology or ideology."⁶ With all the interweaving forms of social consciousness, especially in everyday situations, the differences between mythology and ideology are worth noting:

"In this case, the following distinction between mythology and ideology will be sufficient: mythology is a spontaneously formed symbolic universe of culture in any society whereas ideology is a system, constructed by intellectuals, of images and symbols."⁷

Images created within the mythological consciousness, associated with ideological attitudes and even acting as semantic "fillers" in classical mythology, are very viable in this regard; ethical ambivalence, which is quite typical for a modern society, in this respect completely coincides with the ancient approach to good and evil based on the mythological consciousness. All this is reflected in the development of modern antiquity-based art.

The goal of art is to help people to escape from a one-dimensional, monochromatic perception of the world, to endow the perception of depth and colour. However, the language of art is also the language of images and symbols. A. Losev once remarked:

"Our theorists ... theorise too little this vast symbolic sphere, which has its own history and has been becoming more and more complicated with each passing day."⁸

Further understanding and representation of these images and symbols requires great effort on the part of the creators as well as the public.⁹ In a study of the reception of ancient heritage and its representation in art, it is fundamentally important to understand the dialectic interaction of "symbol and image" on the one hand, and that of "symbol and sign" on the other. In terms of the "democratic turn,"¹⁰ when the research methods of classical reception studies are applied, it can be seen that modern mass culture receives from the hands of creative artists a more or less adequate representation of the events, artefacts and characters of antiquity, depending on the availability of sources, the depth of the creator's comprehension and the creativeness of their reinterpretation. One of the

⁶ Makarov 2001, p. 108.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Losev 1976, p. 320.

⁹ Hardwick 2010, p. 1-3.

¹⁰ Hardwick, Stray 2008, p. 5.

leading experts in the field of perceptual psychology, J. Bruner, indicates that “concepts exist in some environment,” and that events “can be presented in the form of images, in the form of words or in the form of any other symbols,” i.e. within “three spheres: the sphere of activity, the iconic sphere and the symbolic one” He continues:

“The perception of any event is selective: while constructing any model we include [the entire] volume of information regarding the subject. The criterion of selection is defined by the objectives of perception, meaning what we intend to do with selected information.”¹¹

Antiquity is actively used in a kind of a “war” of symbols, some of which simply exhaust themselves and disappear while others develop new content, the new dramatic tension required by the modern recipient, which has happened to mythical characters since the times of antiquity. Highly relevant to the present study are the images of the Minotaur and Prometheus. These are two specific historical and cultural symbols in the culture of the 20th century which exist in opposition to each other. Prometheus is the defender of mankind who steals fire for the sake of people and is eternally punished (the image of Prometheus Bound is analogous to the crucified Christ) but is, in the end, the “winner.” This symbol represents evidence of the triumph of the human in the 20th century. The Minotaur is fierce, swift and unpredictable, but he always dies. Artists of the twentieth century gave the beast a new meaning: the Minotaur symbolises time. Through “killing” the Minotaur, a person can realise illusory nature of his own greatness, knowing the closeness of time and his own nature to the defeated “monster.” Sometimes the Minotaur looks more humane, and his fate is more interesting than the exalted image of Prometheus.¹²

Among the characters of modern relevance with roots in ancient heritage is Icarus, a character from Greek myth, whose symbolic importance has grown massively in both academia and the mass art of the 20th century. His image has “always been capable of assuming new shapes and answering new needs; and by its constant and yet changing relevance it has helped us to write our own cultural history.”¹³

In the second half of the 20th century, Icarus was often the main subject of ballet works. The symbol of soaring Icarus is very much in tune with the expressiveness of that art form. Two ballet performances named *Icarus* were created by Russian-born masters: Sergei Lifar at the Paris Opera in 1935 (to the music of percussion instruments) and Vladimir Vasilyev at

¹¹ Bruner 1977, p. 308-309.

¹² Yegorova 1999, p. 143-148.

¹³ Rudd 1988, p. 53.

the Bolshoi Theater in 1971 (to music by Sergei Slonimsky and libretto by Yuri Slonimsky). Here we see two approaches to the image of Icarus that are defined by both the creative and socio-cultural contexts of the times. Serge Lifar's memoirs were published under the name *Memoirs of Icarus*¹⁴ and in them he compares the classical character to himself, escaping from a primitive and impoverished state during his traineeship to universal recognition and glory as a renowned dancer and choreographer. Not accidentally, V. Gajewski underlines in his historical comment to the memoirs of the famous dancer and choreographer that in the ballet,

"Icarus is stylised as a classical self-portrait of Lifar himself: he rushed from poverty [during his] traineeship to the heights of excellence and from miserable obscurity to worldwide fame."¹⁵

Slonimsky's ballet was created within the traditions of Soviet ballet-dramas. Icarus opposes the governor, who rejects the idea of flying above the land to get close to the sun, as well as the person who is obsessed with such an idea. And when Icarus rises into the sky, Archon, who considers the flight too much like that of the gods, strikes the boy with an arrow and interrupts his flight for the edification of others.¹⁶

As we see, in terms of classical reception there is movement from the symbol to the sign but not to the image in both these cases. The symbolic content of Icarus is originally designated as a person soaring to the sky, but further interpretation of this character not only expands and deepens the "ancient" content, but reduces it, reflecting features already noted by the professionals, in a direction from symbolic expression to sign, to an undeveloped form of the representation of reality.¹⁷ And the last interpretation in contemporary art: Icarus becomes the sign of a fall.¹⁸ The ambiguity of this character in the popular consciousness led to the fact that Icarus was not named among the ten most popular mythical characters in a questionnaire conducted by the author.¹⁹

The question arises as to whether there is any material that would allow mass culture, particularly rock poetry, to interpret the symbolic figure of Icarus as an image embodying the classical content of ancient heritage?

The only good written source for the myth of Daedalus and Icarus is Ovid's *Metamorphosis*,²⁰ which narrates that Daedalus, the creator of the

¹⁴ Lifar 1989, p. 261.

¹⁵ Lifar 1994, p. 456.

¹⁶ Icarus 1985, p. 118-119.

¹⁷ Rubtsov 1991, p. 39.

¹⁸ Sliwinski 2011, p. 213.

¹⁹ Yegorova, Chiglintsev 1999, p. 145.

²⁰ Fowler 2013, p. 397.

famous Labyrinth of Crete, became trapped in his own creation and that to escape he created for himself and his son Icarus wings made of feathers held together with wax. The flight was fraught with danger because if their altitude were too low the wings would become damp with sea water, but at the same time, were they to fly too high the sun could melt the wax and the wings would fall apart. Daedalus warned his son of this. However, the joy of flight caused Icarus to forget about the warning: he flew too high and his wings melted, causing him to crash into the sea (Ovid, *Met.* VIII. 203-225). Thus, according to Ovid, Icarus becomes one more symbol, a symbol of a fatal and tragic disobedience.

Since the motivation for Icarus' behaviour is not mentioned in the myth, the lyrics of rock songs justifiably present a romantic interpretation: that he wanted to fly high like the birds. In the beginning of the song *Icarus* (1983) by a group called Alpha (Sergey Sarychev) the plot of the myth is described almost completely:

"Once, in ancient times was Icarus / Doing other work, he really wanted / To be unusual and to fly in the sky like a bird / He made two wings like an eagle's / Having tied the wings to his hands, the young Icarus / Glanced up at the birds, jumped down and crashed."

Exploring the lyrics further, it becomes quite clear that the authors have a very definite purpose in offering this particular interpretation of the myth of Icarus. Antiquity ("ancient times") is opposed to the modern practice of flight: nowadays, they sing, all people fly "on a rocket or a broom," and if there are any obstacles they are not stopped by them. Mankind has managed to overcome its limits and the world will remember "those who have conquered / The abyss of height, and made our lives full of inspiration." A refrain runs through the whole composition in the form of an incantation: "Man always strives for the skies / Man always strives for the skies / Man always strives for the skies."²¹

From this somewhat sloppy reproduction of the mythical story, an existential parable addressed to our contemporaries is built. The verse places emphasis on the "young Icarus" who did not want to be like everyone else, presenting a very direct message to the listener.

Rhetorical questions, asked with the intention of triggering a specific association in the perceptions of each listener, are posed by Alexander Yelin, lyricist of group "Aria" in their song *Icarus* (1986): "Who saw Icarus, / There, in the blue distance? / ... / Who gave him the wings? / Who waited for him on the rock?"

The straightforward answer to one of the questions can be found in the myth itself: most narratives, starting from the time of antiquity, describe

²¹ http://www.rockruss.ru/006_gruppyalfa.html, accessed 18 December 2013.

the characters of this myth, Daedalus and Icarus, always together, the father and the son (Apollod. II. 6.3; Apollod. Epit. I. 12-13). But answers are not needed, because further exploration of the lyrics distinctively shows the song's ideological use of the Icarus image has nothing in common with the ancient prototype: "He was flying over the mountains illumined by the sun / Looking down on the land," "But he forgot everything," and as a result, "The pair of light wings, / Here, in grey dust"²² crumbled away. It is not important to the author of the text that in the ancient myth the sun punishes Icarus, not the Earth. In these lyrics, it is stated that the "sinful earth" would not let the man go. This is, perhaps, some kind of metaphor for the creative impulse, which can lift the spirit up, only later to drag it down, to smash it to death.

The lyrical character of the song *Icarus* by the group "Polite Refusal" (1990, text by Gor Ogannisyan) also touches upon this state of bliss. In this text we can see many names from ancient myths associated with air - Uranus, Eos, Ether and Zephyros. Here, the story of Icarus is associated with a lyrical character who makes wings of feathers, wax and filaments and so "opens the door to the sixth ocean" as his ancestors' memory calls him into the sky.

The consonance in the part of the text in which Icarus is named has a particularly ominous sound. At first there is no sense of ill omen: "Oh, I'll fly like Icarus, / Oh, I'll fly like Icarus, / Oh, I'll fly like Icarus ..." And then suddenly, the collapse and breakdown comes. "Oh, I'll fly like Icarus carus-carus-carus / carus-carus-carus-carus-carus."²³ What other words are necessary to illustrate vicissitudes of human fate than the name of one who had just been flying or was dreaming of flying, metamorphosed into the sinister guttural cries of crows?

Against the background of these associations, the composition *Icarus - Son of Daedalus* by the group "Legion" (album *Myths of Antiquity*, 2007) strikes the listener with its simplicity, ease and its somewhat edifying nature. Here the group offers almost an exact recount of the legend: Daedalus made the wings, his son helped him, and his father warned: "You are a crown / Do not touch the sun! / The heat of holy fire / will punish you," but impressed by the spaciousness of the sky, Icarus forgot this rule and thus was doomed: "he fell down from heaven / and disappeared into the depths..." The romantic version of the Icarus myth - formed in modern culture as a result of indirect contact with the original source and received instead through mediated interpretation and a series of re-presentations - continues to attract the attention of artists and the public. This kind of

²² http://www.rockruss.ru/018_a.html, accessed 18 December 2013.

²³ http://www.rockruss.ru/018_vezhlivyjjotkaz.html, accessed 18 December 2013.

indirect, “second-hand” reception of antiquity is quite normal in the contemporary information society. It is evident that the majority of recipients do not think about the real sources of their perceptions of antiquity. But in the case of *Icarus - Son of Dedalus*, the author’s position of offering one more interpretation - his message to next generation - is an integral part of the composition: everyone knows how fragile the boundary between good and evil is, nevertheless we should “Overstep / And win / Many dreams.” But the doom of characters who chose their own way is shown both in the text of the chorus and in the last lines of the verse: a new hero always dies, thus each individual always faces the problem of choosing their own way: “Choose, choose, choose ...”²⁴

As can be seen from the material studied in this paper, the symbolic character of Icarus acquires the features of an image in the works of Russian rock poetry of 20th-21st centuries. The symbol is always a particular manifestation of the image, and the image is much broader than the symbol.²⁵ In turn, the image of this ancient character forms in the mass consciousness an image of antiquity, an image that is understood and accepted by contemporary people.

Reception of the Icarus Myth in the Mass Art of the Late 20th-21st Century

(Abstract)

This article was prepared within the context of a larger research project on the analysis of public demand for the reception of the historical past and the study of creative practices through exploring how past social and cultural realities are understood in the modern world. The main object of the research is to show modern Russian sociocultural reality as a construct embodying the synthesis of social needs in accessing the historical past through representations of historical phenomena and the images of historical personalities. Through this approach, the reception of the past can be seen as a way of updating, interpreting and representing historical experience in contemporary Russian society.

One of the most popular periods in the history of mankind is the period of antiquity, a fascination with which began in the Middle Ages and has not diminished up to the present day amongst societies with European cultural roots. The goal of this article is to present the dialectics of symbol, sign and image through the example of the representation of the mythical character Icarus, as an example of the reception of ancient mythological characters generally in modern culture. Beyond the ancient myth itself, the narratives of ballets about Icarus created in the 20th century and the rock poetry of Russian bands in the 1980s, 90s and 2000s are used as source material in this research. The study concludes that due to the artistic conventions of ballet language, the evolution of the Icarus image runs from the symbol to the sign: the interpretation of the symbol neither extends nor deepens its “ancient” content. In Russian rock poetry of the late 20th-early 21st centuries, however,

²⁴ <http://www.rockruss.ru/072legion.html>, accessed 18 December 2013.

²⁵ Rubtsov 1991, p. 39.

the symbolic character of Icarus acquires the features of an image: the symbol is extended through the contemporary interpretation of this “ancient” character, since the image is always broader than the symbol.

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Keywords: reception of antiquity, classical reception, mass art, myth, Icarus, Daedalus, ballet, Russian rock poetry, image, sign, symbol, representation, interpretation.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijskij na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF ETHNOMETHODOLOGY IN MODERN ART STUDIES

Larisa Ivanovna NEKHVYADOVICH*

In the last few decades, contemporary society has actively developed its approach to tackling the problems of the preservation of cultural, including non-material, heritage at the level of the world generally and Russian socio-political and socio-cultural practices specifically. In this context, special attention is paid to the problems of preservation of ethnocultural diversity, represented at national and regional levels by various traditions, including the field of professional art and arts-and-crafts. Thus the development of the global information space of the contemporary world actualises the ethnic values which are manifest in domestic art as a whole and in the high art of the regional centres - in particular, in modern art practices connected with the manifestation of the creative master's individuality. The study of the originality of local schools of art is of great importance in this regard.

An inquiry into the possibilities of ethnomethodology in modern art studies is also relevant because of a lack of general studies in this field. The assessment of ethnic art as an aspect of art heritage highlights the novelty, originality and practical importance of this approach.

The term "ethnomethodology" is formed of three independent elements: "ethnos" (people, nation, class, caste, tribe), "method" (pursuit of knowledge) and "logy" (study). "Ethnos" is a category of ethnography describing the signs of ethnic communities at all stages of the history of mankind. It is accepted defining a group of people who hold a number of these signs - such as language, ethnic territory, peculiarities of life and culture, origins and ethnic consciousness - in common.¹ The term "methodology" denotes a system of general, fundamental ideas, principles and prescriptions from which the researcher can proceed or by which the researcher is guided in his or her cognitive activity.² In this sense, the notion ethnomethodology denotes a direction in which the methodological tools of ethnographic research are put to use in the general methodology of social

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¹ Bromley 1983, p. 412.

² Elchaninov 2013, p. 17.

sciences and the humanities in order to study the phenomenon of ethnicity.³ The inclusion of ethnomethodology in the study of ethnic art is important for understanding the peculiarities of historical compositions of the various schools of art, as well as the modern tendencies of artistic processes. Based on the analysis of primary sources and academic literature, the author aims to show the possibilities of ethnomethodology in modern art studies.

The question arises as to whether ethnomethodology is a special academic discipline. In modern interdisciplinary studies it is noted that the following factors are necessary for the formation of a new academic discipline: 1. the social need for knowledge in a new academic direction; 2. scientific methods, accumulated knowledge; 3. an appropriate level of disciplinary organisation within the field; 4. the training of specialists according to a given profile.⁴

Regarding whether there is a social need for knowledge in a new academic direction, the answer is surely yes. The actualisation of ethnocultural traditions in modern art is connected with the action of factors such as globalisation, localisation and decentralisation. Transformation of the cultural context within which national identity is formed has led to the phenomenon of distinctive expressions of ethnicity in art: firstly, the unintended manifestation, arising from a mental grounding in ethnocultural traditions; secondly, the conscious, recognised assertion of ethnic origins realised in the programmatic character of the work.

The disciplinary organisation of ethnomethodology as an academic direction is only in its early planning stages. The first studies in this field date from the second half of the 19th-early 20th century. The central problem of ethnomethodology - whether the study of everyday life can provide knowledge of the world at large - leads to the wider question of whether there are general laws of cognition which cut across ethnocultural diversity? The study of this problem within ethnography, social and cultural anthropology has led to the formation of ethnomethodology as an integrative field of knowledge, absorbing the methods of all these disciplinary fields. Researchers' accumulated experience in the study of the culture and life of ethnic groups through complex methodological approaches - including field observation (stationary and expeditionary), comparative-historical, typological, quantitative analysis, and the spatial definition of settlements of ethnic communities - have brought about the formation of a specific ethnomethodological approach. The anthropological constant of studies into ethnocultural processes in the works of J. J.

³ <http://www.science-education.ru/111-10626>, accessed 16 August 2014.

⁴ Zhuk 2003, p. 17.

Bachofen (1815-1857),⁵ L. H. Morgan (1818-1881),⁶ A. Bastian (1826-1905),⁷ J. Lubbock (1834-1913)⁸ is the concept of a person and culture as a stable formation which holds ideas significant to that ethnic society regarding various aspects of social life.

The researcher I. V. Davydova offers the opinion that ideas of an ethnomethodological character occur in the writings of philosophers who pursue a phenomenological direction of inquiry.⁹ The systematic description of the phenomenological method, including such components essential to ethnomethodology as contemplation, reflection, phenomenological reduction and intentional analysis, belongs to the founder of phenomenology, E. Husserl.¹⁰

The general denominator of phenomenological and ethnomethodological concepts is their ontological and gnoseological character, that is, they give crucial importance to the problem of the interrelation between existence and essence. Phenomenology pays attention to a person's experience, specifically first-hand experiences such as those the ethnomethodologist pursues - and on the search for methods by which to explain them. According to the theory of intentionality, which links the consciousness with the object of cognition, the process of thinking occurs only in the presence of the object of thought. Intentionality was recognised in ancient philosophy in the works of Parmenides (5th century BC), who characterised intentionality as relational, and showed that in the case of non-existent objects an intentional attitude is impossible. The aim of the intentional analysis of consciousness is to identify and study those aspects of consciousness that are involved in the comprehension of reality. The object of cognition is constructed in the process of cognition and phenomena of the world exist not objectively but from the perspective of cognition. In *Cartesian Meditations* (1931) E. Husserl writes: "The term 'intentionality' means nothing more than the general property of consciousness to be consciousness of something."¹¹ Intentionality in the phenomenologist's interpretation is a value, a structure which is constructed in its entirety at the moment of individual and collective perception. This perception is characterised in phenomenology as something intersubjective, superpersonal and mental. Intersubjective in its essence, the world of mentalities, as described by E. Husserl, defines one of the actual problems

⁵ Bachofen 1975.

⁶ Morgan 1983.

⁷ Bastian 1884.

⁸ Lubbock 1870.

⁹ Davydova 2002.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Husserl 2001, p. 13.

of ethnomethodology - the relation between mental acts and the actions of the people using language to express them. So, for example, in Husserl's *Ideas*, the act of cognition is constructed on the basis of the relationship between "noemata" and "noeses." The notion of noema plays a special role in phenomenology. The noema is the object of intentionality; while the noesis is a technique by which a subject directs itself to the intentional object; accordingly, noeses are means of constructing facts of reality relating to objects and their relationships.

The theoretical assumptions of ethnomethodology are found in E. Husserl's development of the category "life world" defined as a single universum possessing its own internal laws and characteristics. The life world, according to the philosopher's opinion, is the set of fundamental assumptions upon which public institutions and cultural traditions are based. As such, this theoretical statement is of importance for the formation of ethnomethodology formulated by him in the work *Philosophy as a Strict Science*:

"... people who have changed their attitudes continue to keep their natural interests ... as the individual members of an universal life community (their nation); they cannot simply lose them, i.e. cease to be themselves, those who they are from the birth."¹²

We find the development of E. Husserl's ideas in the phenomenological sociology of A. Schyuts. In his work *Semantic Structure of Everyday World: Essays on Phenomenological Sociology*, in defining the concept of life world the philosopher puts forward a statement which will become one of the bases of isolation of ethnomethodological problematics. The statement can be reduced to the following: the life world is formed around I as a centre in compliance with its systems of relevancies, thus everyday knowledge of the social world is inseparable from this contingency. The world of everyday life in A. Shyuts's philosophy interfaces with the culture world,

"because from the very beginning the everyday life appears to us as the semantic universum, the combination of meanings which we must interpret to find support in this world, to reach an agreement with it. However, this combination of meanings - and there is the difference of a kingdom of culture from a kingdom of nature in it - arose and continues to form in human acts: our own and other people's, contemporaries and predecessors."¹³

¹² Husserl 1994, p. 112.

¹³ Schyuts 1988, p. 130.

Such an approach in ethnomethodology can become a basis for the hermeneutic method of analysis in the study of the problem of understanding.

The connection between hermeneutic and ethnomethodological conceptions has a philosophical-methodological aspect. Hermeneutics puts understanding, as a phenomenon of human beings, in the centre of its philosophical problematics. Already in M. Heidegger's main work *Being and Time*,¹⁴ the ideas of philosophical hermeneutics, as developed in ethnomethodological studies, can be noted. Firstly, he points out the connection between hermeneutics and language, asserting that to exist is to be understood in language, where to be understood means to be interpreted; secondly, he substantiates a hermeneutic circle as one of the principles revealing specifics of the interrelation between understanding and interpretation. In a further evolution of hermeneutic theory, H. G. Gadamer in his work *The Truth and a Method* develops more detailed and complicated methods of hermeneutic analysis in order to prove the connection between hermeneutics and interpretation, the main concepts of which can be incorporated into the ethnomethodological description of everyday norms, rules of behaviour and meanings of language within everyday social interaction.

The theoretical assumptions of ethnomethodology can be found in P. Berger (b. 1929) and T. Luckmann's (b. 1927) treatise, *The Social Construction of Reality*.¹⁵ The scholars, both of whom were pupils and followers of A. Schyuts, put forward the thesis that knowledge, pre-prepared in society, represents social order. In assessing their contribution to the field, we may note that they implemented a complex approach to the analysis of the everyday life on the basis of phenomenological sociology and philosophical anthropology, and developed in detail the categorial apparatus for studying how man constructs his social reality and how this constructed reality shapes man. The researchers identified the phenomenon of the every-day world as being self-generated concepts at the theoretical level, thus determining the assumptions from which ethnomethodology originates as a new direction in social-humanitarian knowledge.

In H. Garfinkel's *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, ethnomethodology is given the status of an independent category in which the motives behind social actions in ethnic communities are categorised, based upon the analysis of existing rules and the processes of their formation and interpretation.¹⁶ The aim of this new academic direction is to substantiate

¹⁴ Heidegger 1997.

¹⁵ Berger, Luckmann 1995.

¹⁶ Garfinkel 1967.

the process of communication as a process of the exchange of meanings. In the long term, this has caused a tendency towards the universalisation of methods for the anthropological study of ethnic cultures. The key concepts behind ethnomethodological studies have become the “background expectations” - the ideas of people within a particular social world, and “indexation” - a way to determine a sense of human behaviour. Garfinkle writes:

“I use the term ‘ethnomethodology’ to designate the study of the rational properties of the indexical expressions and other practical actions as possible continuous achievements of the organised artificial practice of the everyday life.”¹⁷

The ethnomethodological approach assumes:

- conjugacy of interdependent social actions with the units of speech-based communication;
- correlation of sociological studies with the interpretation of actions and speech of another person;
- extraction of the levels of understanding and conversation in interpretation;
- identification of the structure of informal speech with the syntax of everyday speech.¹⁸

H. Garfinkel determines the methods of sociological studies as the fundamental ones in which

“practices of sociological studies and theorising, subjects for these practices, discoveries received by means of these practices, circumstances of application of these practices, suitability of these practices as methodology of studies and all the rest are entirely methods of sociological studies and theorising of members (and) are inevitable and irreparable.”¹⁹

Sociology, in such an understanding, acquires the status of ethnoknowledge.

The boundary of the 20th and 21st centuries marks the formative period of such directions in ethnomethodology as methodology of the analysis of the everyday life (D. Zimmerman, M. Pollner), ethnomethodological hermeneutics (A. Blum, P. McHugh), ethnolinguistics (H. Sachs, G. Jefferson) and the ethnographic research of science (K. Knorr-Cetina, B. Latour, S. Woolgar). These researchers emphasise the importance of ethnomethodology as social-humanitarian knowledge in the study of the structures of everyday reality and social interaction, and the use of the concepts of understanding and interpretation in the context of

¹⁷ Garfinkel 2007, p. 20.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Garfinkel 1970, p. 345.

specific social and cultural practices. There are a large number of general-theoretical monographs in the field of ethnomethodology, including: G. Psathas, *Interaction Competence*,²⁰ P. Have and G. Psathas, *Situated Order: Studies in the Social Organisation of Talk and Embodied Activities*,²¹ S. Hester and P. Eglin, *Culture in Action: Studies in Membership Categorisation Analysis*,²² P. Jalbert, *Media Studies: Ethnomethodological Approaches*,²³ and E. Livingstone, *Ethnographies of Reason*.²⁴

The International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, founded in 1989, is an example of the disciplinary organisation of ethnomethodology as a academic direction. The genesis of the organisation dates back to 1975 when lectures were given by H. Garfinkel at Boston University as part of the summer school programme. This was the first international conference on ethnomethodology. M. Atkinson, R. Watson, C. Goodwin and M. Fishman took part in the conference. The results of the studies presented there were published in the collection *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*.²⁵ In 1987, an International consortium of scholars and academic educational institutions was convened, with the intention of furthering the acceptance of ethnomethodology through the development of academic questions and new educational programmes. The establishment of the journal *Mundane Behaviour, Mind and Society* represented unifying beginning.

The theoretical assumptions of ethnomethodology in Russian academia are based on the ideas of V. Voloshinov (1895-1936) regarding language interaction, P. Medvedev (1891-1938) and M. Bakhtin (1895-1975). These researchers, building on the phenomenological theories of Husserl and Schyuts, further developed the socio-anthropological approach, specifically bringing about a shift of accent from the cognition of objective reality to the cognition of an individual's subjectivity, his reactions to everyday life. The philosophy of language in these scholars' works is based on the premise that language is real only in an actual dialogue, in which the statements are loaded with meaning and are addressed to interlocutors.

In Russia, the term ethnomethodology was used for the first time by the Russian academic L. G. Ionin in his work *Understanding Sociology* (1979). A. P. Ogurtsov, in the work *Ethnomethodology and Ethnographic Research of Science*²⁶ (1988), describes the advantages of applying the methods of

²⁰ Psathas 1990.

²¹ Ten Have, Psathas 1995.

²² Hester 1997.

²³ Jalbert 1999.

²⁴ Livingstone 2008.

²⁵ Atkinson 1981, p. 257-286.

²⁶ Ogurtsov 1988, p. 211-216.

qualitative description, which include observation, hermeneutic interpretation of the senses and field interviews, as well as stressing the importance of the science of ethnography for humanitarian knowledge.

Ethnocultural processes at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries caused a revision in thinking around the phenomenon of ethnicity in culture, having brought about theoretical developments in the field of ethnomethodology. Ethnomethodology is described as a preliminary academic direction of activity in the works of scholars of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Russian Research Studies Institute of Cultural and Natural Heritage, and the Centre of Fundamental Sociology of NRU HSE.²⁷ *Ethnomethodology: Problems, Approaches, Concepts* is an annual thematic journal in which the results of studies of Russian scholars in this field are presented. The distinct characteristics of Russian understanding of ethnomethodology are caused by the wide range of ethnic problematics, and the formation of new interdisciplinary academic directions such as ethnopsychology, ethnic and cultural studies, ethnolinguistics, ethnopoltical-science and ethnopedagogics. Ethnomethodology acts as a theoretical basis, transforming the tools of ethnographic research into a general methodology of the humanities for the study of how everyday human interaction is formed and realised.

The characteristics of ethnomethodology in the domestic studies of this period occur in three interconnected aspects:

- Methodological aspect - methodology providing the object, subject, purpose and characteristics of the main categories;
- Theoretical aspect - theories, conceptions, branches, schools of sciences and directions;
- Historical aspect - the sequence and logic of the development of ethnomethodology as an academic discipline (origin, formation, institutionalisation, current state and prospects of development).

L. G. Ionin's work *Sotsiologiya kak non-fiction* outlines the essential characteristics of ethnomethodology:

- Ethnomethods are the methods applied by ordinary people to have "things" be described, conceivable and reasonable and these methods themselves represent the descriptions by means of which "things" are constituted.
- The definition of non-fiction coincides with the ethnomethodologists' definition of the subject of their studies: the practical actions of people in everyday life are accounts or representations of things, represented by the authors of accounts as facts.

²⁷ NRU HSE - the National Research University's Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia.

- Ethnomethodology probably meets the spirit of times better than traditional “formal-analytical” sociology.²⁸

Any methodology for the modern analysis of art must take into consideration the peculiarities of the development of art culture under the conditions of the sharp actualisation of ethnic problematics. The problem of the interrelation of ethnos and art has always existed in a variety of fields. However, this “everlasting” problem acquires particular importance in times when artists in search of imagery are increasingly turning to archetypes and symbols of ethnoculture. In art studies this subject remains debatable and difficult. The logic of the development of ethnomethodology allows us to make use of its basic statements in the study of the national (local) characteristics of artistic phenomena and processes, which differ by their subjects and, accordingly, by their specificity of study.²⁹ Ethnomethodology allows the researcher to record the mental intentions behind the content of art. As a result of their projection, the cultural code acts as a phenomenon influencing the semantics of composition. In this context, the central notion of the phenomenological life world as a basis of ethnos acts as a factor in the ethnoculturally characteristic motifs, themes and narratives of fine art.³⁰

In order to realise the possibilities of ethnomethodology in art studies, it is expedient to enter consider the ethnocultural tradition as an initial category which relates to the concrete phenomena of the history of art. Works of professional artistic creativity reflect the features of ethnic communities and, under the certain conditions, may be transform into components of ethnos, becoming a recognisable feature of its members, penetrating into their everyday life.³¹ The ethnomethodological approach allows the researcher to reveal the expression of collective unconscious and archetypes, which can be turned into a tool for the analysis and interpretation of works of art.

The problem of ethnocultural peculiarity of art in ethnic art studies is connected with the category of style in art. The identification of the style of works of art involves the extraction of ethnic features and the arrival at definite boundaries of one or another ethnos. It is precisely style that can be considered as an instrument to understand ethnic artistic phenomena. Thus, ethnomethodology creates a firm basis for ethnic art studies, orienting the researcher towards consideration of the role of ethnic factors in the art. The object of study is the art of ethnos, the subject is the ethnic peculiarities of the art.

²⁸ Ionin 2006, p. 74-90.

²⁹ Nekhvyadovich 2013, p. 830-833.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 406-409.

³¹ Stepanskaya 2014.

Summary

Two stages can be identified in the formation of ethnomethodology. The first stage is characterised as a preliminary one, and deals specifically with the formation of theoretical assumptions in phenomenology and hermeneutics, the creation of a specific methodological framework, and the absorption of the methods of ethnography, social and cultural anthropology. The second stage begins in the second half of the 20th century and is associated with H. Garfinkel's *Studies in Ethnomethodology*.³²

Exploring the notion of a "methodology of ethnic art studies," we define it as a part of ethnomethodology dealing with the principles, structures, levels and ways of study of ethnocultural peculiarities in art. The analysis of ethnomethodological concepts highlights the expediency of using hermeneutics and phenomenology as the theoretical-methodological basis of ethnic art studies. As a system of academic knowledge, ethnic art studies fulfils the gnoseological, synthetic, explanatory and methodological functions of art.

The artistic culture of ethnos and in particular its kernel - works of art - most fully reflect the mental distinctiveness of ethnos among all other spheres of ethnic culture. It is impossible to identify directly the influence of ethnic tradition on art. It is far more likely that this connection can be considered indirect; however, over time the forms of interaction become complicated, the graphic-expressive means become subject to an increasing degree of transformation, influencing the individuality of artistic method and style.³³

A rational basis in ethnic art studies is essential to modern artistic practice. This field, firstly, specifies the problem of ethnic art studies as a method of interpretation of works of fine art and, secondly, orients itself towards the revelation of the concrete historical content of ethnocultural tradition and its role in forming of works of fine art. In this context it is necessary to study the essence of phenomena arising from an ethnocultural tradition, and how that tradition is represented in various historical eras, ethnocultural and art systems.

An illustration of these statements can be found in the fine art of Altai. The uniqueness of the artistic heritage and cultural space of the region is largely due to its polyethnicity: there are representatives of more than one hundred nationalities living in the Altai Territory and the Republic of Altai. Local painters and sculptors, as well as artists who arrived after completing their studies in Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kazan, Irkutsk, Alma-Ata, Riga,

³² Garfinkel 1967.

³³ Nekhvyadovich 2014, p. 406-409.

took part in the formation of the region's professional fine art. For this reason, the problems of historical roots, ethnocultural originality and cross-cultural dialogue are all present when considering the contemporary art of the territory.

The analysis of ethnocultural traditions in the works of artists in Altai allows us to specify the degree of influence of those traditions on the formation of the image-bearing systems of the art, as well as on its creative methods and style. Thus, the first reference to ethnographic sources is the practice of painting scenes of the reclaimed Siberian territories. The interaction of the ethnocultural traditions of Altai with the principles of the Russian Realist school became a defining tendency in the course of the formation of professional fine art in the region. Among the sources that define the ethnocultural specificity are: 1. a worldview based upon principles connected to pride at belonging to the sub-ethnos, clan (seok) or local motherland, and the worship of nature and its symbolisation; 2. the combination of the traditions of Russian Realist tonal painting with a mythopoetic model of the world of the Altai ethnoculture in the structure of the artistic image.

The transformation of cultural contexts has led to specific expressions of ethnicity in art: firstly, the unintended manifestation, based on the mental grounding in ethnocultural traditions; secondly, the deliberate realisation of ethnic origins as a programmatic thread in the work of art. If the artists of the second half of the 20th century, inspired by ethnocultural heritage, strove for realistic accuracy, artists at the turn of the 21st century have formed a new artistic space for the picture: the sign-symbolical.

The Possibilities of Ethnomethodology in Modern Art Studies

(Abstract)

Globalisation and, acting in a counterbalance to this, the processes of localisation have brought forth the necessity of studying ethnic mentality, including its manifestation in the formal-content and image-bearing structure of works of fine art. This problem arises because the human sciences still lack the theoretical substantiation of the role of ethnicity in art. The study of the possibilities of ethnomethodology is necessary for the all-round development of art studies, for the study of historical compositions of schools of art and to understand the modern tendencies of artistic processes.

Based on the analysis of theoretical principles, the object of this study is to highlight the possibilities inherent in the application of ethnomethodology to ethnic art studies. E. Husserl's theory of intentionality, H. G. Gadamer's hermeneutic principles of understanding and interpretation and H. Garfinkel's theories form the basis for achieving this objective.

The possibilities of ethnomethodology in modern art criticism are revealed in the following research structure: the historical-ethnographical characteristics of the region; the revelation of origins and factors influencing ethnocultural distinctiveness in artistic traditions; the description of tendencies in the fine arts in the context of a problem of ethnocultural distinctiveness; the analysis of ethnic art influences in the formal-content and image-bearing structure of works of art.

The significance of the results of this study lies in the possibility of their use as a theoretical-methodological and source studies basis of research devoted to the problem of ethnicity in art, and to in-depth study of art culture. Further research might focus upon the development of ethnic art studies as a theoretical-methodological basis for the study of arts and crafts and architecture, through the revelation of the correlation between distinctive ethnocultural characteristics and artistic traditions in the history of art.

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Keywords: art studies, methodology, ethnomethodology, ethnos, ethnocultural tradition, art.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerica. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskoye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archives. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskoy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijskij na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altai.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

CONCEPTUAL ART EXHIBITIONS AS A DIALOGUE BETWEEN ART AND ITS CONTEMPORARIES (BASED ON THE STUDY OF EXHIBITION PRACTICE IN THE ALTAI TERRITORY IN SIBERIA AROUND THE TURN OF THE 21ST CENTURY)

Tamara Mikhaelovna STEPANSKAYA*

This article deals with contemporary issues in the study of the artistic life of society as a socio-cultural system in relation to everyday consciousness.

The aim of the study is to analyse the role of interaction between ordinary consciousness and art in socio-cultural evolution. The study's theoretical foundations are based on the ethnic art criticism and socio-humanitarian concepts discussed by academics such as L. Nasonov, A. Kukarkin, I. Petrov, M. Kagan, L. Nekhvyadovich and I. Nikitina. The methodology was based on modifications to the synergistic approach to cultural studies by scholars of art criticism such as N. Hrenov, V. Bransky, Y. Goncharov, M. Kagan, M. Bakhtin, Y. Lotman, D. Likhachev, N. Demkina and V. Bykovskaya.

Study perspectives

Altai and Siberia are currently undertaking an active process of developing their artistic life, and exhibition activities form an important part of this; hence the study of this process has become of great relevance. Conceptual exhibitions represent the diversity of trends in contemporary art, including realism, symbolism, romanticism, avant-garde, scandalous art, etc. The role of the curator and the designer in developing the topography and image of an exhibition space, as well as the role of information technologies in art, has therefore become very topical.

Interconnections between fine art, everyday life and everyday consciousness

Exploring the interconnections between everyday consciousness and art remains relevant to overcoming the features of cultural crisis experienced by

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contemporary society. The lack of a single system of values and meanings is a typical feature of such crisis. Art, brought into world on the basis of traditions, is a source of spiritual values; high art strengthens personal creative qualities and broadens the cultural potential of the bearers of everyday consciousness.

Everyday consciousness is understood as the combination of ideas, knowledge, orientations and stereotypes based on direct everyday human experience; it dominates the social community to which people belong. Everyday consciousness differs from the kind of awareness based on scientific knowledge, obtained by means of objective research, which provides insight into essential links which characterise nature and society. The kind of mistakes that can prevent scientific cognition of the world and promote the preservation of ingrained prejudices are common to everyday consciousness. On the other hand, the recollection of oft-repeated links observed between things and people (folk wisdom) typical of everyday consciousness provides opportunities to draw correct conclusions which are verified by the practical realities of everyday life.

The notion of everyday consciousness is closely connected with the notion of “everyday life” which is a popular trope in the humanities at present. It is interpreted widely and variously. The modern situations and contexts in which terms such as “everyday life,” “everyday consciousness/cognition” and “common sense” are used have their own explicit historical-cultural specificity. The philosophical problems of everyday life stem from the fact that the evaluation of its three constituent components - everyday reality, everyday consciousness (knowledge) and the philosophy of common sense - do not coincide. From a cognitive-sociological point of view, everyday life represents a social use of the results of cultural creative work. Individual creative achievements (innovative technologies, pieces of art, philosophical and religious ideas, etc.) owe their origin to their specific authors and, acting as signifiers of a gap in cultural succession, receive their inter-subjective form in the processes of social use, laying the foundations for new traditional mechanisms.

In the methodological plan of this study, everyday life represents the result of an analytical procedure in which a synchronous cut of cultural migration is carried out. Everyday life can be seen as a static image of the world, where creative, innovative processes are artificially paused; only the stable, unquestionable bases of human life and activities are distinguished (traditions, rituals, stereotypes, categorisation systems). Everyday life makes the phenomena by which it is characterised sacral, imbuing them with the status of everyday myths. Examples of everyday life are also determined by

¹ Kondratiev 2006, p. 138.

the sphere of human society to which they belong. Everyday life as a reality is based on the relative permanence of social conditions. As a kind of consciousness, it consists of effective governance by collectively-held socio-psychological structures (archetypes). As a form of cognition, everyday life is expressed through the processes of cognitive socialisation, adaptation to new conditions and adoption of archetypes. However, in all its hypostasis, every day life does not, as a rule, correspond to any autonomous sphere; there is no substance to the everyday. Its hypostases are insufficient and do not exist outside the other manifestations of human existence and reality.

To characterise everyday life, it is important to distinguish two types of social situations - everyday and beyond everyday - equally typical of human consciousness and existence. Everyday life is a notional problem connected with a number of fundamental pair oppositions. Aberration and truth, existence and potential, secular and sacral are analogous pairs the terminological difference between which is determined by the difference of subject areas. These opposing poles of cognitive process, moral consciousness and religiosity form two dimensions in culture which can be denoted as everyday and myth. The entirety of human life can be seen in their interaction and tense standoff; its content is determined by approaching and moving away from these poles, in varying orientation towards one or another direction. Everyday life, in order to find significance, requires reference to sources and prototypes; it requires the creation of myth and mythic substantiation. Philosophy and the humanities always take everyday life in its various forms as their object of investigation, constantly teetering between bringing it down to the level of routine consciousness and practice or exalting it to the myth-like horizon peculiar to modernity.²

The problem of the correlation between everyday consciousness and art is connected with the problem of the connection between art and worldview. Different aspects of this problem are presented in works of aestheticians (M. Kagan, S. Rapport, E. Volodin and I. Nikitina³), while B. Vysheslavtsev writes about how professional art belongs to the non-everyday level of artistic consciousness.⁴ In his opinion, the rise from subconscious impulses to the supreme values of the human spirit can be explained by the human ability for imagination:

“The subconscious mind is that underground source from which fantasy sprouts and, at the same time, the dark pool upon which sparkling images

² http://enc-dic.com/enc_epist/Povsednevnost-517.html, accessed 25 June 2014.

³ Nikitina 2003; Nikitina 2004.

⁴ Vysheslavtsev 1994.

fall, in order to live there and move down to inaccessible depths. The subconscious mind is fed by the images of imagination and feeds them.”⁵

According to Vysheislavtsev, the correlation between creativity and labour varies across human activity: “The good is evaluated not according to the quantity of labour, but the quality of implemented creativity.”⁶

“Labour is impersonal; it is a mass phenomenon, based on imitation. Labour is confronted by creativity, characterised by rarity, initiative, the beginning of causative range, release, finding paradise.”⁷

Fantastical images do not have analogues in fact: a person feels their truth intuitively, he or she should believe in them. The subconscious mind obeys the imagination; everyday life and everyday consciousness are transformed by means of fancy. This is why the most sincere work of art is that of authentic fiction: “The criterion of truth in an image lies in its sublimating power, in the fact that it transforms life. In essence, creativity is a mythogenesis.”⁸

Interaction between everyday consciousness, everyday life and art takes place when the viewer contemplates works at an exhibition on a different level; such dialogue between the viewer and the work of art is especially active at conceptual exhibitions.

Dialectics of traditions and innovations in organisational practices of conceptual art exhibitions, in terms of developing artistic life

Art exhibitions represent a valuable source of information for analysing the interaction of art, everyday life and everyday consciousness. Artistic life is a dialogue between art and its contemporaries. Nonlinear development, accompanied by periods of decay and activity, is typical of artistic life. Taking a special place in the cultural life of society, art both reflects culture and presents the required conditions for its development. Its historical dynamics are based on the dynamics of artistic production and consumption. Nevertheless, it remains unmistakable that the leading role belongs to artistic creativity. It is assumed that this dialectic is personified in the social relationship between artists and the public, and is implemented through their mutual activity.

Towards the end of the 20th century, the notions “conceptual exhibition” and “curator” began to appear in academic literature. Articles by art critics, primarily mainstream ones, were full of straightforward judgments about the fact that the painter is “a secondary-level participant in

⁵ Ibid., p. 50.

⁶ Erina 2006, p. 52.

⁷ Ibid., p. 51.

⁸ Vysheislavtsev 1994, p. 56.

the exhibition, while the curator has a decisive role” (D. V. Demkina). But who is in charge? There is no need for a curator without any pieces of art - such an exhibition would fail. The body, root, core and heart of the exhibition is, first and foremost, the artist’s creative work. The second issue lies in the fact that all is subject to the curator’s intensions. What should be done about the conception of the piece and the intension of the painter? It is now common to say that under the conditions of postmodern aesthetics, anything exhibited in a museum or gallery can be declared a piece of art, but a piece of art is that which is created using artistic means, in a state of inspiration, with the participation of the imagination.

One type of conceptual exhibition dealt with in this study involves artists’ anniversaries; such exhibitions are based on constructing a general panorama whilst tracing the developmental line of the painter’s creative work. The anniversary exhibition space can be compared to a virtual world where past and present move freely, live in colour, submerging the viewer in communication with signs and symbols of the past and present. The anniversary exposition of the Altai painter V. S. Shubin (2011) (**fig. 1**) can be considered an example of this.



Fig. 1. Opening of the exhibition of V. S. Shubin in the “Universum” Gallery of Altai State University (Barnaul, 2011)

By his 75th anniversary, Vitaly Semenovitch Shubin was known as the creator of many fictional works presenting images of the spectacular Russian region of Altai. Mountain and plains, views of villages and towns, as well as images of contemporaries and figures belonging to Russian history form the main content of Shubin’s creative work. The painter was born in

1936 in Kurochkino village, Kirov region. In 1966, he became member of the Russian Union of Painters. His works can be found in the State Art Museum of Altai Territory, the State Museum of Altai History and Culture, the All-Russian Memorial Museum (in the V. M. Shukshin conservation area), in various art galleries in the territory and in private collections abroad (Israel, USA, Italy, Ukraine).

The exhibition's warm, lyrical title *Sweetheart Stories* underlined the painter's determination to create harmonious artistic images. Lyrical landscapes predominated. The presence of a considerable number of female portraits was also a feature. Portraits are a rare phenomenon in modern fine art, particularly those executed as per the principles of classical art; indeed, classical art was revived in this exposition. In his wife's portrait, Shubin was inspired not only by the model, but also by the concept of European Renaissance, namely, that man is a paragon of nature. Nevertheless, this is a modern piece. The portrait is enriched with a semantically saturated background; it has a semantic field in which the form is not a task of artistic creativity, but "acts as a symbol of complex worldview notions ... the line, as a symbol, takes the main role, as it can speak."⁹ Ultimately, the painter created a spiritual image of a beautiful woman, situated in accordance with the world around: the painter's imagination was the main source in creating the image of his contemporary, based on revived Renaissance tradition.

Viewers' attention was also attracted by the narrative, multi-figured composition devoted to the Russian poet A. S. Pushkin. Extensive research carried out by Shubin in collecting subject matter for the picture contributed much to this piece, but ultimately it was a creative labour. The painter studied the interior of palaces, researched historical costumes and noted the various personages who might have participated in such a ball. It is an interesting picture to observe: its historicism is convincing and the poet's image dominates everybody - he is the compositional and semantic centre of the work. The colour score is joyful and sunny, and the placement of the poet's figure in the foreground seems to pacify the dynamic gestures, dramatism, active communication and emotions of the guests at the ball.

Such narratives are rare in provincial art. Apart from Shubin, the theme of a ball attended by historical personages was taken up by the Altai painter A. A. Drilev (b. 1938) who taught at the St Petersburg State Academic Institute named after I. E. Repin, in Yu. Neprintseva's studio of painting. Drilev's large-scale work, *A Ball of Highland Officers in an Assembly of Nobility in Barnaul in the Second Half of the 19th Century* (created 1999-2003) is a large-scale piece, set in the interior of great hall. The figures of attendees are personalised: among them are participants of a ball held in Barnaul in 1856,

⁹ Kuznetsova 2012, p. 77.

P. S. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky and F. M. Dostoevsky; the painter depicts himself in the image of old general of 1812. Such pieces are not only historical, they are attractive: their content represents knowledge of the humanities spiritualised by a creative imagination. For the Russian philosopher V. V. Ilyin, it is “the semantic determination, the value-conscious causality present in those cognitive examples that distinguish the search of the humanist.”¹⁰ Shubin is, undoubtedly, a painter and a humanist.

An important cognitive process in the sphere of humanities is the use of dialogue that leads to understanding; it could be said that an exhibition always represents a dialogue between the painter and the viewer, and that the purpose of any art exhibition is to present universal human values to modern society.

Conceptual exhibitions in Altai present a new dimension of regional art. Tradition is presently one of the most urgent problems of contemporary society, and is widely discussed in academic publications. The relevance of this problem is connected with the potential disappearance of original cultures closely connected with traditions. Traditions should not be understood as something outmoded and ancient. D. D. Blagoy describes how in works of the great Russian poet, A. S. Pushkin, interest and respect for the past (tradition) is combined with love for modernity, with the energy of creation; as he puts it, the poet valued “the taste of clever antiquity.”¹¹ The researcher underlines that “clever traditions, passed from ancestors to descendants, are a precondition for the progressive development of society.” Tradition, under certain conditions, can turn into formal traditionalism, losing its connection with modernity through which it can develop and “take on new life.”¹² Blagoy illustrates this through the example of the development of Russian culture in the 18th century, making reference to Pushkin’s words:

“For a long time, Russia preserved its aloofness from Europe. Admitting Christianity from the Byzantine Empire, it participated in neither the political upheavals nor the mental activity of Roman world.... The great destination was determined for Russia.... Its vast plains assimilated Mongolian power and stopped their invasion on the extreme border of Europe.”¹³

Peter I turned Russia towards European culture, whilst at the same time preserving the national characteristics of his empire. In developing a city plan for his northern capital, Peter I relied not only on construction

¹⁰ Ilyin 1985, p. 45.

¹¹ Blagoy 2005, p. 28-29.

¹² Ibid., p. 30.

¹³ Ibid., p. 32.

techniques from Amsterdam, he also drew upon Old Russian architectural traditions. Pushkin mentions this in his poem *Medniy vsadnik*, describing how “Peter’s rampant horse planted his hooves on the native land.”¹⁴ Following Pushkin, Russians are exhorted to fulfil their duty to serve their nation, their traditions.

Studying aspects of modernity such as traditions and the processes of globalisation remains a priority in academia, attracting the attention of historians, culturologists and fine art experts. N. A. Khrenov’s article, published in *Traditsionnaya kultura*,¹⁵ juxtaposes different views concerning the place of traditional culture in societal life and how it is influenced by globalisation processes.

It is the destructive role of globalisation with regards to tradition which arouses the concern of academics. N. A. Khrenov notes that globalisation is, in fact, an ancient phenomenon. He refers to the philosopher V. Soloviev, who noted the differences in “ideal” and “real” acts of globalisation. Ideally, globalisation presupposes the integration (interpenetration) of nations and cultures, but in reality what we see is the unification (homogenisation) of cultures, resulting in destruction of the originality and uniqueness of local and national traditions. Interpenetration presupposes a dialogue between cultures. In practice, we see the dictates (monologue) of the market leading to mass culture; cultural values become goods and are assigned a market value. Researchers tend to agree that the processes of globalisation are driven by the West, mainly the USA.

Traditions are formed over long time periods. Taking an intermediate position, Russia actively assimilates the values of Western culture but, at the same time, tends to preserve manifestations of traditional culture, for instance, folklore (songs, images, fairy tales, etc.). The thought has been expressed that statehood represents the mind



Fig. 2. G. A. Belyshev. A fabric design based on ornamentations typical of nationals of the Altai Mountains, 1970

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁵ Khrenov 2005.

of a minority and traditions the mind of the nation.¹⁶ Globalisation propagandizes mass culture, distributing it through market mechanisms, while tradition is conceived of as “a combination of social races.”¹⁷

Culturologists define tradition as “a special mechanism of social memory.”¹⁸ Traditions can be divided into simple and complex, naturally developed and artificially made, long and short-lived, and according to the degree of connection with the material. They can exist as stereotypes (ethnic, local, regional, etc.).

In Altai, it was decided that in terms of how traditions were handed down, they should not be limited by “vertical” links (from antiquity to modernity), but that succession should take place through “horizontal” links, i.e. “the mutual transfer of cultural traditions from region to region, from nation to nation.” This process is expressed particularly clearly in the spheres of cultural and artistic creativity. There are convincing examples of the synthesis of the national artistic traditions of Altai nations with Russian schools of art. The incorporation of the Altai Mountains territory into the Russian state resulted in a significant mutual enrichment of the cultural traditions of both the Russian and Altai nations.

G. I. Choros-Gurkin created an art encyclopaedia of the Altai nation; he also created a nationalist image of the Altai Mountains based on the traditions of Russian academic landscapes. Modern Altai painters accepted the tendency towards the animation of nature applied by Gurkin in his mountain scenes, developing it further (V. P. Chukuev). The creative work of the painter C. Dykov is full of archetypical motifs and folkloric images of Altai nations, in a fruitful maturation of the idea of isomorphism from origins in pagan artistic consciousness. The school of Russian textiles was enriched in the works of V. A. Belyshev with motifs from Altai national ornamentation, which he studied in museum collections and through direct contact with pieces of Altai decorative and applied arts (fig. 2-3).

The formation of these painters’ worldview was promoted by acquaintance with



Fig. 3. G. A. Belyshev. Fabric design based on motifs of Russian ornamentation, 1970

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁷ Stepankaya 2005, p. 133.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 134.

the works of Russian philosophers, including G. P. Fedotov (1886-1951) who developed the theory of the “Russian idea.” Concerned with the fate of Russia, he wrote: “We overlooked the values and eternity of the spiritual hierarchy. There should be a distance between teachers and students, between writers and readers, between thinkers and popularisers. Otherwise, there will be nothing to be taught.”¹⁹ Fedotov’s thoughts - in particular that the only meaning of any human endeavour lies in its creativity, in the truth it reveals and the beauty it creates - are close to those of these painters. The philosopher was concerned about the return of merit to creative people. The hierarchy of society, the hierarchy of values, the priority of spiritual values and belief that the blessed property of art is a vivid feeling and sincerity are all ideas found in the works of another influential Russian religious philosopher I. A. Ilyin (1883-1954).

The imagery of the Altai Mountains was smoothly included into the artistic fabric of modern Russian painters, sculptors and masters of decorative and applied arts; the interaction of traditions from national and professional cultures was of great significance in this process. In the open Siberian educational space, the assimilation of traditions and national heritage is one of the prospective directions in academic, educational and development activities. It is worth noting that tradition and its succession does not exclude the uniqueness of cultural heritage of the regions, but they must act as guardians and sources to revive the spirituality so necessary in modern society.

Traditions represent the nation’s soul, preserving its core; they are regenerated in the context of new historical situations. Traditions and their renovation in art are demonstrated in conceptual exhibitions.

Conceptual exhibitions in Altai in the late 20th-early 21st century

Some conceptual exhibitions in Altai have become traditional, for example, the annual regional exhibition-contest “A Bright Festival of Christmas,” held in the “Universum” Institute Gallery (Barnaul). The art gallery of the art faculty of Altai State University, Universum was founded by the author of this article in 2003 as an academic base to train fine art experts. An important aspect of the gallery’s activity is instructional-educational, in that it illustrates how exhibitions can be a source of new knowledge about modern art (**fig. 4**). Expositions present additional and sometimes new material for academic investigations.

¹⁹ *Russkaya ideya* 1997, p. 381.



Fig. 4. Opening of the exhibition “A Bright Festival of Christmas” (2011)

Various centres of aesthetic education, art schools and Sunday schools from 35 regions of Altai exhibit watercolours, drawings, miniatures, embroidery, bead weaving and mixed media collages on the theme of Christmas; in total, more than 800 exhibits from 120 educational institutions are displayed.

The exhibition demonstrates how young authors (aged 5 to 17) and their teachers are drawn to the traditions of folk artistic craft such as Palekh painting, Khokhloma, Gzhel, weaving and ceramics. Quilling and dolls are also presented at the exposition. The gallery space is filled with the light and joy that pours forth from the exhibits. All collectives and some authors receive certificates of participation and diplomas. The award process is highly formal, with rewards and prizes handed over by senior representatives of the Barnaul Eparchy (**fig. 5-6**).



Fig. 5. Awards for the exhibition
“A Bright Festival of Christmas”
(2011)



Fig. 6. Children’s Art Schools, *Christmas Night*.
Patchwork

The exhibition dedicated to the artist V. S. Nekhaev (b. 1952) - a painter, poet and writer - offers an example of a different type of exhibition. The exhibition aroused various responses; viewers were astonished by the idiomatic nature of the language and narratives from the author's rich imagination. This was reflected in the name of the exhibition, "Flight of the Golden Horse."

Based on the works featured in the exhibition, a roundtable discussion on the topic of "Modern Fine Art in the Context of Traditions and Succession of Russian Art Schools" was held, chaired by the author of this article. Nekhaev also took part in the discussion, which covered the problems of professionalism in modern fine art; the consequences of unprofessionalism in different types of art; the question of artistic merit; the culture of art perception; and the professionalism of the fine art expert. Participants (teachers and students) focused their attention on the problems of artistic merit and the peculiarities of postmodernism. Using Nekhaev's works as a basis, participants formulated views on the levels of perception that could be brought to bear on the exposition, distinguishing emotional-evaluative, intellectual, psychological and objective levels (fig. 7-8).



Fig. 7. Painter V. S. Nekhaev



Fig. 8. Participants in the roundtable discussion

The conceptual exhibition "Flight of the Golden Horse" proved that a highly developed imagination is one of the preconditions for the birth of the artistic image.

The exhibition "Creative Impulse" (Barnaul, 2011) presented works by teachers and members of two higher educational institutions of Altai territory's capital: Altai State Academy of Culture and Art and Altai State University. The project met the spirit of times, calling for togetherness, the integration of cultures and creative cooperation, providing viewers with new opportunities to learn about the richness and complexity of the culture of

the magnificent place in which they live. It is culture - especially artistic culture - that makes each city unique. The world of art feeds and supports the city; cultural differences make cities extrinsically valuable.



Fig. 9. D. V. Demkina, *Café*, 2010.
Oil on canvas



Fig. 10. E. Stepanskaya, *Cherry*, 2010. Collage

The “Creative Impulse” exhibition aimed to assist the development of design and contextual thinking amongst teachers and students. It presented the individuality of contributing authors, expressing their relations with reality and the world through still-life paintings, portraiture, landscapes and animal motifs. The techniques used were varied: oil, watercolour, ink, pastel, coloured pencil, collage and even bead weaving were featured. Different generations were represented among the artists, but all were united by pedagogical activity and dedication to their work. The diversity of works motivated a dialogue between authors and viewers.

The problem of artistic merit is one of the main subjects of conversation and discussion. Art is developed through contradictions, but at present there appears to be a more romantic individualism, which is why so often the painter’s personality is a criterion for exhibition of his or her composition.

The exhibition was built on monographic principles. In general, it presented a mosaic of modern Altai art on a modest scale, from classical realism to manifestations of postmodernist aesthetics. Lyrical realism was presented in the works of S. M. Pogodaev, N. V. Grechneva, N. I. Seltsova, while the genteel images of V. I. Bochkovskaya were symbolic. O. Yu. Konyshcheva’s graphics also inclined towards this trend. Decorative origin was found in N. E. Kiseleva’s beautiful still-life. The author of this article tried to demonstrate spatial thinking and a feeling of colour harmony in the

collages *Cherry* (**fig. 10**), *Family* and *The Four Seasons*. S. V. Matyazh's animalistic drawings enriched the exposition. Characteristics of the nature of Zmeinogorsk were expressed in L. V. Shokorova's pastel drawing, while the works of D. V. Demkina demonstrated her grasp of the European Picturesque tradition. The same could be said of the philosophical composition *Dream* by M. G. Churilov. There was a special decorative accent in the bead weaving composition of L. V. Ivoylova,²⁰ while L. N. Turlyun's dynamic composition proved that computer graphics can produce a special type of art.²¹

"Creative Impulse" was an image, sign, metaphor, association, i.e. a multi-layered event in the cultural life of Barnaul. It highlighted one of the main tendencies in Altai modern art, to favour lyricism over demonstrations of theatrical optimism and pathos. New creative generations tend to find ways out to other spaces of picturesque vision. Works by painters of the late 20th-early 21st century present a complex, mosaic image of native art, ranging from classical realism to the newest modern tendencies (**fig. 9-10**) - it is in such contradictions that art develops.

At the beginning of the 21st century, a new phenomenon in the artistic life of Altai emerged: exhibitions of private collections. There are good reasons for considering the exhibition of private art collections in Altai to represent a valuable aspect of cultural life. The Russian philosopher and historian G. P. Fedotov wrote that "the first prerequisite of culture is man himself." The collector's personality makes a collection unique.

The exhibition of pieces from the collection of Father Superior M. S. Kapranov (1944-2008) of Holy-Nikolsky Church in Barnaul, which took place April-May 2008 at the "Universum" gallery, represented a historical event in the artistic life of Altai and attracted widespread public attention.

Mikhail Sergeevich Kapranov's aesthetic devotions and views on art were formed with reference to the works of Russian philosophers I. A. Ilyin (1883-1954) and K. N. Leontiev (1831-1891). Ilyin related the values of the Russian nation to living faith, conscience, family, Motherland, the spiritual power of the nation, organic unity with nature, personal liberty, social creativity, and a Russian brotherhood, able to hold to the idea of Orthodox Christianity with its "hearts and freedom."

K. N. Leontiev was a dedicated believer in a strong state, a protector of the Byzantine Orthodoxy and of hierarchic and aristocratic forms of social life. Leontiev tried to protect Russia from the "corrosive impact of West," stating in his article *About Worldwide Love* "I cannot understand for what we might love a modern European man.... New European humanity

²⁰ *Sodruzhestvo sozvezdii* 2011, p. 3.

²¹ Chernyaeva, Stepanskaya 2013, p. 795.

and Christian humanity are, undoubtedly, the antithesis [of each other], difficult to reconcile.”²²

Studying the works of Russian philosophers influenced the formation of Kapranov's personality both as an enlightener in the sphere of Orthodox culture, and as an intellectual, serving the idea of the spiritual renewal of Russia and its nations. The nature of Kapranov's worldview was reflected in the methods by which his collection was created, in its themes and content.

In terms of its origin, the collection is unique. It was not formed on the basis of academic principles, it does not attempt to present precise historical-cultural information on a specific period of the 20th century. Rather, the collection was based on reciprocal mental currents, spiritual religiosity and emotional attachments. Numerous sincere inscriptions on the canvas-stretchers on the back of works preserve and diffuse the light of hopes and hearty unions, the light of memory.

The exposition involved over 100 pieces by more than 20 authors. Altai painters were widely represented. The works of Krasnoyarsk painters were distinguished by the distinctiveness of their creative manner. Images of churches, flowers, lakes, forests, mountain ranges, the four seasons, morning and evening, the sun, old Barnaul, and ancient symbols of welfare and life were all found in the exposition. Nature was presented in harmony with humans, a union expressed in works by F. Filonov, V. Konkov, G. Borunov, M. Koveschnikova, E. Yugatkin, V. Barinov, Yu. Kabanov, V. Kudrinsky, S. Dykov and others.

Contemplating art expositions is connected with spiritual relief and aesthetic pleasure. Amongst the 100-plus works exhibited from Kapranov's collection, eight emerged from the brush of Maya Dmitrievna Koveschnikova, an honoured Russian painter (1926). Born in Novosila, Oryol Region, Koveschnikova attended the Orlovsky School of Art; in 1951 she came to Altai, participating in regional exhibitions from 1954; in 1968 she was admitted to the Union of Russian Painters. In Altai, Koveschnikova established herself as a master of still-life using particular themes and motifs; images of nature and encounters with people of Altai Region imbue her works. Kapranov liked her flower and landscape sketches. He was convinced that “the Peace of God is imprinted” in the creative work of painters. Kapranov particularly valued images of lilies of the valley, daisy wheels, forget-me-nots and cornflowers. These flowers symbolise welfare, beauty and the harmony of man with nature. The surrounding world is endlessly rich, and Koveschnikova apprehended this, soaking up its richness. For her, a still-life was not only a way to communicate with nature, but also a dialogue with the viewer.

²² *Russkaya ideya* 1997, p. 149.

Koveshnikova's still-life paintings can be perceived easily and personally by viewers; the main figure of the composition, maximally placed closer to the foreground, promotes this. Koveshnikova's colour palette is also characteristic. She presents the world in light shades and bright spots of colour: these are emotions, feelings, a way to manifest the soul. Sometimes her still-life compositions take the form of a rhombus or a pyramid, and sometimes the composition is chaotic, as, for instance, in the still-life pictures *Grass* and *Cosmos of Summer*. With a special rhythm, the decorative origins of the artist's still-life paintings are enriched through use of numerous reflexes and fine colour shading as, for example, in *Flowers* (1964), *Field Flowers*, *Lilies of the Valley* and *Lilac* (1996). The work *Pumpkins* held a special place in the exposition. A pile of large, yellow, sunny pumpkins is depicted in the foreground; in the distance is a stack of wood, a blind fence with homespun carpets hanging off it and trees perfused with radiance. Placing a still life within the surrounding environment is a typical device in Koveshnikova's art.

Koveshnikova's works brought a cheerful, inspired and light character to the exhibition, which corresponded well with the image of the compiler of the collection. As a priest, M. S. Kapranov bore the burden of national Orthodox culture confidently and with love, spreading its light widely among his contemporaries.

Exhibitions of family art collections have become widespread. An exhibition of just such a collection took place under the symbolic name "Confederates" in 2009 at the Shchetinins Art Gallery, Barnaul, devoted to the 80th anniversary of Altai painter and sculptor Prokopy Alekseevich Shchetinin (1928-2004). The exhibition name bore the conceptual subtitle "Prokopy Shchetinin and his generation." The exposition presented works from the Shchetinin family collection, including sculptures, paintings and graphics, created by P. A. Shchetinin's contemporaries.

"They lived in one country, in one century, they were raised by one culture - great Russia - participated in one national historical tragedy - the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 - and realised themselves creatively on one Altai ground."²³

Among the contemporaries of P. A. Shchetinin, many widely-known names were featured, such as N. P. Ivanov, S. I. Chernov and G. F. Borunov, as well as talented artists of another temperament who are also worth mentioning: N. I. Surikov, G. K. Tarsky, D. A. Komarov, M. F. Zherebtsov, V. I. Goldyrev, P. S. Panarin, V. A. Zoteev, P. G. Kortikov and F. A. Filonov. Each of these names is somewhat significant and weighty. The creative work of painters of this generation grew on Altai ground, they

²³ Stepanaskaya 2009, p. 7.

derived the sources of their masterpieces from the traditions of native schools of art.²⁴ Many pieces in the exposition were exhibited to the public for the first time, deepening viewers' understanding of these painters. Much attention was attracted by the drawing *A Portrait of Rigan* (1947) by G. K. Tarsky, picturesque sketches *Katunsk Backwater* (1980) by N. P. Ivanov, *On Kasmal* (1996) by G. F. Borunov and *Spring Water* (1993) by F. A. Filonov. The pictures *The Last Beam* (1958) by N. I. Surikov and *The City of Childhood* (1971) by L. R. Tsessulevich were revelations for the viewers.

The exhibition of this unique private collection, which covered the period from 1947 to 2003, allowed viewers to evaluate Altai art of the second half of the 20th century from the perspective of modern artistic culture and art academia. The exhibition of private collections opens up new dimensions in regional art.

Conclusions

Everyday consciousness can be overrun by means of creativity and art perception; the development of artistic consciousness is based on the synthesis of artistic traditions of previous epochs and contemporaneity. Artistic consciousness acquires a multi-layered character, moves towards a higher level, as seen in conceptual exhibitions of not only capital cities but regions, demonstrated in this article through the example of exhibitions in Altai.

The influence of art on everyday consciousness and everyday life is multi-faceted: modern exhibitions of artworks motivate viewers to engage in dialogue on new ideas and symbols - the high-minded, tragic and beautiful - directing them towards traditional values and promoting individual interpretations of modern artistic images.

The issues discussed in this article are urgent and require further study and analysis. Conceptual exhibitions, as a dialogue between art and its contemporaries, are valuable sources for those investigating this problem.

²⁴ *Xudozhniki Altaia* 2005, p. 55.

**Conceptual Art Exhibitions as a Dialogue between Art and Its Contemporaries
(Based on the Study of Exhibition Practice in the Altai Territory
in Siberia around the Turn of the 21st Century)**

(Abstract)

This article discusses the role of private art galleries in the conceptual organisation of exhibitions in the Siberian region. It describes specific art exhibitions, held in the late 20th-early 21st century in the territories of Siberia and Altai, presenting the typology of exhibitions as well as underlining their concepts and innovative features.

The study's objectives are to show the interaction of fine art, everyday life and everyday consciousness, applying assumptions that have been developed in cultural studies, aesthetics and art criticism to the analysis of exhibition activity in capital cities and regions. The study takes art exhibitions as a source for analysing the interaction of art, everyday life and everyday consciousness, specifically exploring conceptual exhibitions held in Altai around the turn of the 21st century.

Based on specialist academic literature on this topic, as well as the study of exhibition practice in the territories of Altai and Siberia, the author offers the following conclusions:

1. Artistic life is characterised by a nonlinear development, accompanied by periods of decline and activity;
2. Artistic life is a reflection of the cultural life of society and an important condition for its development;
3. Interaction between everyday consciousness and art enhances social and cultural dynamics; culture expands the creative potential of the society;
4. Creativity and perception of art at exhibitions contribute to society, going beyond the boundaries of ordinary consciousness;
5. Exhibition experiences show that the harmonious development of artistic culture requires a synthesis of traditions and innovations, professional and folk art. This synthesis provides a multilevel artistic consciousness;
6. New divergent points-of-view are currently being formed in the public mind concerning exhibitions and curators of exhibitions.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

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Keywords: globalisation, sublimation, everyday consciousness, everyday life, tradition, exhibition, creativity, art.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerica. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskoye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archives. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskoy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskies i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolyicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

SLAVERY IN THE SOCIETY OF EARLY MEDIEVAL TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA (BASED ON WRITTEN AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS)

Nikolay Nikolaevich SEREGIN*

Tatiana Sergeevna PARSHIKOVA**

Introduction

Reconstructing former social systems is an important aspect of research into the history of nomadic societies. Study of this question is of great importance in identifying the mechanisms by which nomadic civilisations functioned. The social and political history of the early medieval Turks of Central Asia has been repeatedly approached by researchers. The majority of works are based on data from written sources such as Turkic runic texts and Chinese chronicles.¹ Besides this, there are also publications devoted to the analysis and social interpretation of archaeological materials.² However, despite a significant amount of research, many questions regarding the social history of early medieval Turks remain open. Among them, issues around the existence of slaves or dependent segments of the population in nomadic society in the second half of the first millennium AD is of particular interest. An in-depth analysis of this problem, taking into account new source materials, is presented in this article.

Materials and methods

For a long time, research into the social history of early medieval Turks was based only on the study of written sources - runic texts and Chinese dynastic chronicles. However these materials have a number of shortcomings, not least that opportunities for obtaining new information from their analysis have already been exhausted. Therefore, this study adopts other approaches, undertaking a social interpretation of findings

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¹ Mori 1967; Mori 1981; Czegledy 1972; Ecsedy 1972; Ecsedy 1988; Bastug 1999.

² Stark 2008; Seregin 2013b.

from the excavation of early medieval Turkic archaeological sites. These archaeological complexes can be divided into two types: funeral and ritual. The methodology of social interpretation is based upon the assumption that the materials of a monument built in honour of a dead person reflects that person's status. Theoretical and practical provisions for such work are laid out in detail in many research publications on this topic,³ and have previously been applied by the author of this article to the analysis of sites of early medieval Turks of Central Asia.⁴

When seeking evidence for the existence of slavery in nomadic society based on archaeological materials, one difficulty that arises is defining the criteria by which burials of dependent segments of the population can be identified. Helpfully, a number of studies by archaeologists present practical experience of interpreting excavated materials from this point of view. In Scythian burials investigated in various territories of Eurasia, the "dependent" status of the dead was defined by the following indicators: the unusual disposition of the buried person, his arrangement outside the main burial construction, a lack of inventory and the detection of burial sites for the poor near those for the rich.⁵ Obviously, unquestioning application of these criteria as they stand would be an incorrect approach to interpreting archaeological complexes of societies of other periods and regions. At the same time, it is expedient to accurately identify analogies, considering the universal nature of the development of nomadic societies across a wide chronological and territorial framework.

Results and discussion

Information contained in written sources (Chinese chronicles and Turkic texts) demonstrates that segments of the population in Turkic society were characterised by varying degrees of dependence. Various terms were used to designate slaves, probably reflecting the unequal positions they held and a clear differentiation in their degree of dependence. Military campaigns were one means of replenishing the number of dependent people in Turkic society.⁶ According to data from written sources, female slaves had great value.⁷

The fragmented and incomplete information obtainable from written sources on slavery's existence in early medieval Turk society demands

³ Binford 1971, p. 23; Tainter 1978, p. 105-141; Carr 1995, p. 178-190.

⁴ Seregin 2013b.

⁵ Ilyinskaya 1966, p. 166-167; Hazanov 1975, p. 134-135; Grach 1980, p. 48.

⁶ Bernshtam 1946, p. 117-126.

⁷ Kljastornyj 1985, p. 162-166.

further verification and specification through the analysis of archaeological materials. However, findings from excavations in Central Asia provide a very limited amount of information on the topic. Only a few complexes with characteristics that indicate the presence of a dependent population are known.

S. V. Kiselev⁸ suggests that some of the graves he excavated in the burial grounds Tuekta⁹ and Kuray-IV¹⁰ can be connected with slaves or dependent people. Proceeding from his descriptions, it is possible to divide the relevant objects into two groups. 1. Small stone embankments or rings located separately or around a large barrow or under its embankment; in most cases single burials but some including a horse. The inventory of other materials accompanying such finds is characteristically not numerous. 2. Burials of people accompanying the main grave of an “elite” barrow.

Unfortunately, full consideration of the designated materials and an assessment of Kiselyov’s conclusions are complicated by the fact that his results were published only partially. Therefore there remain questions connected with the cultural and chronological features of certain specific burial sites.

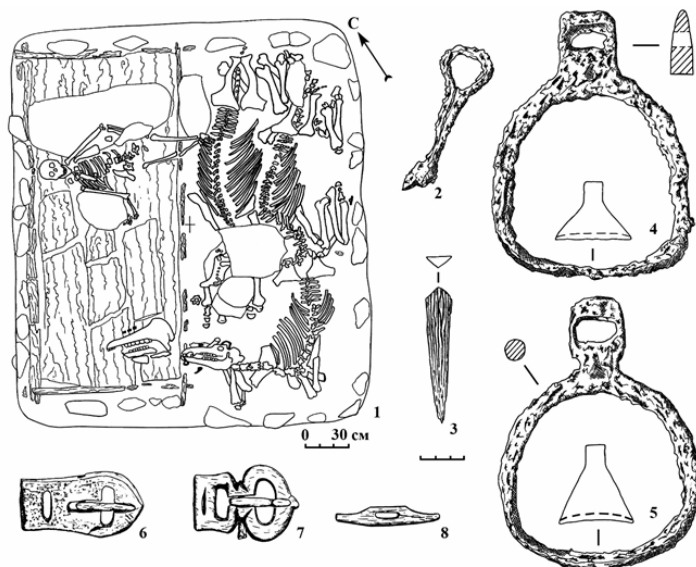


Fig. 1. Site Borotal-I, mound no. 50 (redrawn after Kubarev 1985, fig. 4).
1: plan of the grave; 2-8: fragments of horse-riding equipment from the burial

⁸ Kiselev 1949, p. 299-302.

⁹ Tuekta: burial ground located to the northeast of the village of Tuekta (Russia, Mountain Altai, Onguday area).

¹⁰ Kuray IV: burial ground located in the mountain region of Southern Altai, including some barrows.

A situation similar to that recorded by Kiselev was noted in elite barrow No. 1 at the Kuray-IV burial ground, during the excavation of the necropolis Borotal-I¹¹ (**fig. 1**). A cenotaph with accompanying burials lacking an inventory was investigated in one of the early medieval Turk barrows. According to V. D. Kubarev,¹² this burial illustrated the widely-distributed tradition of placing slaves or dependent people with dead notables in the Early Middle Ages.

The most indicative characteristics suggesting such finds related to slavery or dependents at this site were:

1. The atypical orientation of the burial; frame arranged across a sepulchral hole, without separate funeral camera (chamber), or outside the main design;
2. Lack of any inventory;
3. Burial not accompanied by a horse, an important indicator of “standard” burials in Turkic culture;
4. An “accompanying” type burial, within the grave of a representative of the Turkic elite.

It is important to note that these indicators are completely identical to those recorded by archaeologists during excavation of other sites from different chronological periods and across extensive territories.

Besides these finds, it is necessary to consider other early medieval Turkic complexes which indicate the existence of slavery. The interpretation of the inventory-less “accompanying” burials excavated on necropolises MarkelovMys-I and II, as well as those outside the boundaries of the main elite graves¹³ is still under discussion. Furthermore, some “inlet” burials which were not accompanied by the burial of a horse or other items of stock may relate to lower class representatives of early medieval Turkic populations.

One indirect factor confirming the existence of dependent segments of Turkic society is the rather high level of development in the nomads’ social system.¹⁴ It is necessary to emphasise that there are no fixed signs which can be said to accurately confirm the burial of a dependent individual, based on these archaeological remains. At the same time, the limited status of the dead person can be shown, for example, by his non-possession of a weapon, which was, judging by the available information,

¹¹ Kubarev 1985, p. 138-140, fig. 4.

¹² Ibid., p. 146-147.

¹³ Mitko, Teterin 1998, p. 402-403.

¹⁴ Seregin 2013b, p. 127-143.

one of the main indicators of an adult man in early medieval nomadic society.

It is impossible to exclude the possibility that the burial of dependent people in Turkic society is not reflected in archaeological finds, for various reasons. It is possible that a standard complex was not constructed for the burial of individuals of low social status, for example, that no mound embankment was built. In that case, the available materials are not representative and are of a selective character. The possibility that similar traditions existed in various societies and cultures has been repeatedly emphasised by archaeologists.¹⁵ This assumption has yet to be confirmed from the results of excavations of early medieval Turkic sites. However, the small number of burials of early medieval nomads in the Altai-Sayan region and Central Asia, compared to sites from other periods in that territory, as well as specifics of some child burial sites,¹⁶ can be connected with this circumstance.

Conclusions

The developed differentiation of society, indicated both in written sources and by certain indicators in burial complexes, makes it possible to assume the existence of a relatively small segment of the early medieval Turk nomad community whose position was characterised by a certain degree of dependence. It is necessary to emphasise that this dependence, in view of the challenging ethno-social conditions in Central Asia in the second half of the first millennium AD, could have been of various types, for example, military-political (the subordinated position of people seized during military campaigns, or the low status of ethnic minorities or animal breeders in the structure of nomadic empires, etc.), or economic (due to the impoverishment of some segments of the population).

Slavery in the Society of Early Medieval Turks of Central Asia (Based on Written and Archaeological Materials)

(Abstract)

This article concerns the question of the existence of slavery in the society of the early medieval Turks of Central Asia. The research is based on an integrated approach which assumes the correlation of analysed data from written and archaeological sources.

Segments of early medieval Turkic society could be characterised by varying degrees of dependence, according to Turkic texts and Chinese chronicles. Verifying these sources

¹⁵ Hazanov 1975, p. 135; Berseneva 2011, p. 42-46.

¹⁶ Seregin 2013a, p. 89-92.

through archaeological finds requires the definition of criteria for identifying burials of such dependents. Analysis of archaeological finds has identified a group of burial sites that differed from “standard” graves, defined by the low status the dead appeared to have held during their lifetime.

The most indicative features for the interpretation of such finds were: atypical orientation of the grave; frame arranged across a sepulchral hole, without a separate funeral camera (chamber) or placed outside the main grave complex; lack of any inventory; burial not accompanied by a horse (as per “standard burials” in nomadic Turkic culture); or burial accompanying that of an elite individual.

It is also necessary to consider other early medieval Turkic complexes which indicate the existence of slavery. The interpretation of “accompanying” burials with no inventory which are outside the boundaries of the main ‘elite’ burial complex remains under discussion. Furthermore, some “inlet” burials which were not accompanied by the burial of a horse or other items of stock may relate to lower class representatives of early medieval Turkic populations.

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Keywords: Turks, Early Middle Ages, social history, slavery, archaeological sites, Central Asia, written sources.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

ETHNOCULTURAL CONNECTIONS IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE LIVING IN THE NORTH OF THE PACIFIC COAST

Alexander Vladimirovich MOLODIN*

Introduction

The coast of the Bering Sea - the juncture of the Eurasian continent and North America - has long attracted the attention of researchers from various academic disciplines, and first and foremost amongst these studies are those dealing with ancient ethnic connections between the indigenous peoples of this vast region.

Ethnographers have noted the closeness of different cultural elements, household activities and mindsets amongst indigenous people of the north of Asia and America. Many studies have been devoted to exploring similar elements in the culture of the indigenous people of Siberia and North America.¹

In modern ethnography, scientific research seeking evidence that proves the connections between the indigenous populations across this region continues to be one of the most relevant academic issues.

Considerable contributions to the study of this issue have been made by archaeologists, anthropologists and linguists. In the 1990s a number of scientific teams in Russia and the USA (including a group of scientists led by Novosibirsk geneticist R. I. Sukernik,² I. A. Zakharov³ and a group of American researchers S. W. Ballinger, Th. G. Schurr and A. Torroni⁴) worked on studies of the ethnogenetic kinship of indigenous people from Siberia and America.

The conclusions of large-scale studies based on the comparison of the DNA of different ethnoses of the indigenous people have generally

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¹ Molodin 2013, p. 141-148.

² Sukernik et al. 1996, p. 432-439.

³ Zakharov 2013, p. 139-144.

⁴ Ballinger et al. 1992, p. 139-152.

confirmed the theory that the American continent was populated via the Bering Strait.

The most stable element of material culture is found in traditional construction. It is here that the significant role of a human in his desire to adapt to the surrounding natural environment is manifested.⁵ Methods of building residential, utility and ceremonial buildings are transferred from generation to generation, often preserving traditional elements throughout the course of many generations. Despite this, the indigenous architecture that is most often manifested in constructing residential buildings is noticeably affected by changes in economic activity, social transformations or the appearance of new construction technologies from outside. All this has a significant impact upon architectural traditions and inevitably affects the construction and dimensional-spatial composition of buildings.

Archaeologists have led many field studies based on the supposition that Siberian paleontological monuments have analogues in North America.⁶ It is interesting that the earliest discovered Palaeolithic sites with semi-underground dwellings of Siberian, Far Eastern and Aleutian native residents date back to the 10th-12th millennia BC, relating in time to the last human migration to the New World in that era.

Specifically due to this, an analysis of the architectural traditions of the indigenous populations of the Bering Sea Coast which indicated a shared identity on these different continents would serve as additional proof for the theory of the ethnogenetic kinship between the people populating these regions.

As of today, there has been no general comparative analysis of the architecture of the indigenous people of this region; such a study, together with the results of existing ethnogenetic, linguistic and ethnographical studies, could serve as additional evidence for the ethnocultural interaction between the people of the Bering Sea.

The aim of this article is to find the main trends and connections between architectural traditions of indigenous populations living within the geographical borders of the present study, separated by the Bering Strait.

Literature review

The most important work exploring the architecture of the indigenous population of America was by P. Nabokov and R. Easton; however the

⁵ Smith 2011, p. 195.

⁶ Astakhov 1973, p. 194-196; Dikov 1967, p. 165-182; Karlson 1983, p. 69-71; Murdoch 1970, p. 63-67; Nelson 1937, p. 267-272.

issues of the region being studied were touched upon only superficially in their work due to the wide geographical scope of their study, and Siberian architectural traditions are not mentioned at all.⁷

The seminal study of residential buildings of the indigenous residents of Siberia, which united many anthropological and culturological studies, is the work of Z. P. Sokolova.⁸

At the beginning of the 20th century, W. I. Jochelson⁹ attempted to follow the succession of Far Eastern and American construction traditions amongst native populations. In a development on this theme, at the end of the 1980s N. N. Gutsol completed an ethnographical study of the culture of American and Asian Inuits.¹⁰ However, both of these studies were ethnographical in character and did not consider the construction traditions of the indigenous populations from an architectural point of view. Despite this, they serve as a basis for studying the architecture of the Siberian and North American indigenous nations of the Pacific Coast in the present study.

Classification of residential buildings of the indigenous residents of the Pacific Ocean Coast of Asia and America

The problem of typology with regards to Siberian and American traditional dwellings has a long history. Thanks to a lack of coherence between studies on this topic by Russian and American scientists, the classifications offered up until now mostly take into account the peculiarities of only one region and touch only insignificantly upon the opposite bank of the Bering Sea, or else do not take it into account at all.

Based on his own research and summarizing the suggested versions of classification, the author proposes introducing a matrix-type classification of residential constructions. In the first parameter, residential constructions are separated into underground (half-pit and pit houses) with the floor below ground level, ground level constructions with the floor at the same level as the ground, and superterranean or over-ground houses with the floor above ground level. The second parameter classifies houses according to the type of roof: tent-roofed, dome or half-dome, and duo-pitched roofs (see **table 1**).

⁷ Nabokov, Easton 1989, p. 111.

⁸ Sokolova 1998.

⁹ Jochelson 1906, p. 281-294; Jochelson 1908, p. 118-128.

¹⁰ Gutsol 1989.

This suggested classification fully reflects the diversity of traditional dwellings around the Pacific Coast of Asia and America and incorporates the most widely used types of construction on this territory.

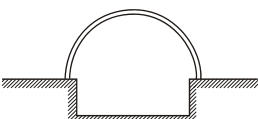

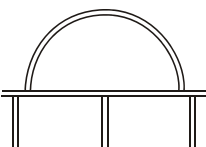
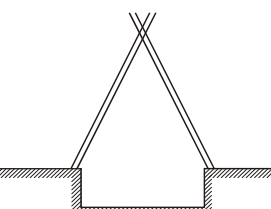
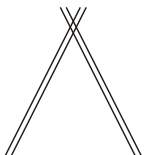
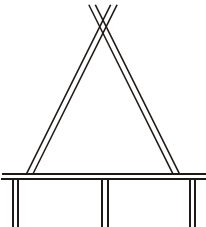
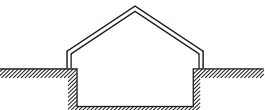
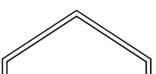
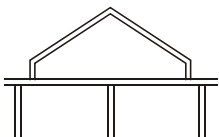
	Underground	Ground level	Over the ground level
Dome-roofed			
Tent-roofed			
Duo-pitched roofed			

Table 1. Classification of residential structures of indigenous people of the North Pacific Ocean coast

The dimensional-spatial and constructive characteristics of residential constructions of indigenous populations of the Bering Sea area

Underground dwellings can be seen around the whole coastal perimeter of the region being studied; these dwellings more often than not belong to non-migratory tribes that engage in fishing, hunting and gathering. This type of structure is the most widely used because it corresponds best to the thermo-technical requirements for dwellings in the conditions of the far North, is technically simple to build, and requires less in the way of construction materials, which is important in conditions where such things are in short supply.

Tent-roofed half-pit houses were common among Kamtchatka Itelmens, Outer Manchuria Ulchis, Sakhalin Nivkhis, North Kamtchatka Koryaks,

Asian and American Aleutians, Inuits and Alaskan Indians (Atna, Tanana, Koyukon, Kuchin, Hen, Harer, Chiklotin, etc.). As we can see, tent-roofed half-pit houses were common on both coasts of the Bering Sea and the Pacific Ocean. Such half-pit houses had the following distinctive compositional and constructive features: the depth of setting the foundation pit was approximately 1 m (\pm 30 cm); the floor plan was a circle or a square with an area of 20 to 40 m², with sides of equal proportions. The walls were made of narrow or split logs which protected the foundation pit from caving in. A system of rafters leaned on four central columns, shielding an opening for smoke.



Fig. 1. Koryak dwelling with a trumplate to protect from wind and snow
(source: <http://www.museum.ru/alb/image.asp?6063>)

The entrance to the dwelling was through the smoke hole, by means of a slanting log with notches hewn out for stairs. There were no windows in the dwelling; daylight came in through the smoke/entrance hole. In order to air the space inside and create a draught across the fire bed, a long, low tunnel was built on the side of the dwelling. The tunnel was covered on top with soil and sometimes served as an entrance for women and children.

Quite often, especially among Kamtchatka Koryaks, such dwellings had a special device called a “rastrub” (trumplate) in the form of an upside-down cone, which protected the smoke hole from wind and snow (see **fig. 1**). American Inuits sometimes used a cross-type floor plan.

Similar to the previous type of dwellings *duo-pitched roofed half-pit houses* became common among Asian Nivkhs, Koryaks, Itelmens, Asian and American Aleutians, Inuits, Alaskan Indians and amongst tribes found further down the entire north-western coast of North America.

These rectangular plan, semi-underground structures were shallower in depth (from 0.3 to 1 m). The cladding structures of the wall prevented the edges of the pit from caving in and were made of hewn half-beams placed horizontally. It is necessary to note that due the development of construction practices and technology amongst the native population, soil binding was replaced by a complex system of grooved connections between the half-beams that formed the wall and frame of the building. What at first glance look like simple constructions were in fact not so primitive. The rafters of the duo-pitched roof rested on two parallel rows of overhead beams ("knes"). Gables were made of thin, horizontally placed logs or half-beams, covered with soil to reduce heat loss. Just as in tent-roofed half-pit houses, the fire bed was located in the centre, under an opening for smoke. The structure included an underground corridor for ventilation that sometimes also served as an entrance.

The last type of underground structure is *dome-roofed half-pit houses*. This type of structure became common among the sea animal hunters of North-Eastern Asia and Western America: namely, coastal Chukchi and Asian and American Inuits. The type of dome was determined by the material used for the dome's rafters - whale ribs. The materials mainly used for the structure of a dwelling of this type were the fins and bones of large sea animals. Sometimes unmortared stones were also used in construction.

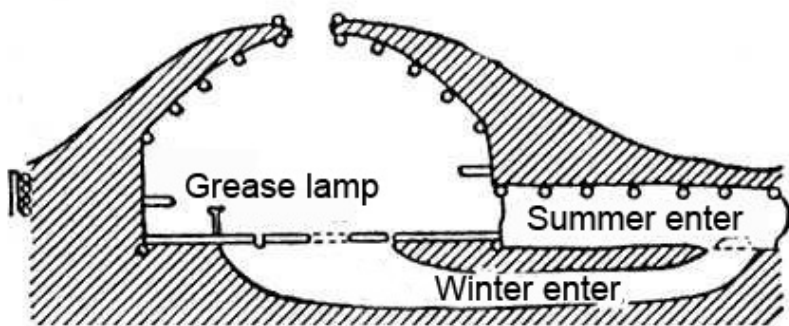


Fig. 2. Cross-section showing how a dome-roofed half-pit house was set up
(source: *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Encyclopedia*, <http://bse.sci-lib.com/particle009456.html>)

The distinguishing features of the dimensional-spatial composition of such dwellings include a round or oval floor plan for a pit of small area (18-20 m²) but significant depth, reaching up to human height (up to 1.7 m). The walls were constructed of stones or whale bones (often skulls and jaws). The domed roof was made of whale ribs resting around the perimeter of the dwelling on the constructions that shored up the walls of the pit. Such dwellings often did not have a fire bed; instead a grease lamp (*zhirmik*) that did not emit soot or smoke was used. There was no opening for smoke: air passed through special ventilation holes that could be opened and closed. A corridor through which people could enter the space was characteristic of this region, and wooden benches along the perimeter were also used (see **fig. 2**).

Fur curtains (fairly low divisions made of animal hides located inside the space) that were common in dome-roofed half-pit houses most likely originated from the traditions of earlier ground-level structures, where there were often whole systems of curtains forming tiny rooms to keep the temperature comfortable in extremely cold conditions.

Data from multiple archaeological surveys tells us that the *ground-level dwellings* that became widely used on the territory of continental Siberia and the North American continent are more ancient than the underground dwellings, and are connected, primarily, with the nomadic lifestyle of individual nations.

The main constructive features of ground-level dwellings differ according to the type of framework and the shielding constructions - the "covers" - which were typically made of animal hides (for the winter version) or of tree bark, grass mats or fish skin (in the summer).

Dome-roofed ground-level dwellings built of whale ribs were popular among the tribes of the Amur delta who were fishermen, groups of Northern Atapasks (Koyukons, Tananas, Kuchins, Havs, Harers, etc), as well as Inuits of the Alaskan region and separate groups of tribes along the Mackenzie River. Also to be found within the author's classification of dome-roofed ground-level dwellings are yarangas: deer hide-covered dwellings common among Koryaks, Evenks, Yugars and deer-hunting Chukchi, or those common among coastal Chukchi and Asian Inuits which were covered in hides of sea mammals. The frame of a yaranga is made of two levels of light wooden flexible poles that act as rafters of the roof and as slanted rafters inside the walls and of the dome above them. The central opening of a yaranga is oriented to the North in order to improve its aerodynamic characteristics in conditions of strong tundra winds.

Less common in the North Pacific Ocean region were the *tent-roofed ground-level dwellings* known as uras and chums, built by Orochis, Udygeis, Ulchis, Nanais, Nivkhs, Oroks and Evenks. Uras and chums, in the same way as yarangas, were frame-based, but unlike yarangas the frame was a tent formed of long poles placed around its perimeter. The construction of a chum is based upon two or three supporting poles that are tied together at the top with a loop, with up to 50 poles of smaller diameter reclining against them. These smaller poles are placed in a circle and form a frame for the covering. The length of the poles is from 5 to 7 m, and they have pointed ends which are stuck in the ground. Chums were walled with coverings made of moose and deer hides in winter, and with bark and branches of trees, grass mats and fish skin in the summer (see **fig. 3**).



Fig. 3. Chum (source: www.yakutskhistory.net/наука-в-якутии/нохельсон)

Evidence from ethnographical and archaeological studies makes it possible to determine the area across which the use of *duo-pitched roofed ground level* structures was spread. These dwellings were more common among Sakhalin Oroks, Udygeits, Uchis, Inkhs, Itelmens and Atapas of Alaska and Canada. They were also more advanced buildings from the point of view of construction technique. For example, Ulichis walled their dwellings with hewn half-beams or round logs of small diameter, whilst Inkhs covered their dwellings in wicker.

The system of heating was conceptually different among Amur and American duo-pitched roof rectangular ground-level structures: Amur nations used grease lamps whilst north-west coast Indians used the more ancient fire bed.¹¹ This was probably related to the geographical separation of the nations during periods when heating technology was advancing.

The internal layout of such dwellings, however, was similar in all ground level structures. Traditions regarding layout of the inside space of ground-level dwellings go back to the oldest common stratum in the culture of indigenous people on both sides of the Bering Strait. Curtains were used everywhere to create separate, relatively low chambers made of animal skins attached with the help of poles to a horizontal beam. The dwellings were heated with stone grease lamps ("zhirniks"). Multiple families lived inside, separated by curtains. The floor of the structure was covered by layers of mats, the first made of small twigs, then dry wood or grass and, finally, animal hides. An open fire was made in the cold space of the structure (i.e. outside the curtains). In this way the internal organization of the dwelling, with its two-step system of heating, helped to create a comfortable temperature for living.

Less commonly, *over-ground* or pile-supported structures were built in the 18th-20th centuries along the whole Northern territory of the Pacific Ocean coastline. Such structures were mainly used as utility structures or summer dwellings. In winter families used underground structures. One of the main reasons for the appearance of this type of structure was the inter-seasonal floods characteristic of the Pacific Ocean coastal regions, which often flooded underground dwellings. Another reason was the excessive saturation of the soil during the seasonal rainy period.

Dome-roofed and tent-roofed over-ground structures were characteristic of Itelmens. Such structures were also built for utility purposes by American Inuits of the Bering Strait region.¹² In terms of construction, over-ground structures were little different from ground-level ones, the only difference being that their floors were built on top of nine tall wooden piles made of thick logs with an approximate height of 4 m (or else stumps of an appropriate height were used). The piles, which were dug into the ground, were placed in rows of three, all equidistant from each other. The piles were connected with horizontal beams, to which the flooring, made of small round logs, was attached (see **fig. 4**).

Duo-pitched over-ground structures were characteristic of dwellers around the Western coast of Sakhalin and the Amur estuary.

¹¹ Hoagland 2004, p. 375.

¹² Zagoskin 1847, p. 56-58; Murdoch 1892, p. 72-97; Nelson 1899, p. 221-229.



Fig. 4. Koryak village with “summer” over ground-level and “winter” underground structures (figure by Stepan Petrovich Krashennnikov)

Here the buildings were shorter - the piles were usually 1.3-1.6 m in height - and furthermore, the platform overhung the perimeter symmetrically by 1.5-2 meters. The roofing frame of these summer buildings was based upon four columns that bore horizontal beams. These horizontal logs had a lineal groove into which thin planks or narrow-diameter logs could be fitted. This type of walling was convenient because it was easy to take a section out in order to air the space. The covering of such structures was made out of birch bark on hewn or round boarding. The structure was oriented with its exit towards the southern side.

The construction of the ground-level duo-pitched dwellings built by the Bela-Kula, Quakiutli (Vancouver island), Nutka and Tsimshan Indians was almost no different from the Far Eastern ones except for the horizontal position of half-beams in the wall structures.¹³

Conclusions

The traditional dwellings of the native populations of the coastal territory of the Pacific Ocean and the Bering Sea were diverse in their construction and their dimensional-spatial type. The base of the majority of structures was a frame covered with animal hides, tree bark, grass wicker or small twigs and/or covered with soil. These structures can be categorized into underground (pit or half-pit houses), ground-level and over-ground (pile-

¹³ Sutherland 2003, p. 191-212.

supported) structures. The last of these - over-ground structures - were more often used as dwellings in the summer time or as utility structures. The dimensional-spatial composition of the covering could be closer to a dome, a tent or have a duo-pitched cross-section.

All of the types of structures presented above were widely used both in the Asian and American territories, which convincingly proves the connection between the construction traditions of indigenous people in territories separated by the Bering Strait. This confirms the findings of archaeological, ethnographical and ethnogeological studies which suggest ethnic kinship between the native populations of the whole coastal territory of the North of Pacific Ocean and the Bering Sea.

At the same time, the division of an ethnoculturally-connected population by the appearance of the Bering Strait 10-12,000 years ago meant that these communities subsequently improved their own architectural traditions independently, which explains the minor differences in heating systems, wall cladding and frame construction when building residential and utility structures.

Ethnocultural Connections in the Architecture of the Indigenous People Living in the North of the Pacific Coast

(Abstract)

In this article, the author demonstrates the similarity in construction traditions of indigenous nations separated by the Bering Strait and confirms the hypothesis of a close ethnic connection between them. Making use of the analysis of the available printed and archival sources, archaeological data and observations of actual buildings, this study aims to find the main trends and connections between architectural traditions of those indigenous people living within the geographical borders of the study who are separated by the Bering Strait. A comprehensive analysis of various construction and dimensional-planning characteristics of buildings provides an opportunity to offer a simple and all-encompassing classification of the latter based on the position of buildings relative to ground level - underground structures, ground-level structures, and over-ground structures - and the dimensional-spatial composition of the roof, which may be closer to a dome, a tent or have a duo-pitched cross-section. All of these types of structures were widely used in both Asian and American territories, which convincingly proves the connection between construction traditions of indigenous people in territories separated by the Bering Strait. This confirms the findings of archaeological, ethnographical and ethnogeological studies which suggest there is ethnic kinship between the native populations of the whole coastal territory of the North of Pacific Ocean and the Bering Sea. At the same time, the division of an ethnoculturally connected population by the appearance of the Bering Strait 10-12,000 years ago meant that the people subsequently improved their own architectural traditions independently, which explains the minor differences in heating systems, wall cladding and frame construction when building residential and utility structures. This article pays

considerable attention to describing the structure and methods of constructing such buildings.

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Keywords: architecture of the indigenous people of the North, ethnocultural connections, Asia, America, the Bering Sea.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskoye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archives. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskoy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolyicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

THE “VAST PROCESS OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION” IN SIBERIA DURING WORLD WAR I (1914-1918)*

Tatiana Anatolievna KATTSINA**

Introduction

The First World War period was marked by active transformations in all spheres of Russian society. The war was accompanied by breaches in labour practices and deformation of people's mode of life. Family relationships were broken up. People's mentality, behaviour and survival strategies both at the front lines and deep inside the country were changed. The number of people in need of help increased by many times. The masses faced real disaster when the ruble collapsed during the war. By the beginning of 1917, the value of a ruble had decreased to 60 kopecks, and by the end of 1917 it was a mere 31 kopecks - less than a third of its former value. The resultant high price of all consumer goods knocked the financial circumstances of the typical citizen to below the level of minimum subsistence.¹

During World War I, the idea that social assistance for citizens in need was the responsibility of state and society appeared in Russia. Various organisations were created all over the country to help war victims. Their activity, from the viewpoint of social necessities and interests, remains insufficiently studied due to the extensive and multi-aspect character of this topic. At the same time, the existence and level of maturity of civil society institutions in the political system of pre-revolutionary Russia is a highly debatable question in historical studies. The status of modern views on the problems of civil society and the public sphere in Russia is clearly illustrated in the works of J. Bradley,² A. Lindenmeyr,³ M. Hildermayer,⁴ B. Mironov,⁵

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¹ *Istoriya Sibiri* 1968, p. 447.

² Bradley 2009.

³ Lindenmeyr 1996.

⁴ Hildermayer 2003.

⁵ Mironov 2003.

A. Tumanova⁶ and other authors. Historians suggest that it is precisely non-political societies that should be considered a model of self-organisation within the bounds of which a culture of public activity developed and national consent was achieved.

Concepts of civil society and the public sphere serve not only as analytical categories in studies of the formation of individual and group identity, or of relations between the state and the individual. They also occupy a central position in the search for the reasons behind the failure of liberal alternative of the revolution in Russia.⁷ According to L. Bulgakova, during World War I the increasing strength of oppositional public organisations, such as the All-Russia Zemsky Union and the All-Russia Urban Union of Assistance for Sick and Wounded Soldiers, represented a significant danger for the existing regime. Yet in practice there were no available substitutes for them: “Being a stronghold of liberal opposition, public organisations drew the death hour of the monarchy closer.”⁸

Obviously it is impossible to offer a multi-faceted analysis of such a complicated political, social and mental phenomenon as public organisations in a short article. So, this paper is confined to the solution of two interconnected and understudied tasks: 1. to show the influence of World War I on the development of public initiative, based on the example of Siberia; 2. to classify public organisations whose activity was connected with giving various kinds of help to war victims.

Research sources and methods

The study is based on reconsidering already-known materials and the discovery of new sources. Constitutional acts that characterise the legal status of public organisations, information and reference documents (reports, reviews, essays) and organisational documents (charters, regulations, instructions) of public organisations provided much of the source material. These materials are kept in the collections of central and regional archives of Siberia.⁹ Periodicals also occupied an important place in the list of sources (in particular, the journals *Care and Charity in Russia* and

⁶ Tumanova et al. 2011.

⁷ Russian Revolution: a conditional name for revolutionary events in Russia in 1917. These occurred mostly in the capital, Petrograd (Saint Petersburg) starting with the deposition of the Tsarist regime by the February Revolution, when a Provisional Government took power. This was deposed in its turn by the October Revolution, which announced the arrival of Soviet Russia.

⁸ Bulgakova 2008, p. 12.

⁹ Siberia: a vast geographic region in the North-East of the Russian Empire (Russia). Siberia is divided into West Siberia and East Siberia.

Labour Help, as well as the newspaper *Herald of Pri-Yeniseysky Krai*). These publications disclosed various aspects of the work of public organisations, reported the response of Siberian society to this activity, etc. The database being built for this project describes Siberian public organisations in terms of quantitative indices (such as the number of charitable institutions, levels of financing and quantitative descriptors and lists of names of their administrators) and qualitative traits (such as organisational tasks, target groups, development of selective procedures for aid recipients, means and forms of assistance and financial structure). The content and opportunities provided by the database are represented in a published article by T. Kattcina and V. Pomazan.¹⁰

A number of terms used in the present article require clarification. The terms “societies,” “associations,” “private societies” and “societies of private initiative” were all used to describe public organisations in the Russian Empire.¹¹ In 1906, “The Decree on Provisional Rules Concerning Societies and Unions”¹² stipulated certain important attributes of public organisations, namely the absence of a commercial purpose; their informal and voluntary character; and a focus on satisfying “private” interests and needs in social, scientific, cultural and other spheres. The decree also introduced registration procedures for establishing societies and the administrative order of their registration, prohibition and closure.

Another key term in this study is “war victims” (victims of military actions). This term is applied to people who were not directly involved into armed conflict (such as refugees, evicted people, families of wounded and killed soldiers, wives, widows and orphans of army officers) or to those who ceased direct involvement at some point (wounded and sick soldiers, prisoners-of-war).

Discussion

The rise in patriotism at the beginning of the World War I was significant and resulted, among other things, in an increase in the number and types of public organisation. As one commentator at the time wrote:

“The present war called into existence a vast process of public construction. It created a great number of new organisations, multiplied the forms of social assistance, enlarged and strengthened the activity of existing charitable institutions and adjusted to its own needs even those organisations [whose

¹⁰ Kattcina, Pomazan 2014.

¹¹ Russian Empire: name of the Russian state from 22 October 1721, until 1/14 September 1917.

¹² *Polnoe sobranie* 1909, collection 3, vol. XXVI, part 1, no. 27479, article 1, p. 201-204.

activities] were far from charity. There is no aspect of life, no category of people who would not have been affected by the war.... The war drew people's states of mind closer [to one another] and initiated new feelings of love and care for one's neighbour."¹³

Archival records witness that there was not "a city or a town where this or that organisation would not work."¹⁴ For the first three months after Russia entered the military conflict, in Irkutsk Province¹⁵ alone the Committee of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna on the provision of charitable support to the families of wartime conscripts (Elisavetinsky Committee) created 66 committees and volost trusteeship bodies.¹⁶ From data collected for this study, it was calculated that between August and December 1914 the number of public associations (including those that restarted their work and those newly developed to assist war victims) grew by 22% in Krasnoyarsk and 41% in Tomsk.¹⁷

Organisations aiming to satisfy wartime needs had various names. Some names reflected the particular type of support they gave or the category of the needy that they focused on, others stated the class or professional status of their founders. Examples include the "Tomsk Society for the Organisation of Lectures to Cover the Needs Resulting from Wartime;" "Biysk Society for the Assistance of Families of Wartime Conscripts during the Mobilisation of 1914;" "Achinsk District Committee on Assistance to Refugees;"¹⁸ "Barnaul Department of the Society of Assistance to Poor Families of Poles Who Participate in the War and the Needy Polish Population Who Suffered from Military Operations;" "Ladies Academic Club of Tomsk City Higher Education Institutions Aiming to Make Linen and Other Things for Sick, Wounded and Needy Soldiers;" "Biysk Club of Clerical Ladies for Assisting Wounded Soldiers and Their Families;" "Siberian Society for Helping Sick and Wounded Soldiers and

¹³ Fayngar 1915, p. 144-145.

¹⁴ SAKT, fund 132 (*The Committee of All-Russia Urban Union on the Assistance to Sick and Wounded Soldiers*), opis 1, delo 2, fail 61.

¹⁵ Irkutsk Province: administrative and territorial entity of the Russian Empire, founded on 19 October 1764, situated in East Siberia. The administrative centre is Irkutsk City.

¹⁶ SAIA, fund 120 (*The Committee of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna on the Provision of Charitable Support to the Families of Wartime Conscripts. Irkutsk Department*), opis 1, delo 3, fail 2; Elisavetinsky Committee - the Committee of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna on the provision of charitable support to the families of wartime conscripts.

¹⁷ Kattsina 2014, p. 63.

¹⁸ Achinsk District Committee on the Assistance to Refugees: charitable organisation in Siberia during World War I.

War Victims” (Sibirtet); “Irkutsk Jewish Committee for Help to Refugees;” “Irkutsk Department of Latvian Assistance Society ‘Dzimtene’ (‘Motherland’),” and others.

It should be taken into account that the tasks and aims of particular associations changed according to the needs of the population in connection with wartime requirements. Thus, the Jewish Society for the Protection of the Health of Jews in Irkutsk, due to the new situation “turned into the Jewish Committee for Help to Refugees in the middle of August.”¹⁹ This was connected with the fact that the Russian army’s step backwards in spring 1915 resulted in a great number of refugees migrating deep into Russian territory. As a witness to these events wrote:

“Crowds of refugees are walking along dirt roads, covering them in corpses. By the end of July waves of the great transmigration of Russian people reached various parts of European Russia.”²⁰

The first group of refugees were sent to Siberia in autumn 1915. Local care of the refugees was the responsibility of urban public administrations, which were allowed to organise special committees for providing them with assistance. The form of such organisations was not strictly determined. There were no regulations on how they should connect with municipal authorities, a fact which led to problematic differences in organisational and financial structures. The desire by provincial and city administrations to regulate the functioning of the Krasnoyarsk Committee on Assistance to Refugees resulted in it ceasing activities on 15 March 1916. For the same reasons, Achinsk City Committee on Assistance to Refugees closed in August 1916.

By 1 February 1917, Siberian public organisations had registered 86,664 refugees.²¹ Monthly expenses for supporting one refugee came to 12 rubles on average.²² Thus significant amounts of money were required. To meet this need, public organisations sought government credits, donations and income from arranging fundraising performances. Urgent material and psychological needs of the refugees were processed by the following sections of public organisations: 1. Station section, responsible for the meeting, registration, medical checks and disinfection of refugees; 2. Financial section; 3. Apartment section; 4. Food supply section; 5. Children (or school) section; 6. Labour section; and 7. Cloth supply section. Jewish,

¹⁹ *Protokol* 1916, p. 18.

²⁰ Shchepkin 1916, p. 1.

²¹ Kirzhits 1929, p. 263.

²² SAKT, fund 161 (*Administrative Board of a City*), opis 1, delo 246, fail 2.

Polish, Latvian and Lithuanian refugees were served by their corresponding national organisations and committees.

During the War, mass evacuations, including interned citizens of countries that were at war with Russia and separate “untrustworthy” people from amongst the inhabitants of the near-frontline zones (Poles, Jews, Latvians and Ukrainians) flowed to Siberia. Contemporaries of the time noted that the categories “refugee” and “evicted person” “were so confused and it was so complicated to separate them, and the situation of both groups was so hard ... that it would be completely pointless and unjust to try and differentiate between them.”²³

In the author’s opinion, refugees were distinguished by having made the decision to migrate voluntarily. The marginality of refugee status created problems for politicians and public figures. The law declared refugees as:

“people who have left areas troubled or already occupied by the enemy or people evicted from military zones by the order of a war or civil government, as well as immigrants from countries hostile to Russia.”²⁴

For this reason, social assistance should have been spread amongst representatives of all nationalities. Poles were considered to be voluntary Slavic refugees. They received the right to a free railway trip and meals on their way to internal provinces where they could receive care and earn.²⁵ The only exception was Hungarians and Germans.²⁶ But even German settlers evicted from areas near the frontline “due to their unreliability” held equal refugee status and could seek social support. The police department motivated the provision of such people with special credits as a necessary measure to “protect the natives from the inevitable appearance of centres of contagion in the places where aliens stay.”²⁷ State officials with families and “rich” refugees remained unregistered as they were not liable for or not in need of state care, as were evicted people under police supervision.²⁸

Evicted populations first appeared in Siberia in small groups, later in larger parties. In 1915, three parties of evicted refugees arrived in Yenisey Province²⁹ weekly. Each party consisted of 150 people. By April, 1916, more than 14,000 evicted people had come to Siberia via Kiev. They made

²³ Gal’perin 1915, p. 529.

²⁴ *Sobranie uzakoneniy* 1915, p. 2424.

²⁵ Zhvanko 2012, p. 39.

²⁶ Pavlova 2003, p. 76.

²⁷ SAKT, fund 595 (*Yeniseyskoye Province Administration*), opis 13, delo 169, fail 42.

²⁸ Bakhturina 2013, p. 12.

²⁹ Yenisey Province: administrative and territorial entity of the Russian Empire, founded on 22 July 1822 during the division of Siberia into West Siberia and East Siberia. The administrative centre is Krasnoyarsk City.

the trip at their own expense, some under police escort, others by means of a pass certificate without escort. Others were transported as convicts to Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk or Irkutsk prisons, where they stayed in overcrowded cells together with criminals.³⁰ Provincial administrations deliberately lodged evicted refugees in remote areas.

Most ended up with extremely hard material living conditions and legal status, as shown by extracts their group letters:

“[W]e own no means of living. We hoped to get an allowance from the government purse, but this mercy still remains a fantasy ... [S]oon it will be two months; applications are submitted repeatedly to the District Police Officer. But we do not receive an allowance ... we face very hard times. We have no opportunity to earn money even for bare essentials ... we have to starve” (7 November 1915, Novo-Uda Settlement).³¹

At the beginning of November 1915, Jews who had been administratively evicted to Znamenskoye Settlement reported that only two of the 80 people there received an allowance (3 rubles 90 kopecks).³² In September 1915, a member of the Society of Help to Poor Jews in Yenisseyk City declared:

“[P]eople definitely die of hunger; some of them have not eaten anything for three days already ... they are all miserable and barefoot ... there are many 13-year-old children exiled to villages where one cannot get bread even for money ... there is not even somewhere to go around with hat in hand, because the farmers themselves have nothing to eat.”³³

Help for evicted populations only began developing in 1915 through the American Consulate, and aid was aimed only at the nationals of states at war with Russia. In autumn 1915, public organisations received approval to help Russian citizens inducted to Siberia. Between October 1915 and February 1916, support was given to 1,000 people through an authorised person in the American Consulate in Irkutsk and to 300 people via the Irkutsk Department of the Petrograd Polish Society for the Assistance of War Victims.³⁴ While evicted Poles and Jews received help from their corresponding National Committees, evicted Russians were deprived of any support.

³⁰ Kattsina 2013, p. 220-221.

³¹ RSMHA, fund 13273 (*Department on Refugees Settlement of All-Russia Zemsky and Urban Unions*), opis 1, delo 49, fail 7; Novo-Uda: a settlement in Irkutsk Province.

³² Ibid., fail 5v.

³³ Ibid., fail 8.

³⁴ Ibid., fail 5.

Siberian Society for Helping Sick and Wounded Soldiers and War Victims (Sibirtet) became widely known. The idea of creating a special Siberian organisation to help the wounded was expressed at the first congress of the All-Russia Urban Union in September 1914. According to local periodicals, the idea to build up Sibirtet found favour everywhere. Already in 1914 Sibirtet had 14 departments; by October 1915 it consisted of 34 departments³⁵ and by August 1916 it had 52 departments.³⁶ According to Point 1 of its Charter, the society's tasks included: a) organising mobile (field and staging) infirmaries, medical care and meals, sanitary and other detachments in military zones; b) organising hospitals, shelters, asylums, sanatoriums and hospices; c) organising employment, material, medical and legal help for populations suffering from the war, as well as assisting the children of the suffering through education and settlement in orphanages; d) collecting and issuing certificates to facilitate contact between soldiers and their relatives.³⁷

Sibirtet was supported by many organisations. The administrations of credit partnerships, merchant guilds and city public directorates paid admission fees and donated to Sibirtet. Donations represented 74.5% of Sibirtet's finances.³⁸ The specific activity of Sibirtet departments was determined by Siberia's remoteness from the theatre of war. This is why forms of frontline support, such as collection of donations for war needs, were originally developed there. The scale of donations can be confirmed by the fact that within the shortest possible time, Sibirtet arranged and sent to the front two sanitary detachments. Each detachment consisted of approximately 152 people (2 doctors, 2 medical assistants, 5 nurses, 30 orderlies and auxiliaries), 80 horses, 20 sulkies,³⁹ 4 cars and one truck.⁴⁰

Sibirtet's organisers and activists tried to consolidate the efforts of local populations through attracting people at large to the society's work. This purpose was served by the formation of departments in uyezds, villages and settlements. However, local administrations repeatedly forbade the arrangement of propaganda meetings and collection of donations for the society.⁴¹ Another obstacle in the path of the democratisation of Sibirtet's membership was the once-off 10-ruble membership fee that full members of the society had to pay. As a temporary measure an offer was

³⁵ *Otchet* 1916, p. 54.

³⁶ Kharus' 2014, p. 96.

³⁷ *Ustav* 1915, p. 7.

³⁸ *Otchet* 1916, p. 59.

³⁹ Sulky: a light, two-wheeled carriage with one axle.

⁴⁰ Dagaev 1915, p. 471-472.

⁴¹ *Vestnik* 1916, p. 14-15.

made to either allow payment by instalments or to decrease the amount. Nevertheless, in general Sibirtet failed to create a broad network of smaller “society units” around the country.

The rise of patriotic feelings in Siberia and across the country at the beginning of the war involved women as well as men. Women’s work in the charitable unions (Ladies Committees and Ladies Clubs)⁴² was significant, although it received contradictory responses. As with other charitable civil associations, during the war the ladies committees of Yenisey Province tried to close gaps in the country’s social policies. The main direction of their work was to provide assistance to active soldiers, to the families of mobilised soldiers and to prisoners. The activity of women’s charitable organisations received approval centrally, as well as at the front. The government treated it as confirmation of the unity of the people and the army. Generally speaking, in East Siberia such societies were populated by a rather narrow circle (the staff of ladies’ committees usually included 12-25 ladies) of women from the upper and upper-middle urban strata of society.

More often associations appeared as a result of the creative activity of the common, lower strata of the population. In large cities with numerous communities and abundant facilities, membership of societies was numerically higher. Thus, of all Sibirtet’s local departments in Yenisey Province, Krasnoyarsk Department was the biggest (161 members), followed by Achinsk Department (56 members), Yeniseysk Department (46 members) and Minussinsk Department (20 members). The staff of the All-Russia Urban Union’s Irkutsk Department numbered 440 people, while the Kansk Department consisted of 22 people. The work of the Krasnoyarsk Committee on Assistance to Refugees was undertaken by 40 paid officers and 308 volunteers, including refugees themselves. Achinsk Committee had 43 members.⁴³

The numerous public organisations brought into to existence due to the necessities of war can be classified according to various features:

1. Geography (the organisation’s area of activity): All-Russia, regional, local;
2. Aim (the recipient of help or category of war victims): refugees and the evicted, wounded and crippled soldiers, families of conscripts, etc.;
3. Nationality: internal national (Jewish, Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian) or international organisations.

It should be noted that those involved at the time divided associations into public and bureaucratic. They treated voluntary associations, charitable

⁴² Societies that had relatively little public attention were called “clubs.”

⁴³ Kattsina 2014, p. 64.

committees, and trusteeship bodies of self-governing authorities and parishes as public organisations. However, they referred to the Russian Red Cross Society⁴⁴ (including its Ladies' Committees) and personalised charitable societies (such as the Committee of Grand Duchess Tatiana Nikolaevna for Temporary Support to War Victims, the Elisavetinsky Committee⁴⁵ and others) as bureaucratic organisations. While some people emphasised the “articulate organisation of bureaucratic committees,”⁴⁶ others assessed the work of personalised societies as “not reaching their goal,” resulting in “a waste of public resources.”⁴⁷ The author agrees with I. Pavlova's opinion that during the war such committees encouraged the display of private initiative and its adjustment. Thus, by the middle of 1915 the structure of Elisavetinsky Committee included 85 provincial departments and 505 district committees, joining more than four thousand organisations. And by the middle of 1916 this number had increased to six thousand.⁴⁸ District committees worked as unifying centres for smaller charitable institutions in settlements and villages. No doubt, some of them carried out very intensive and “exemplary activity” (Achinsk District Committee).⁴⁹ Other organisations were “below the mark” (Kansk District Committee).⁵⁰ Much depended on the personal traits of directors, their social background, public perception of the organisation and its financial stability.

Methods and practices applied by the associations, as well as organisation of the procedures for giving and receiving help, allowed the use of resources in a target-focused way - that is, they gave help only to those who needed it. Thus, taking into consideration the fact that urban populations were not in the habit of handling personal needs by manufacturing what they needed, but depended on the market to a greater

⁴⁴ The Russian Red Cross Society was founded on 15 May 1867 and was recognised by the International Committee of the Red Cross on 5 October 1921. During the war, it assumed the role of organising of hospitals on the front and behind, the training of medical personnel and collection of donations for wounded soldiers.

⁴⁵ Committee of Grand Duchess Tatiana Nikolaevna for Temporary Support to War Victims: a public organisation created to help refugees (September 1914–February 1917).

⁴⁶ *Vestnik* 1915a, p. 25.

⁴⁷ SARF, fund 6787 (*Ministry of State Care of Interim Government*), opis 1, delo 102, fail 1.

⁴⁸ Pavlova 2003, p. 47.

⁴⁹ Achinsk District Committee: Achinsk District Committee of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna on the provision of charitable support to the families of wartime conscripts.

⁵⁰ *Vestnik* 1915b, p. 10; Kansk District Committee: Kansk District the Committee of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna on the provision of charitable support to the families of wartime conscripts.

extent than farmers, the focus was shifted to the provision of the needy with food, fuel, accommodation, clothes and shoes, and the placement of children in educational institutions. In the country, help through providing traditional “home meals” and help during planting and harvesting prevailed. Less often, people received financial credits, or day nurseries for children were organised.⁵¹

The author agrees with O. A. Kharus’s opinion that with the exacerbation of the national crisis, ideas of consolidation and solidarity amongst the Siberian population lost their original attraction. They gave way to other values and ambitions that were connected with the social and political polarisation of society and the increasing confrontation between its various strata and groups.⁵²

Conclusions

During World War I, the level and character of people’s involvement in the work of charitable societies underwent positive quantitative and qualitative changes. During the initial period of the war, not only did the quantity of public organisations increase, but the total number of people working in the philanthropic sphere rose. This had a special significance for Siberia, with its vast territory, low population density, high ethnic and social diversity and the absence of the zemstvo that united the vanguard of European Russia. Located far from each other, Siberian cities had poorer opportunities for consolidation of public powers than the cities of European Russia.

It should also be taken into account that the region’s remoteness from the theatre of war and the low level of literacy amongst the population created poor conditions for “lively collaboration in common activity.”

Work undertaken by representatives of various social groups was determined by solidarity, moral and civil needs, and participants’ worldview in terms of how best to widen the assistance available to the victims of military operations.

The network of public organisations can be classified according to the group’s purpose (categories of war victims), financial sources and peculiarities of the geographic, economic and socio-cultural environment. More economically developed areas with favourable natural and climatic conditions could potentially generate higher levels of social assistance. In remote villages that were located far from high roads and industrial centres (more abundant in East Siberia) public organisations considerably enhanced

⁵¹ SAKT, fund 132 (*Committee of All-Russia Urban Union on the Assistance to Sick and Wounded Soldiers*), opis 1, delo 3, fail 82, 90, 104v.

⁵² Kharus’ 2014, p. 99.

the accessibility of social care and, in general, contributed to the improvement of the social climate in Siberia.

Having been formed to serve national interests in wartime, as well as the social problems and needs of individual citizens, voluntary public organisations accumulated initiative, knowledge and experience. The confluence of these phenomena helped build a meaningful collective power that could result in efficient public activity.

The “Vast Process of Social Construction” in Siberia during World War I (1914-1918)

(Abstract)

The rise of patriotism in the first years of World War I in Russia was quite significant and was revealed in an increase in the number and quality of various social institutions. Social institutions contributed to the articulation and realisation of people's various interests, as well as to the solution of national problems. From the point of view of social needs and community interests, the work of these institutions remains understudied.

On the basis of documents held in central and regional archives - both previously published and those new to academia - this article reviews the influence of war and wartime factors on the creation of social institutions and the direction of their work. Using the example of Siberia, the processes involved in the formation of a system of social institutions to assist victims of World War I are analysed. Important traits of social institutions include the absence of commercial aims in their structure, their informal and voluntary character, and their orientation towards meeting personal needs in the social sphere.

The term “war victim” (those who have suffered in military actions) is applied to people who did not directly participate in military conflict (refugees, evicted people, families of wounded and dead soldiers, wives, widows and orphans of army officers) or to people who were forced to cease participation (wounded and sick soldiers, prisoners-of-war). The social institutions studied are classified according to their scale, aims and the national groups they served. Based on specific historic material, it is shown that the initial stage of the war saw an increase in the quantity of social institutions and the number of people who worked in the charitable sphere. This was of special significance for Siberia, which was thousands of kilometres away from the battle lines.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Bakhturina 2013

- Aleksandra Bakhturina, *“Luchsbe pust’ nemtsy razoryatsya, chem budut shpionii”*: *nemtsy-kolonisty i rossiyskoe obshchestvo v gody “Germanskoy” voyny*, in *NIV*, 1 (35), 2013, p. 6-32.

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- RSMHA - Russian State Military Historical Archive.
 SAlA - State Archive of Irkutsk Area.
 SAKT - State Archive of Krasnoyarsk Territory.
 SARF - State Archive of the Russian Federation.
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Vestnik 1915b - *Vestnik Prieniseyskogo kraya pomoshchi bol'ny*m i ranenym voynam, postradavshim ot voyny, bez'hentsam i vyselentsam i promyshlennosti po snabzheniyu armii, Krasnoyarsk, 1915, no. 3.
Vestnik 1916 - *Vestnik Prieniseyskogo kraya pomoshchi bol'ny*m i ranenym voynam, postradavshim ot voyny, bez'hentsam i vyselentsam i promyshlennosti po snabzheniyu armii, Krasnoyarsk, 1916, no. 5-2.
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- Keywords:** Russia, Siberia, people in need, victims of war, refugee, voluntary social associations, human resources, civil society.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolyucii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altai.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

ON THE MATERIAL AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF GERMAN SPECIAL SETTLERS DURING THE DEPORTATION (ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE PAVLODAR REGION)

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Until recently, the topic of deportation has been closed to research as many archival collections were secret. The large-scale and seemingly even chaotic forced displacement of millions of Soviet people had very serious demographic and economic consequences for the deportees' regions of origin and displacement, and for the country as a whole.¹

Despite significant steps taken in this direction by historiography, many aspects of the subject have been insufficiently studied and require further research.

There is a need to explore problems locally, primarily using the huge regional source potential of the archives. The most striking example in this respect may be Pavlodar region, to which significant numbers of people were deported during the Second World War. Many ethnic groups (Poles, Koreans, Germans, Chechens, Ingush, etc.) were suddenly classified as "unreliable people" and deported to this region. Even today, scholarship has not fully covered the dimensions and consequences of the social strains between with these ethnicities. By examining the regional deportation of Russian Germans, we can also consider typical trends in Kazakhstan as a whole.

All of Soviet history since 1917 is full of numerous human rights violations and, in some cases, genocides. An example is the provoked collectivisation famine of 1920-1930s, when many nations and nationalities were almost destroyed. Then, a new wave rose during the Second World War. An important feature of those times was that whole nationalities were

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¹ Yarochnikina 2009, p. 118.

targeted for deportation by sophisticated methods, while the process took place in difficult wartime conditions.

Nowadays it is known that more than forty USSR nationalities were subject to deportation. Many of them were totally resettled. In 1930-1950 approximately 3.5 million people had to leave their homelands, and significant number of people died.²

The chronology of deportation during the war was tragic, since different nationalities were deported almost every 2-3 years. The Soviet Germans became the main object of Soviet deportation policy on the outbreak of war. On 26 August 1941, the Soviet of National Commissars and the Central Committee of Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) adopted a resolution *On the resettlement of Germans from the Volga German Republic, Saratov and Stalingrad regions in other territories and regions*, a large-scale measure targeting the German nationality within the Soviet Union as a whole. On 28 August 1941 the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decree *On the resettlement of Germans living in the Volga area*, eliminating the autonomy of the Volga Germans. Groundless accusations of espionage and sabotage were used as a pretext for coercive measures to deport Germans from the Volga region to Kazakhstan. In general, a relocation of 400,000 Soviet Germans was planned to twelve regions: Alma-Ata, Akmola, Aktobe, East Kazakhstan, Dzhabul'skaya Karaganda, Kyzylorda, Kostanai, Pavlodar, North Kazakhstan, Semipalatinsk, South Kazakhstan.³

The mechanism of operation was defined in the Regulations for the resettlement of Germans and the Order of the National Commissariat of Internal Affairs from 28 August 1941.⁴

The operation was conducted vigorously and violently. It began on 3 September and finished on 21 September. The total number of deportees from the Volga German Republic to Kazakhstan was 67,400.⁵ During late August - mid September 1941, the plan to settle the deported Germans in Kazakhstan was increased from 163,000 to 467,000 people.⁶

N. F. Buhay presents data from 25 November 1941 describing the distribution of the German population through the regions of Kazakhstan.⁷ Analysing the data, it is possible to argue that the plan was to resettle a total of 525,000 Germans in Kazakhstan, including 45,000 deportees to the

² Kulbayev 2001, p. 28.

³ Khasanayev 1997, p. 30.

⁴ Auman, Chebotareva 1993, p. 160.

⁵ Herman 1994, p. 302.

⁶ CSARK, fund 1987, register 1, file 6, p. 8-19.

⁷ Buhay 1991, p. 48.

Pavlodar region, representing 8.6% of the total number of persons scheduled to all areas of Kazakhstan. In fact 315,630 people were settled by areas, including 43,202 deportees to the Pavlodar region (approximately 13.7%). These figures show a large gap between planned and actual resettlement among the regions. The percentage of settlement achieved in Pavlodar region is quite high at 94% of the planned amount, the highest in all areas of the country. These figures are confirmed by Major Babkin, national commissar for Internal Affairs of the Kazakh Soviet: "the first batch of settling of Germans was performed well and organised, with 30,590 people settled in the Akmola region and 21,146 in Pavlodar region."⁸

At the beginning of 1942 the country had resettled 400,300 deportees.⁹

According to the Archives of the Committee of Legal Statistics and Special Registration of the General Prosecutor's office of Kazakhstan in the *Report on Resettlement of Germans in the areas of the Kazakh SSR* of 10 December 1941, 34,970 people were affected. In total 1,209,430 Germans were resettled in Kazakhstan during 1941-1942.¹⁰

Reading the resolution gives the impression that the Soviet state cared for the resettled contingent and was concerned about their welfare, planning:

"to resettle the entire German population living in the Volga region to other areas, so that the resettled were endowed with land and received state support with placement in new areas."¹¹

As has already been discussed, the territories in which resettlement was planned included Pavlodar region. O. L. Milova in her work *Deportatsiya Narodov SSSR (1930-50g.)* gives information about where Germans from the Volga region were deported and resettled into the Kazakh SSR in October 1941.¹²

This inquiry indicates that deportees were resettled in virtually all areas of Pavlodar region. The main thoroughfare for the transfer of the deportees in the Pavlodar region was the Omsk Railway, transporting 16,500 people. Two thousand deportees were sent to Semipalatinsk by the Turkestan-Siberian railway. The greatest number of people (more than 3 million) was settled in the Pavlodar region in Bayanaul, Cyuryupinsk and Lozovskiy areas, while the smallest number, a group of 500 deportees, were sent to Maximo-Gorki area in October 1941.

⁸ Kulbayev, Khagai 2000, p. 48.

⁹ CSARK, fund 1987, register 1, file 6, p. 19.

¹⁰ Buhay 1986, p. 140.

¹¹ Buhay 1991, p. 48.

¹² Milova 1995, part 2.

From 23 to 29 November 1941, 14 groups of 33,013 Germans in total came people to the Pavlodar region, of a planned 40,000.¹³

Based on these data, it is evident that the plan was not wholly fulfilled, which could be explained by several reasons; escapes during transfer, late arrivals, the withdrawal of seriously ill deportees from trains, and deaths.

The deportation of national groups was carefully planned to the last details: the number of trains provided, the points of embarkation, rest stops and the end points. However, changes to the resettlement plan highlight the chaos during the period of settlement and the target regions' inability to accept such a number of deportees, as evidenced by a resolution of the executive committee of the Pavlodar Regional Council of Deputies and the bureau of the regional committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Kazakhstan dated 2 September 1941 *On measures for reception and accommodation of displaced persons - Germans and their household placement*. This secret report describes a number of measures aimed at settling the deported Germans. It obliged regional executive chairmen and secretaries of the Republic Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Kazakhstan to prepare daily reports naming collective and state farms and the number of deportee households to be placed in each, to submit these plans to the Executive Committee of the Regional Council within two days, and to prepare the houses and buildings needed for the deportees, effective immediately.¹⁴

Analysing this fifteen-point document, we may note that the time for the completion of each task is extremely short: a "two-day" period, "immediately," "daily," "three days" and "ten days." Limited time was given to allocate land plots for construction and settlement; to build the houses; to determine needs for building materials for the repair and construction of new houses; to transport timber and household equipment to the regions; to prepare livestock and grain for the deportees; to explain the new situation to the masses on the farms; and to ensure food for the newcomers.

The first point of this resolution states: "To state the plan for resettlement among the regional and state farms of the area ... in total ... including collective."¹⁵

Omissions in the text suggest that during the first months of the war, planners had no clear information on how many deportees to expect.

¹³ Amanova 2010, p. 7.

¹⁴ SAPR, fund 646, register 1, file 175, p. 170.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Analysis of the situation after the deportees arrived in the republic clearly shows that regional organisations in Kazakhstan were not at all ready to receive and accommodate them. This was already evident in the lack of transport for deportees from the unloading stations to the settlement areas. There was simply not enough transport for the amount of people, and collective and state farms could not ensure its timely provision.¹⁶

The main means of transportation was the railroad. An inquiry about German deportees in the Kazakh SSR from 18 January 1942 reveals a larger picture throughout the country. As this paper aims to study deported Germans in the Pavlodar region, we concentrate on this region.

On 18 January 1942, 20 groups totalling 102,869 people arrived in Pavlodar region. One person escaped during transit, 624 were late and 38 people returned.¹⁷

This document shows that the German population did not resist eviction, in the hope that what was happening was a temporary misunderstanding. This could be proven by the cases of people escaping: 102,869 people. However, this information does not include fatalities during transportation, where deaths were caused by diverse factors, such as age, epidemiological factors and poor nutrition.

In reality, we cannot argue that there was a complete absence of nutrition and terrible organisation, since this issue was under the control of the ruling agencies. Archival material classified as “Top Secret” records data on this issue: “immediately pass through HF (recorded by hand)” and states the orders to ensure food supply en route:

- “1. Hot meals en route must be provided by railway buffets twice a day, the cost is three rubles per person, to be paid in cash by the head of group.
2. Depending on the length of the route, necessary funds should be issued to the supervisor under the report
3. The heads of groups should signal ahead regarding each buffet by telegraph 12 hours before arrival, indicating the number of the group and the number of meals required. To be signed: ‘The head of the NCIA group.’ The director of the commercial office must assure the bills for lunches.
4. Places of nutrition are provided in eight directions.”¹⁸

However, the organisation of the deportation met with obstacles and difficulties. The vast number of groups transported led to confusion. Many trains came into the wrong destinations. “For instance, train no. 883 was intended for the resettlement area in Barnaul. However, it was sent to the

¹⁶ Burgart 1997, p. 251.

¹⁷ Milova 1995.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Krasnoyarsk region by mistake, where it was left.”¹⁹

As a result, responsibilities were not met. According to a Decree of the executive committee of the Pavlodar Regional Council of Deputies and Bureau of Regional Committee of CP(b)K of 11 October 1941 titled *On the economic accommodation of German migrants*, the executive committee of the regional council and the bureau of regional committee CP(b) mention errors made by the Executive Committee of the Regional Council, by the Department of Resettlement and NCIA. The personnel needs of the regions were not considered at all in allocation of persons to areas. As a result, some regions where professionals were needed were left with no specialists in agriculture, while in some places there were too many of them. The document shows that collective farms in Tsyurupynsk, Lazovski and Beskaragai regions mainly received deportees from urban areas and regional centres, while farms in Maximo-Gorki, Kuibyshev and Irtysh regions mainly received farmers.²⁰

The entire management of resettlement was given to the NCIA agency. The groups responsible for receiving, disembarking and delivery to destinations were organised in the regions. Paragraph 10 of a Resolution of the executive committee of the Pavlodar regional Council of Deputies and the regional CP(b)K committee bureau of 2 September 1941 reports the need to identify groups of responsible workers to receive and disembark deportees and send them to their new places of destination. Paragraph 15 assigns the management of relocation to the regional Department of the NCIA, which was granted the right to involve the regional healthcare department in the resettlement process, to the state farms trust, resettlement department and their local agencies.²¹

218,328 people were registered on 1 July 1944 in the republic (71,151 families of German deportees). Further, according to an NCIA inquiry about deportees in the Kazakh SSR, by the end of the war on 1 January 1945, the number of German migrants was 243,722 people (79,017 families), distributed by region as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Alma-Aty Region | - 3,041 people (1,231 families). |
| 2. Karaganda region | - 20,538 people (7,567 families). |
| 3. Semipalatinsk region | - 24,030 people (7,975 families). |
| 4. Aktobe region | - 4,942 people (1,751 families). |
| 5. Akmola | - 35,644 people (10,705 families). |
| 6. East Kazakhstan region | - 13,526 people (4,841 families). |

¹⁹ Buhay 1991, p. 48.

²⁰ SAPR, fund 646, register 1, file 175, p. 170.

²¹ Ibid.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 7. Guriev region | - 1,199 people (1,197 families). |
| 8. Dzhabul region | - 5,561 people (1,790 families). |
| 9. Kustanai region | - 32,260 people (10,132 families). |
| 10. Kokchetav region | - 41,900 people (12,222 families). |
| 11. Kyzyl-Orda region | - 2,241 people (825 families). |
| 12. Pavlodar | - 24,939 people (8,082 families). |
| 13. North Kazakhstan region | - 20,103 people (6,124 families). |
| 14. Taldykorgan region | - 5,762 people (1,715 families). |
| 15. South Kazakhstan region | - 8,035 people (2,800 families). ²² |

The question of how many Germans were deported to Kazakhstan, and Pavlodar region in particular, is very complex, influenced by several factors: the absence of quantitative documents on the deported national groups; discrepancy among the official documents; a lack of uniform accounting for deported people, for example, "according to the plan, it was expected that 467,000 Germans would be deported to Kazakhstan in 1941, but in reality only 400,000 people were moved."²³

Records of births and deaths were not conducted everywhere, nor were families reunified. During the first years the mortality rate was extremely high, greater than the birth rate. Moreover, the number of refugees was not always equal to the number of detainees. In most situations, the number of escapees was greater than the number of those who were caught. All these factors had a great impact on the changing number of deportees.

Thus, considering the organisational and technical preparations for the resettlement of deported nationalities in the Pavlodar region, the following factors should be noted:

1) Deportation of nationalities was planned and thought through: the number of trains provided, the location of the planned loading and unloading of people, the rest stops and points of arrival.

2) We can argue from reports and archival data that throughout the war, Pavlodar region was a major destination for deportees. It was a long way from their points of origin, but had access to water transport and railways and a low population density of the region.

3) Pavlodar region, and the country as a whole, was not ready to accept such a large number of deportees, because the issue unavoidably led to a number of problems that require time to solve.

4) The planned timescales for transportation, food supply and other services were impossible.

²² APRK, fund 716, register 1, file 30, p. 24.

²³ Romanov 1997, p. 42.

The arrival of a significant number of deportees to Pavlodar region gave rise to a whole range of issues that required immediate solution. From the very first days, housing was one such difficulty. It should be noted that the issue also remained unresolved in the post-war years. However, it would not be true to state that this issue had not been given any attention. The plan to construct and purchase houses for deportees in the republic shows that from 20 June 1945 to 1 July 1945, a total of 2,748 houses were built and bought. Alma-Aty, Kustanay, Taldykurgan and Pavlodar regions recorded significant growth during the decade. The turning point in improving housing in Kostanai and Pavlodar regions was the creation of large numbers of construction crews. Moreover, great attention was paid to local procurement of building materials, compared to other regions. 140 teams and 300 units of draft-cattle worked to build housing in Kustanai region, while 219 teams and 1,487 draft-cattle units worked in Pavlodar region.²⁴

A special report to the chairman of the regional committee of the CP(b) K on 7 August 1945 discussed the drawbacks in the household allocation of deportees in Pavlodar region. Household arrangements for deportees in Pavlodar, Galka, Kaganovicheskij and Tsyurupinsk areas were unsatisfactory. The approved plan to build new houses for deportees was in most cases not carried out, while repair of vacant houses was extremely slow and disorganised, with no construction crews available. The state loan for individual construction of new homes was in most cases not used, and where it was, terms of use were often violated.²⁵

A secret special report of 14 May 1947 no. 3/24854 states that material conditions for German deportees in particular places in Lebyazhinsky region were extremely unsatisfactory, and that some facts deserved serious attention.²⁶

In the first half of 1948 an inspection by the Internal Affairs Ministry noted that in areas of Pavlodar region, 1,180 families (3,697 people) of Chechen-Ingush and Germans were billeted with the local population and did not have their houses.²⁷

The territory of Pavlodar region includes forest zone as well as steppe areas, which helped in providing building materials. However, analysis of memorandums shows that where problems with the building material were

²⁴ SAPR, fund 221, register 1, file 31, p. 16.

²⁵ Ibid., fund 646, register 1, file 353, p. 143.

²⁶ Ibid., file 469, p. 127.

²⁷ Ibid., fund 646, register 1, file 175, p. 223.

not expected due to access to local stock, this opportunity was not fully used. As a consequence, the position of deportees remained unsatisfactory.

For example, although there was timber in Beskaragai region close to the collective farms, building work had not yet started on any houses, and state loans went unused.²⁸

Receiving no real help from the local authorities, deportees understood that in this situation it was necessary to survive on their own, and where possible the deportees tried to solve housing problems independently. Most migrants built houses themselves without state credit, were billeted in vacant houses or bought them. Construction was carried out in a very primitive and simple way without technical supervision and control. There were very few engineers in the area, and none of them was obliged to delve into the matter of technical control. Technician-builders were in areas where many migrants were settled and techniques were inexperienced.²⁹

According to the report of Pavlodar region in 1945 houses were built of different materials (adobe, wood, sod, stockade and brushwood, frames), usually in collective farms and enterprise territories, only on the unsuitable backyards away from the village. Such houses lasted from 10 to 20-25 years, depending on the building materials.³⁰

The question of providing ethnic diasporas with living space in their areas of deportation could be regarded as a complex and multifaceted. Solutions were difficult and painful, both for the people who were deported to Kazakhstan and for the local population.

The regional settlement department conducted inspections of the deportees' living conditions. The conclusions were reflected in a report on North Caucasus and German deportees, signed by Comrade Perevozchikov, head of the Internal Affairs Ministry and dated 2 September 1948 for no. 3/I-2931.

It should be noted that in Pavlodar region deportees were billeted on the local population up to the 1950s, with the German population worst affected. Comparative analysis of archival material shows that the living conditions of other ethnic groups in the 1950s were better than that of the Germans. It was found that 532 families were without permanent housing, of which 73 families were Chechen-Ingush, while the other 459 families were Germans, who received no support in building, by transport or by cash.

²⁸ Ibid., file 353, p. 143.

²⁹ Ibid., fund 646, register 1, file 176, p. 223.

³⁰ Ibid.

Although there were very few German deportees in the *Priirtysbyskaya Pravda* farm of Beskaragai region, only German migrants worked in animal husbandry, with many milkmaids, shepherds, etc. receiving wool, cattle, and milk as additional wages.³¹

The local authorities to some extent reflected the economic and the labour situation unit of the deportees in their memorandums and reports. Usually the reports raised the issue of housing; however this was almost ignored in the case of the local population and was solved instead by so-called “consolidation” - the billeting of deportees upon local populations. In Tsyurupinsk district 1,010 families were settled with local people.³²

Usually this kind of cohabitation adversely affected the relationship between newcomers and hosts, since it caused considerable inconvenience for the locals. Mutual ignorance of customs, traditions and lifestyles often led to conflicts. Material, psychological, religious and cultural aspects were not considered and this inevitably caused friction.

Local attitudes towards the deportees were no mere accident. Here it is important to distinguish several triggering factors: 1. There was an almost complete lack of information from the authorities about the deportees; 2. There was a local sense that the deportees were “enemies of the people,” “enemies of Soviet power” or “fascists.” Tensions increased, and sharing a roof with people, whom the government had identified as “enemies,” was psychologically difficult. 3. The housing and living conditions of the local population were poor; 4. Religious and cultural aspects were important; not every local Muslim could allow the consumption of pork in his house, or the storage of religious paraphernalia and performance of rituals. This factor may not have been as significant, but was still an integral part of the relationship at home. This again emphasises the characteristic feature of a totalitarian state constantly striving for unification, while neglecting the features of national psychology.

It should be noted that over the course of time, these relationships were less clear-cut. Closer acquaintance encouraged local residents to a friendly relationship with migrants and local citizens shared food and shelter, or brought up the orphaned children of migrants.³³

Local attitudes towards the Germans largely formed under the influence of the migrants’ behaviour. Rural workers, such as farmers, adapted most quickly to the new conditions of life.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., file 290, p. 80.

³³ Tokhmetova 2010a, p. 2-5.

The village and *aul* (traditional small Kazakh village) managed to resist the policy of equalisation and unification due to their multi-ethnicity, the hidden preservation of national traditions and practices, and close human communication.³⁴

Many leaders of collective farms and the local population provided great help, so that the position of the deportees improved.

Thus, the question of household provision for deportees was urgent during the Second World War and the post-war years. Although the legal basis of deportation considered household support, the reality was that in places there were issues which urgently needed solution. Deportees faced an unwillingness in the regions to accept contingents from different regions of the USSR; non-use of supplied cash loans; and a lack of flexibility in the banking system in questions of loans for the construction or purchase of housing. Inappropriate spending of credits by the deportees raised the question of the proper use of loans and their regulation. It was impossible to solve the housing question without providing building materials.

The deportees needed not only housing but also land, which caused a number of problems: strictly regulated seed fund and the provision of technology and draft-cattle for ploughing made it impossible to get individual farms.

From the very first days of their arrival in Kazakhstan, the food supply was the main problem. Their own supplies were already exhausted by the long journey to their destinations, and because of failures in the travel arrangements, hot meals were not served regularly at stations. There were constant problems with water supply, particularly when trains passed through the regions of Kazakhstan. Poor water quality and insanitary conditions led to outbreaks of infectious diseases in many groups, which mainly affected children. According to incomplete data on the 151st group, which transported citizens of the former Volga German Republic to the east, 129 people died, the vast majority children who died from dysentery and other infectious diseases.³⁵

Material on epidemic disease in Pavlodar region mention the possibility of preventing septic angina, a disease caused by eating grain from overwintered ears. Collective and state farms were unable to remove all the wheat from the fields in autumn. Deportees and residents were threatened with execution for collecting fallen grains and ears during wartime, as this was considered as violation of socialist property. Grains that remained under the snow would partially freeze, sprout and become unfit for

³⁴ Khasanayev 1997, p. 30.

³⁵ Herman 1998, p. 4.

consumption. With the arrival of spring deportees consumed the wheat, which would then cause poisoning and inflammation of the larynx. This disease was lethal.³⁶

One of the most difficult pages of this period is the fate of children who were left without parental care. Chairman Koychubaev of the executive committee of the regional council of the NKVD of Pavlodar region of Kazakh SSR received a report on 10 December 1943 on the territory of Lazouski's regional branch, where a large number of minors were left without their parents after the Germans were mobilised into labour brigades. 108 minors were left without parents on the collective farm *13-aya godovshina*, 37 on the collective farm *Proletariat*, 30 on the collective farm *Amangeldy*, 22 on the collective farm *Krasnoarmeyka* and 47 on the collective farm *Fortschritt*. The report also noted that those children were severely neglected and abused by the collective farm chairmen and district leaders; most of them were stripped, barefoot and left without any supervision. And it was also reported that some collective farms neglected the food supply; in most cases children were provided with unmilled grain instead of flour, which then led to 15 cases of typhus registered among German children in the collective farm *Amangeldy*.³⁷

In May 1945, 3.5 tons of desperately-needed food aid was ordered for the German deportees in the Galkinskii area, of which 2 tons were spent diverted by the district council.³⁸

The Central Committee of CP (B) of Kazakhstan knew about this situation. Resolution no. 276-51c. 26/04/45 *On the shortcomings in the economic apparatus of the deportees settled in the Kazakh SSR* of the People's Commissars and the Central Committee of CP (B) of Kazakhstan SNC and CCCP(b)K, stamped as "Top Secret," "special file," prohibited spending funds allocated for deportees to any other purposes. Squandering continued however, in some cases openly, and sometimes following direct orders from the leaders of regional and national organisations and commissariats.³⁹ "In *Krasnaya Niva* collective farm 30 people were considered exhausted and bloated by famine, and five people have died from malnutrition." "In order to avoid starving to death people were forced to eat the corpses of dead animals, cats, dogs, etc."⁴⁰ During the first period of deportation, the deportees solved the issues of food mostly by themselves. Most survived primarily by

³⁶ Tokhmetova 2010b, p. 120-130.

³⁷ SAPR, fund 646, register 1, file 245, p. 24.

³⁸ Ibid., file 351, p. 143.

³⁹ SAPR, fund 646, register 1, file 351, p. 59.

⁴⁰ Ibid., file 412, p. 350.

their own work and labour, and with the help of local residents.

A special report provided by the Office of the NCIA of the Pavlodar region on 12 April 1943 mentioned starvation in Kaganovicheskoy area.

Cases of mortality from malnutrition were registered among German immigrant families in the area, for example:

“[...] at the end of March, 4 people died of starvation, namely Gebert Gorna, Wiebe Zara Petrovna, and Wiebe Elena Yakovlena. Wiebe Peter Yakovlevich, who left the house to look for food at the beginning of April, is still missing and has not yet returned home.

In the collective farm named *Kyzyl-Zhar*, the Germans Martynets Elena Ivanovna - 43 years old, Martynets Anganita - 73 years old, Martynets Ekaterina Petrovna, Genya Karolina Danilovna - 51 years old, etc. bloated because of starvation and are close to death.

Local residents Dubrovskaya Dar'ya Vasil'evna - 36 years old, and her 9-year-old son are in the same condition. Three citizens with two young children bloated from starvation on the Potinskii state farm.”⁴¹

Unfortunately, the situation was not satisfactory everywhere. Special messages classified as “Top Secret” from 20 March 1947 issued by Bayan-Aul District Council state that: “all deportees will be alive, they will be fed by indigenous farmers.”⁴²

Living conditions during the Second World War were extremely difficult. Although the region of Pavlodar was far from the front line, echoes of the war were felt even here. This was expressed not only in the loss of family members, but also in the absence of the most basic things: food, clothing and fuel for heating. Our research inclines us to conclude that although the local authorities were confronted with objective and subjective difficulties, they made attempts to solve the problems of supply. These issues demanded close attention from the state and local party agencies, as this supply determined how the deportees lived.

All of the above confirms that people subjected to deportation were on the brink of physical and spiritual destruction as a nation during the period of 1941-1945, which also was an extremely difficult period for the whole country.

Under conditions of stress caused by the forced mass migration of nationalities labelled as “unreliable,” under enormous pressure from the repressive policies of the totalitarian regime and its rabid propaganda, deportees who arrived in Kazakhstan without a livelihood could survive only due to their courage, hard work and moral and material assistance from the Kazakh population. During the deportation, people re-evaluated the

⁴¹ Ibid., fund 646, register 1, file 245, p. 24.

⁴² Ibid., file 469, p. 187.

important things in their lives. Relationships between the local population and the groups of deportees evolved from initial wariness into subsequent compassion, friendship and care. Examples of friendly relationships between expelled persons and residents are confirmed across all the regions of Kazakhstan. Deportees in Kazakhstan were able to find a second home for themselves and their descendants. Not only did they survive, and save their ethnic identities, but they also contributed their labour to the victory over the enemy. Kazakhstan's economy as a whole, and that of the Pavlodar region in particular, grew stronger thanks to their work in the post-war years, and they have taken a worthy place in the community of multinational Kazakhstan.

These facts emphasise the relevance of studying the role and place of the deportees, who created a foundation for the multinational character of Pavlodar region and contributed to the formation of the national economy. The topic is important since through studying it, we can analyse changes in the socio-political, economical and cultural life of nationalities and ethnic groups currently living in Kazakhstan. This paper has made a first attempt to show the reasons for poor living conditions and social services and the lack of flexibility of the banking system in addressing these issues. Objective study of this important issue, of course, will help to achieve the noble goal of strengthening national unity and civil identification of the multiethnic population of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In addition, a retrospective analysis of the political realities of Soviet society under Stalin's regime is crucial, including the problems of deportation, since it is impossible to build new democratic relations without having understood the nature, origins and consequences of this process. In this respect, studying the negative effects of national history and overcoming them is crucial in building the constitutional state.

- There is considerable scope for further research on the topic. Possible topics include:

- Analysis of the healthcare provided to people deported to the Pavlodar region;
- Childcare and schools in Pavlodar region under the regime of special settlements;
- The welfare status of the deportees and the supply of industrial goods;
- The contribution of Volga German labour to the economic development of Pavlodar region during World War II and the post-war period;

- The legal status of the deportees, the moral-psychological state of deported Germans and forms of protest against the genocide;
- The process of liberation of the deportees and problems of their repatriation and rehabilitation.

On the Material and Living Conditions of German Special Settlers during the Deportation (on the Example of Pavlodar Region)

(Abstract)

A tragic page in the history of Russian Germans in the Soviet period is deportation. For decades this topic had been prohibited, with access to archives of documents revealing the truth about deportation only possible with the advent of transparency. However, even today information about the deportations is not complete and study is needed of all regions where the Germans were sent. The objective of this work is to show the living conditions of the deported Volga Germans in Pavlodar region (north-eastern Kazakhstan) during the Second World War. The investigation covers the totalitarian period with its highly ideological control of economy, culture and government.

The study concentrates on Pavlodar region and describes the dynamics of population and peculiarities of intraregional placement of deportees; the poor organisation of the resettlement, for which Kazakhstan was not ready; and the lack of cadre analysis of resettled Germans that led to discrepancy with the needs in specialists. Healthcare, housing, material and social needs were not met; as a result, deportees died or became dispirited, leading to an increase in open and latent protest. Deportees experienced a difficult period of adjustment to their new ethnic and socio-cultural environment. For the first time, the reasons for these issues will be explored. This study uses material from the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, particularly, 708 Fund of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, cases of the “Special Folders”; and decrees of senior party and government authorities. From the archival material classified as “Confidential,” especially valuable was the 646 Fund of the Pavlodar Region Council of People’s Deputies, its Presidium and Executive Committee, which presents documents on socio-economic, demographic and cultural development of the region.

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- Keywords:** deportation, discrimination, repressions, totalitarianism, German deportees.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijskij na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altai.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

DESTRUCTIVE FACTORS OF INTERETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS IN A MULTICULTURAL REGION: THE POSITION OF THE HOST POPULATION OF TATARSTAN

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In the last decades of the 20th century, liberal western society recognised the problem of minority groups as a social problem of discrimination.¹ In Russian regions this view is also being put forward. As a rule, the titular nations (e.g. the Tatars of Tatarstan) of the constituent territories of the Federation and the Russians living there have, until recently, been the main targets of academic research.² The nature of the relationship between these groups within the regional community has been the subject of research.³ There has been a tendency in recent years towards a rise in tension between the ethnic majority, which comprises the titular ethnic group and Russians living a region, and minority ethnic groups, who play an increasingly significant role in the social and economic life of regions.⁴ Tatarstan is no exception, as is proven by frequent displays of intolerance towards representatives of ethnic minorities. Despite the fact that the bulk of these displays are declarative or latent in character, real manifestations of xenophobia also occur.⁵

Any national identity contains rather complex, sometimes mutually exclusive elements, such as different structures and methods of self-

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¹ Simon 2012.

² Busygin 1966; Vorobyev 1930; Iskhakov 2002.

³ Stolyarova 2004.

⁴ Gabdrakhmanova 2004.

⁵ Titova et al. 2010, p. 14.

definition or various ways of perceiving other national (internal) ethnic groups.⁶ At the same time the historical experience of Tatarstan still strongly influences the intensity and character of intergroup interactions which occur there in relation to the majority and minority. It was pointed out that

“Tatarstan is rather a specific region, since as a result of centuries-long interaction the population developed the mindset and mentality of the ‘intermediary pragmatist,’ an ethnsocial type familiar with the culture, customs, rules of everyday behaviour and interests of both sides.”⁷

A multi-paradigm approach was used as the basis for this study,⁸ complemented by certain points gleaned from studies on nationalism,⁹ socialisation,¹⁰ regional issues of minorities, experiences of being in an environment belonging to another nation,¹¹ and also F. Barth’s conception of the “social organisation of cultural differences.”¹²

The research methodology combined quantitative (surveys) and qualitative (in-depth interviews, focus groups, expert interview approaches).¹³ Using these methods, empirical data was accumulated by the authors in the cities and regional centres of the Republic of Tatarstan in the period of 2009-2013. In 2009, 1,300 respondents representing the host population of four cities of the republic - Kazan, Naberezhnye Chelny, Almetyevsk and Arsk - were interviewed.¹⁴ In 2013, 1,200 respondents representing the host population of five cities of the republic - Kazan, Naberezhnye Chelny, Nizhnekamsk, Chistopol and Laishevo - and seven districts - Alexeyevsky, Aktanyshsky, Drzhanovskly, Mamadyshsky, Vysokogorsky, Mendeleyevsky and Chistopolsky Districts - were interviewed. Eight focus groups and twenty interviews with the leaders of Tatarstan ethnic and cultural organisations and experts in interethnic cooperation in the region were held. Moreover, in 2013, 500 respondents representing diasporic ethnic minorities living in the territory of the Republic of Tatarstan were interviewed. Stratified quota sampling was used to interview the host population; the snow-ball sampling method was used to deal with the representatives of diasporic ethnic minorities.

⁶ Zdravomyslov 1997.

⁷ Mukhametshin, Isayev 1998, p. 6.

⁸ Drobizheva 2006.

⁹ Gellner 2009; Hobsbawm 1983.

¹⁰ Berger, Lukman 1995; Barth 1989.

¹¹ Titova 2007.

¹² Barth 2006.

¹³ Yadov 1995.

¹⁴ *Tatarstan* 2013, p. 5.

Tatarstan is a multiethnic republic, where the main ethnic groups are Tatars (53.2%) and Russians (39.7%).¹⁵ But the general smooth-running of the ethnic field of the Republic depends not only on the character of interaction between these ethnic majorities, but also on the interaction of representatives of these groups with those of ethnic minorities.¹⁶ In addition, it is necessary to emphasise that the Middle Volga Region is not only a multiethnic region, but is distinguished by academics as a historical and ethnographical region where some indigenous societies are dispersively settled. Such a society can formally be considered an ethnic minority within a particular Republic, but tends not to be perceived as such in the consciousness of the regional majority (for example, the Finno-Ugric and Turkic peoples of the region).¹⁷ Generally, local society traditionally includes those peoples who have a significant historical tradition here and who are ethnoculturally adapted (for example, the Ukrainians, the Volga Germans, the Jews, etc.) All such groups are considered as part of the host society within this investigation.

Analysis of results obtained from investigating attitudes amongst the host population makes it possible to identify some tendencies.

The representatives of ethnic majorities within the Republic of Tatarstan clearly differentiated between the representatives of different ethnic minorities. Indigenous minorities were perceived as “ours,” while minority groups phenotypically and ethnoculturally different from the local population were perceived ambiguously and sometimes negatively. This became evident as respondents’ answers were graded according to the Bogardus scale; also it was mentioned more than once by representatives of the ethnic minorities.¹⁸ In 2009 this dynamic was more distinctly displayed towards such groups as “Chechens” and “Georgians.” Furthermore, an ethnic group which may be characterised as an outcast group - the “Gypsies” - was identified: according to the results of the Bogardus scale-based analysis, the level of tolerance towards this group was found to be significantly lower than that for other groups of ethnic migrants. For example, when asked “Would you be prepared to accept representatives of this ethnic groups as your marriage partner or the marriage partner of your child?” positive responses were given about Turks by 21.1% of respondents; peoples of the Caucasus - 20.3%; Arabs - 18.8%; peoples of Central Asia - 18.6%; Georgians - 17.3%; Chechens - 16.4%; representatives

¹⁵ <http://www.an-tat.ru/?id=1709>, accessed 23 December 2013.

¹⁶ Titova et al. 2013, p. 15.

¹⁷ Stolyarova et al. 2007, p. 5.

¹⁸ <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/socio/4627>, accessed 23 December 2013.

of Asian and eastern countries - 16.0%; and Africans - 15.4%. However, it was Gypsies who were seen most clearly as outsiders in terms of acceptability as potential marriage partners: only 8.9% of respondents were ready to accept representatives of this group in such a role.

Answers to the question "What feelings does living in the same city as representatives of the above-mentioned ethnic groups invoke in you?" revealed significant emotional opposition with regard to these ethnic groups. For example, respondents demonstrated rather an ambiguous attitude to such groups as the "Peoples of the Caucasus" and the "Peoples of Central Asia." 40.8% of those interviewed expressed a positive attitude to the former group and 36.5% a negative attitude. 40.9% expressed a positive attitude to the latter group and 36.1% a negative one. Respondents' attitudes towards the group "Georgians" was a little less positive, but at the same time also ambiguous: positive feelings about living in the same city as them were expressed by 34.5% and negative feelings by 37.6%. Concerning the groups "Chechens" and "Gypsies" unambiguously negative attitudes were expressed. Negative feelings about sharing a city with Chechens were declared by 49.2% of respondents and positive attitudes were expressed by only 29.7%. Results concerning "Gypsies" showed the critical non-acceptance of this group by the local population: 63.8% of respondents expressed negative feelings about living in the same city as them, while only 19% expressed positive feelings.

From the authors' point of view, the results described above testify to the existence of divergent attitudes in society, which are formed in the context of a contradictory information field - in particular the state-run media's official declarations of the value of interethnic tolerance and the simultaneous highlighting of ethnic factors when describing crimes and various conflict situations. Moreover, the facts suggest that intolerance, as a characteristic of social interaction between the local population and groups of ethnic migrants, does not carry a high risk of aggressiveness but appears mainly in the form of difficulties and problems in the process of learning and defining new ways of interaction on the part of the local inhabitants.

Analysis of the correlation between respondents' social attributes and their attitude towards migrant groups proved informative. A connection between the level of declared intolerance by representatives of the ethnic majority and socioeconomic factors was distinctly displayed. Rather unexpectedly, the least tolerant attitudes were demonstrated by respondents aged 36-45, despite the fact that the majority of earlier investigations show that, as a rule, lower levels of tolerance are more typical amongst the oldest age group (55 and above). However, comparing the answers of

representatives of different age groups to the question “If living in the same city as representatives of the afore-mentioned groups causes you discomfort, what is the reason for this?” it was possible to explain this unexpected result. It was found that the vast majority of those who chose the answer “the fear that they will take my job or the job of my relatives and friends” to explain the negative attitude of respondents in the 36-45 age group towards migrants. Since this group is one of the most economically active among all age groups, it is possible to conclude that competition in the labour market, which has increased during times of economic crisis, magnified the influence of economic background on interethnic tolerance.

The geographical factor was also found to be an important parameter, demonstrating a correlative dependence with the level of ethnic tolerance. Respondents in Almetyevsk and Naberezhnye Chelny demonstrated a higher level of tolerance than those in Kazan and Arsk. This may be explained by the fact that both Almetyevsk and Naberezhnye Chelny are young cities, which were initially formed as All-Union development areas and have a different citywide mentality, as well as a multiethnic population. In comparison with these cities, Kazan has preserved a stable ethnocultural landscape for a long time; however, it has been exposed to a rather intensive burst of migration in recent decades which, obviously, has influenced the self-sentiment of the city’s ethnic majority. The city of Arsk has a unique urban environment which is ethnically homogeneous, strongly marked by a conservative rural component which, apparently, was the determinative factor in the attitudes of respondents.

By contrast with the social parameters mentioned above, a connection between the level of interethnic tolerance and gender characteristics of respondents was not clearly defined. However, on the whole, men demonstrated a higher level of declared tolerance, to a statistical accuracy of 3-5%.

From these results, an attempt to model the social portrait of a representative of the ethnic majority who might be characterised as “less tolerant” than others produces a citizen of middle or elderly age, residing in a small town with a conservative, mono-ethnic cultural landscape, having an income of under 5,000 roubles per month, and in possession of well-established, standard stereotypes.

It should be emphasised that in the perception of the youth representing the host population, factors seen as contributing to the comfortable life of ethnic migrants in the Republic of Tatarstan were “tolerance by the local population” and (to a significantly lesser extent) “good living conditions.” At the same time, among the reasons given for

the uncomfortable life of ethnic migrants in the Republic of Tatarstan, “the intolerance of the local population” and “discrimination by the local population” were mentioned. For many of the young respondents who participated in focus groups, the reasons for such unfriendly attitudes were absolutely incomprehensible. Obviously, this is connected with internal ambivalence and confusion over their strategy of behaviour in relation to migrants in the Republic of Tatarstan, indicating that a definitive evaluation of their interethnic relationships has yet to become part of the worldview of these younger members of the host population. They are still in the process of thinking about and gradually forming their attitude towards interethnic interaction, which allows the avoidance of interpretations characterised as prejudices.

Within this study, respondents representing the host population were offered to define what, from their point of view, were the positive and negative points of having ethnic migrants live in the Republic of Tatarstan. Among the positive points “the joy of having an opportunity to communicate with the representatives of a different culture” (27.5%), “the thought that people of different nations and cultures live in our city is pleasing to me” (20.7%) and “the thought that all of us are different is pleasing to me” (14.9%) were mentioned. Nevertheless, such declarations of interethnic tolerance did not always reflect the respondent’s real attitude to this problem. For example, the vast majority of the respondents answered that their attitude to ethnic migrants would not change under any conditions. The second most frequent answer was “the attitude would be better if the number of these people in the city decreases.” In summary, this means that more than half the respondents were not ready to change their attitude towards these groups. Only one third of respondents suggested that their attitude might become better under certain conditions (the majority of them pointing out that their “attitude would become better if the representatives of ethnic migrant groups behave as the majority of citizens do,” “if their knowledge of the Russian language improves” and also “if I learned more about the characteristics of their culture from the mass media”).

The following negative attitudes towards migrants living in the Republic of Tatarstan proved to be of significance: “I worry about my own safety and the safety of my relatives” - 24.6%; “It is not pleasant for me to be in the same public places as them because of their behaviour” - 15.5%; “I am afraid that their presence increases the possibility of infectious diseases” - 10.2%; and finally, “their presence in the city irritates me” - 21.1%. The second and the fourth of these responses reflects the levels of

xenophobia (the non-acceptance of something different and distinct) spread throughout society. As well as disease, opponents of migration also considered migrants to be a source of crime and responsible for the presence of low quality goods and products. The perception that rising competition within the labour market is caused by the arrival of migrants, and the fear that migrants take jobs and cause a decrease in rates of pay were also widespread amongst the local population.

Ideas about levels of migration and the sphere of activity of arriving migrants were complemented by stereotypes regarding the ethnic composition of this group. Approximately half the focus group participants supposed that it was mainly people from the Caucasus coming to the city. Amongst questionnaire respondents from the ethnic majority, almost one in three were sure that Azerbaijanis prevailed among those arriving in the city, while another third thought that migrants mainly consisted of people from Central Asia, and also expressed the assumption that Tajiks and Uzbeks prevailed among immigrants.

The results of this investigation confirmed the authors' hypothesis regarding the increasing influence of real and perceived social and economic factors on the perception of migrants by the host population. In particular, the less tolerant attitudes demonstrated by respondents in the middle age category are, in the authors' opinion, the direct consequence of fears over job security under conditions of rising competition in the labour market as a result of social and economic instability. It is worth mentioning that psychological factors play an important role, since these kinds of misgivings reflect the level of social frustration amongst this socio-demographic group rather than actual reality.

According to results from the 2013 research period, the most negative feelings amongst representatives of the host population were evoked by such ethnic groups as the Uzbeks, Tajiks and Azerbaijanis, the representatives of whom local people mainly dealt with at the market. 60% of Russians and 54% of Tatars interviewed felt discomfort at living in the same city as Uzbeks; 62% of Russians and 60% of Tatars felt this way about Tajiks; and 60% of Russians and 53% of Tatars expressed the same attitude towards Azerbaijanis.

Data obtained through in-depth interviews confirmed the existence of an apparent distance between the host population and the groups of migrants being studied:

“When migrants come here, we don't know what they're talking about. They look down on us, look on us with a jaundiced eye. They have come to dominate the space in which we live. And they see us as simpletons. These people are impudent and, I guess, enterprising” (a Tatar man, 43 years old).

Experts consider there to be no cause, as of yet, for social strain as a result of migrants living in the republic:

“We have a stable situation now: people who come from Central Asia haven’t yet reached a critical mass, though their numbers keep growing. They irritate some people, but it is necessary to get used to it; it is one of the costs of economic progress: people will come to better places.” (a Tatar man, 43 years old).

However, this investigation has shown that representatives of the local population sometimes demonstrate a low level of readiness for interethnic contacts, and the closer the level of contact, the less ready they are for interaction.

Generally speaking, respondents demonstrated a fairly high level of readiness to accept the representatives of different ethnic groups as the inhabitants of their locality. For example, half of all Russian and Tatar respondents were ready to accept Uzbeks, and one in three were ready to accept Tajiks and Azerbaijanis. Regarding Jews, Russian and Tatar respondents showed a greater willingness to interact: in spite of the fact one third of the respondents said that they almost never dealt with Jews, 59.8% of Russians and one in two Tatars were ready to accept them as inhabitants of their locality. In this case the Jews, who undoubtedly belong to the local population, are considered as an alien group with a long local history in the mass consciousness of Russian society. Concerning Arabs and Turks, Russian respondents demonstrated a lower level of readiness for interaction: 39.7% of Russians and 49.3% of Tatars were ready to accept them. The respondents expressed the lowest level of readiness to interact in relation to Gypsies: only one fifth of Tatar and Russian respondents were ready to accept them.

One in three respondents among Russians and Tatars were prepared to make friends with Uzbeks; one in four with Tajiks, Azerbaijanis, Arabs and Turks; nearly 39.7% Russian respondents and one in four Tatar respondents were ready to see Jews as their friends. Willingness to make friends with Gypsies was expressed by 10% of respondents.

One in ten Russians were ready to accept Uzbeks, Tajiks, Azerbaijanis, Arabs, Turks as a husband or wife or a marriage partner of their child or relative; one in five respondents were prepared to accept a Jew as a relative by marriage, but only 4.8% would accept Gypsies. Amongst Tatars, one in six respondents expressed readiness to accept an Uzbek as their relative; one in seven were ready to accept a Turk or an Arab, one in eight a Tajik, Azerbaijani or Jew, and again, 4.8% a Gypsy.

The lowest level of readiness for interaction was demonstrated by respondents in relation to marriage contacts with the representatives of other nations. 6.7% of Russian respondents were ready to accept an Uzbek, an Arab or a Turk as their or their child's marriage partner; 5.8% were ready to accept a Tajik or Azerbaijani. While 15.7% would accept a Jew, only 5.5% would accept a Gypsy. Amongst Tatar respondents, 9.9% were ready to accept a Turk or an Arab as a marriage partner; 6.9% would accept an Uzbek or a Jew; 5.6% a Tajik and 3.7% an Azerbaijani.

A quarter of respondents representing the local population felt that their relationships with Uzbeks, Tajiks and Azerbaijanis might be better if "they behaved as local people do." One in six Russian and one in seven Tatar respondents felt that migrants must improve their knowledge of the Russian language. One in ten respondents felt the same way about Jews, Arabs and Turks. One third of local respondents declared that their attitude towards Uzbeks, Tajiks, Azerbaijanis and Gypsies would never change. One in seven Tatars and Russians felt that their attitude to Uzbeks, Tajiks and Azerbaijanis would improve if the number of representatives of these nations living in Tatarstan decreased. One in ten respondents held the same opinion in relation to Turks and Arabs.

Local inhabitants were not very interested in being better informed about the distinctive cultural practices of migrants. 4.8% of Russian respondents and one in ten Tatars felt they needed to know more about the culture of Uzbeks, Tajiks and Azerbaijanis, although one in six respondents expressed a desire to know more about the culture of Jews, Arabs and Turks.

Comparison of the results of the 2013 research with those of 2009 indicates an increased level of intolerance towards migrants amongst representatives of the host community. In particular, in 2013 56.3% of respondents stated that they felt discomfort as a result of living in the same city as migrants, whereas in 2009 this opinion had been expressed by only 32% of the sample. The above-mentioned concerns of the local population resulting from the increase in the number of migrants may be one possible cause of this point of view. One in two Russian and Tatar respondents considered the number of Uzbeks, Tajiks and Azerbaijanis to have increased recently.

"There is the negative experience of Europe, where an increase in the number of migrants is also observed. There are Tajiks and Uzbeks among our students, although there are not so many of them, therefore they behave quietly. But from my army experience I remember that if their number increases they will behave in a different way. And when five families appear in our area instead of two, as it is now, they will play first fiddle. When they

are together, they hold on to each other. They are united and dictate their will to society” (a Tatar man, 55 years old).

The appeal to the opinion of the majority for legitimization of one's own opinion has been revealed as a typical trait. For example, more than 60% of respondents consider that more than a half the inhabitants of their locality have the same attitude to migrants as they do.

External attribution of ethnic intolerance is the consequence of complicated and contradictory processes operating at a deep psychological level which are hard to analyse quantitatively. However, according to the analysis of respondents' answers it is possible to state that the representatives of the ethnic majority hold controversial attitudes towards ethnic minorities (migrants) in the Republic of Tatarstan. This is obvious from the answers of the younger representatives the host population, which testified to the fact that the appreciation of interethnic relationships has not become part of the world view of these young people yet.

On the one hand, a high level of interethnic tolerance is declared. For example, among the positive points, “the joy of having an opportunity to communicate with the representatives of a different culture,” “the thought that people of different nations and cultures live in our city is pleasant to me,” “the thought that all of us are different is pleasant to me” were mentioned. On the other hand, analysing the everyday situations modelled in this survey in detail, we can observe intolerant attitudes towards the representatives of the ethnic minorities. For instance, more than half the respondents felt that their “attitude to the representatives of ethnic minorities (migrants) will never change” or that their “attitude would change if the number of representatives of these nations living in Tatarsan decreases.” Only one third of respondents confirmed that their attitude might improve under certain conditions. Amongst this group, the most widespread answers were: “my attitude would improve if the representatives of ethnic minorities behaved as the majority of citizens do,” or “if they improved their knowledge of the Russian language,” and also “if I learned more about the peculiarities of their culture from the mass media.”

The views of representatives of the host population correlated with the social attributions of respondents: the degree of declared tolerance was influenced by social and economic factors and the internal psychological background connected with the sex and age characteristics of respondents.

Participants of the focus-groups representing the ethnic majority considered the main positive points in relation to migrants living in the Republic of Tatarstan to be connected with economic factors: “migrants do the jobs local people don't want to do,” “migrants supply cheap goods and

products,” and “migrants build and repair houses and flats at a low price and with high quality.” Some participants pointed out social advantages such as “the improvement of the demographic situation,” and “expansion of the ethnic and cultural variety of the city.” Negative points concerning the presence of migrants living in the Republic of Tatarstan included: “I worry about my own safety and the safety of my relatives,” “it is not pleasant for me to be in the same public places as them because of their behaviour,” “I am afraid that their presence increases the possibility of infectious diseases” and finally, “their presence in the city irritates me.”

It is important to note that the character of interaction between ethnic minority representatives and those of the host society appears quite contradictory. The positive attitude displayed by the significant part of the host population is appreciated by the representatives of ethnic minorities. But despite this, most of the minorities investigated in the Republic of Tatarstan still had grave misgivings connected with everyday manifestations of unfriendliness from the local population.

Nevertheless, when representatives from the largest groups of diasporic minorities were asked, the majority declared a high level of satisfaction with the results of their arrival in the republic: 38.0% of respondents said their expectations of coming to Tatarstan were completely satisfied and 47.5% said their expectations were almost completely satisfied. Only 5.5% of respondents felt that their expectations had proved to be wrong. Given this high level of satisfaction with life in Tatarstan, respondents’ answers to the question of where they would migrate to if they had the chance to choose again are logical. 68.5% of respondents stated that they would choose Tatarstan again, 19.5% would stay in their native country if possible, and only 3.0% replied that they would choose another region of Russia.

Analysing the results from the investigations of 2009 and 2013, not only can an increased level of intolerance towards migrants be observed on the part of the host population, but also a shift in some of the key motivating factors for this intolerance. In particular, in the 2009 study, socioeconomic competition was one of the main reasons declared for negative relations with migrants, influenced by the serious economic crisis of 2008-2009. In 2013 the actualisation level of this factor had returned to within statistical norms and socio-psychological factors had instead become determinant. In order of importance to the representatives of the host population, these factors manifested in a greater concern over the behaviour of ethnic minority people in the host society; the ethnic background of ethnic minorities; changes to the socio-demographic makeup in the region;

and the opinion of representatives of ethnic minorities about their new place of residence and the host society. In any given situation, the influence of these factors may be multi-faceted or combined, but determinant in any case.

Thus, the process of the intergroup polarisation has not yet caused any permanent perceptual defects and may be amenable to change depending on the particular nature of ethnic contact and the specific migration situation.

Destructive Factors of Interethnic Relationships in a Multicultural Region: The Position of the Host Population of Tatarstan

(Abstract)

In the last decades of the 20th century, liberal western society recognised the problem of minority groups as a social problem of discrimination. As a rule, the titular ethnic group (e.g. the Tatars of Tatarstan) of the constituent territories of the Federation and the Russians living there have, until recently, been the main targets of academic research. The nature of the relationship between these groups within the regional community has been the subject of research.

Recent years have seen a rise in tension between the ethnic majority, which comprises the titular ethnic group and Russians living a region, and minority ethnic groups, who play an increasingly significant role in the social and economic life of the regions. Tatarstan is no exception, as is proven by frequent displays of intolerance towards representatives of ethnic minorities. Despite the fact that the bulk of these displays are declarative or latent in character, real manifestations of xenophobia also occur.

From the results of this empirical study, various factors influencing the formation of attitudes amongst representatives of the ethnic majority towards ethnic minorities were distinguished. These include (in order of the importance they were given by respondents) the behaviour of the ethnic minorities in the host society; the ethnic background of the representatives of the ethnic minorities; changes to the socio-demographic situation in the region; and the opinion of representatives of the ethnic minorities about the new place of residence and the host society. In any situation the influence of these factors may be multi-faceted or combined, but determinant in any case. Thus, the process of intergroup polarisation has not yet caused permanent perceptual defects and may be amenable to change depending on the particular nature of ethnic contact and the specific migration situation.

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Keywords: interethnic relationship, multiethnic, multicultural, region, ethnic minorities, discrimination, ethnic majority.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheskij jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

AGRICULTURE, CATTLE BREEDING AND TRADE IN THE GOLDEN HORDE BASED ON DATA FROM WRITTEN SOURCES

Leonard Fyodorovich NEDASHKOVSKY*

Introduction

Agriculture is a virtually uninvestigated topic in the archaeology of the Golden Horde.¹ The Golden Horde has traditionally been viewed by historians as a nomadic state that relied very little on agricultural products. New archaeological data, however, has put into question the extent to which agriculture was part of the economic system of the Golden Horde.

It should also be noted that the territory claimed by the Golden Horde included not only the dry steppes of Eurasia, perfect for nomadic pastoralism, but also old agricultural regions such as Bulgar, Khorezm, Crimea, and the Northern Caucasus.

Findings

The settled regions of the Golden Horde had a well-developed agricultural system. At the settlements of Bagaevskoe, Kolotov Buerak, Hmelevskoe I and Shiroky Buerak, in the Low Volga (Saratov region of Russia), very valuable data was obtained during our excavations of 2001-2003, as a result of the flotation of the cultural layer and the fill of the investigated constructions for macrobotanical remains.² These processes were applied for the first time to the Golden Horde settlements. The analysis of the macrobotanical remains was carried out in the Laboratory of Scientific Methods of the Institute of Archaeology in the Russian Academy of Sciences by E. Yu. Lebedeva. There were numerous finds of fragments of ears of grain recorded at the settlements of Shiroky Buerak, Bagaevskoe and Hmelevskoe I; these traces of threshing confirmed the existence of crop cultivation by the population of the excavated sites, and disproved the theory that grain was imported, since unthreshed grain was never

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¹ Nedashkovsky 2012, p. 225-255.

² Nedashkovsky 2010, p. 156-157.

transported to market. The clear prevalence of millet that was noted in the samples (53.4% of all cereals), exceeding rye (20.1%), wheat (19.6%), barley (5.9%), oats (0.7%) and peas (0.3%), cannot be accidental.

Medieval authors clearly noted millet cultivation in the Golden Horde state. As early as the middle of 13th century, Plano Carpini³ and William of Rubruck⁴ mentioned that millet was an important food in the Mongol Empire, referring to other cereals, such as rice and barley, as grains used for producing drinks.⁵ Millet (“tari”), oats (“ous”), wheat (“coptaluc”), emmer (“suulu”), barley (“arpa”), rice (“tuturgan,” “brinč,” “bri[ng]”), peas (“brizac,” “noghuc”) and lentil (“maruimac”) are mentioned in the Cuman part of the dictionary *Codex Cumanicus*.⁶ The *Codex* was originally written in 1303 based on materials from the late 13th century; it was compiled for the Italians who came to Ulus Jochi.⁷ In *The History of Vassaf*,⁸ it is written that a sack of millet was sent by Khan Tokta to the Hulaguid ilkhān Gazan in 702 AH (1302/1303 AD) as a symbol of the numerous Golden Horde troops.⁹ Al-Omari (700-749 AH, 1300/01-1348/49 AD), in his multivolume geographical work, also mentions the agriculture of the Golden Horde, saying:

“They have very few crops, the least of which are wheat and barley, and beans almost cannot be found. Most often crops of millet are found there; they eat it and, as for products of the land, it (constitutes their main) food.”¹⁰

According to al-Omari, wheat, barley, lentils and two kinds of millet, called millet (“dohn”) and a kind of millet similar to the seed of trefoil (“zhavers”), were sold in the markets of Saray.¹¹ Iosaphath Barbaro¹² also wrote about the use of millet by the people of the Golden Horde as food and as a ritual

³ Plano Carpini: Franciscan monk, traveller to Mongol Empire (1245-1247).

⁴ William of Rubruck: Franciscan monk, traveller to Mongol Empire (1253-1255).

⁵ *Dzhiovanni* 1957, p. 36, 95, 124, 138, 146, 148, 154; Rockhill 1900, p. 10, 62, 68, 132, 166, 173, 183, 186.

⁶ Kuun 1981, p. 107, 130-131; Drimba 2000, p. 96, 109. *Codex Cumanicus*: Latin-Persian-Coman dictionary, originally written in 1303 and based on materials from the late 13th century, compiled for the Italians who came to Ulus Jochi.

⁷ Ulus Jochi-“Possession of Jochids,” “Territory and people of Jochids,” one of the most common names for the Golden Horde in medieval oriental sources.

⁸ *The History of Vassaf*: Persian chronicle from the first third of 14th century.

⁹ Tizengauzen 1941, p. 83.

¹⁰ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 230 (translation by author for this and other quotations).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 242. Saray was the capital of the Golden Horde, situated in the Lower Volga.

¹² Iosaphath Barbaro (1413-1494): Venetian politician and merchant, lived from 1436 until 1452 in Tana, a Venetian colony at the mouth of the Don River; author of the book *Voyage to Tana*.

offering. Besides millet he also mentions wheat and oat, which was used as horse food.¹³ Ambrogio Contarini,¹⁴ who passed through the Low Volga region in 1476, refers to rice and dried crusts “of quite good wheat flour,” as well as onion and garlic.¹⁵

Italian and Byzantine merchants bought different kinds of grains from the Golden Horde: namely, wheat, millet and barley, in order of preference.¹⁶ Francesco Pegolotti¹⁷ informs us of high quality wheat imported from Caffa and Moncastro.¹⁸ Nevertheless, not all regions of the Ulus Jochi were completely able to provide themselves with all agricultural products. The famous Arab traveller, Ibn Batuta,¹⁹ provided information on the distribution of wheat and barley from Termez to Khorezm on ships by way of the Amu Darya river.²⁰

William of Rubruck mentioned vineyards and wine in the North-eastern Caucasus.²¹ The Codex Cumanicus contains words for orange (“nainč,” “nouma”), lemon (“limon”), peach (“saftalu”), pomegranate (“nardan”), apricot (“mismis”), plum (“eric”), fig (“ingir”), grape (“xuxun”), megalocarpous muscat grape (“churu xuxun”), sweet cherry (“chiras”), date (“ghorma”), cucumber (“chear”), melon (“coun”), turnip (“salghan,” “samuc”), cabbage (“laghan”), beet (“čagundur”), pumpkin (“cabuc”), onion (“sorgan,” “youa”), garlic (“sarmisac”), spinach (“yspanac”), parsley (“mangdan”), lettuce (“marul”), fennel (“raxiana”), pear (“armut,” “chertme”), and apple (“alma”) in the Cuman section.²² Al-Omari also provided interesting information on fruits, nuts, vegetables and melons in his observations of the Golden Horde. He wrote:

“There are many different fruits growing on various trees: grapes, pomegranates, quinces, apples, pears, apricots, peaches and nuts. There was a fruit, which in the Kipchak language was called batenk, which looks like a

¹³ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 142, 146, 149-150.

¹⁴ Contarini, Ambrogio: Venetian diplomat, ambassador to Persia (1474-1477).

¹⁵ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 221, see also p. 224.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52-53, 57, 66; Emanov 1995, p. 100-101, 103-104, 108-116, 118, 146, 149; Karpov 1989, p. 27-34; Karpov 1990, p. 145; Karpov 1991, p. 191; Karpov 2000, p. 156, 175-176, 183; Kramarovskiy 1993, p. 250-251, 259-260; Kramarovskiy 2007, p. 122-123, 131-133; Pegolotti 1936, p. 24, 42, 54-55; Volkov 2008, p. 442, 447; Volsky 1854, p. 39-43.

¹⁷ Francesco Balducci Pegolotti: Florentine merchant, author of the *Pratica della mercatura*, completed between 1340 and 1342.

¹⁸ Pegolotti 1936, p. 42. Moncastro was a medieval city in Ukraine on Dnestr river, modern Belgorod-Dnestrovsky.

¹⁹ Ibn Batuta or Ibn Battuta (1304-1377): Most famous medieval Arab traveller.

²⁰ Gibb 1971, p. 542; Tizengauzen 1884, p. 309.

²¹ *Džhiovanni* 1957, p. 186; Rockhill 1900, p. 262.

²² Kuun 1981, p. 125-127; Drimba 2000, p. 106-107.

grape ... Regarding the melon, it is extraordinarily delicious to consume, and is of a yellow race [species]. It is preserved and is available there throughout the year. It has an extraordinary sweetness and pleasant taste, and what is more, it is abundant and cheap. Some local people squeeze its juice and boil down halvah [a sweet] from it. In their cities grow many vegetables, such as rutabaga, turnip, cabbage and others.”²³

Ibn Batuta, who personally visited Khorezm, clearly appreciated Khorezmian watermelons:

“The melons of Khwarizm have no equal in any country of the world, East or West ... Their rind is green, and the flesh is red, of extreme sweetness and firm texture. A remarkable thing is that they are cut into strips, dried in the sun, and packed in reed baskets ... They are exported from Khwarizm to the remotest parts of India and China, and of all the dried fruits there are none which excel them in sweetness.”²⁴

The tarkhan yarliq of khan Timur-Qutlug, issued in 1398, mentioned vineyards, gardens, mills and farmers in the environs of Sudak in Crimea, and also about granary taxes and threshing-floor fares.²⁵

In the Codex Cumanicus, the word plough (“saban”) appears a number of times in connection to its use, for example: ploughman (“sabanci”), till by plough (“saban surarmen,” “saban surdum,” “saban sur”), plough-share (“saban temir”), arable land (“tarlov,” “saban ieri”).²⁶ The Egyptian historian Rukn ad-Din Baibars (d. 1325), describing conflict between the Tokta and Noghay,²⁷ mentioned also a bidentate wooden plough (“sokha”).²⁸

Iosaphath Barbaro lived from 1436 to 1452 in Tana, a Venetian colony at the mouth of the Don River. In his book, Voyage to Tana, he provides an interesting perspective on agriculture in the steppe area of the Golden Horde:

“At about the new moon in February they make a call throughout the horde that anyone wishing to sow should prepare all necessary things, because by the new moon in March will be a sowing in such and such place, and that on such and such day and at such and such new moon everyone will set out. After that, those who are going to sow themselves or to employ somebody to sow, prepare and arrange among themselves, load carts with seeds, bring the animals necessary to them and, together with wives and children - or

²³ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 233-234.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 313.

²⁵ Radlov 1889, p. 21, 33.

²⁶ Kuun 1981, p. 8, 90, 180; Drimba 2000, p. 40, 87, 127.

²⁷ Noghay (d. 1299/1300): the Golden Horde emir, semi-independent ruler of the western parts of the state.

²⁸ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 110.

with a part of their family - make their way to the fixed place, usually located at a distance of two days travel from the place where the horde was at the moment the call regarding sowing came. There they plough, sow and live until they have done everything that they wanted to do. Then they return to the horde.

Khan treats the horde in the same way as a mother who sends (her) children on a walk and does not let them out of her sight. He travels all over these crop lands - today here, tomorrow there, not moving away [from his people] for more than for four days' journey. This continues, while the crops have yet to ripen. When they ripen, he does not move there with all the horde, but only (with) those who sowed and those who wanted to buy wheat there. They go with carts, oxen and camels and with all (that is) necessary to move the produce to their estates.

Lands are fertile there and return the crop of wheat fifty-fold - its height is like that of Padua wheat - and the crop of millet is returned a hundred-fold. Sometimes they get such a plenteous crop, that they leave it in the steppe."²⁹

Judging from the cited text, the lea tillage (fallow) system was the dominant form of agriculture in the steppe zone. In the Middle Volga region, to a certain extent, "a multi-course system and a two-field rotation of crops combined with a lea one"³⁰ were used.

Along with agriculture, cattle breeding was one of the economic bases of the Golden Horde state. A full army of the Jochids³¹ was formed from nomadic cattle-breeders up to the latter half of the 14th century.

Cattle breeding was developed not only in the nomadic economy, in which it served as basis of life, but also within the settled population. It was carried out for the purpose of obtaining meat, as well as milk, wool and leather. The role of manure was also significant - it was the only fertilizer in the agricultural economy of the Middle Ages. Bulls and oxen served for transportation of goods (camels and horses were also used for this purpose) and for ploughing the land.³²

Plano Carpini narrates, in regard to the Mongols, that "They are very rich in cattle, as in camels, bulls, sheep, goats and horses. They have pack cattle in such huge numbers that, in our opinion, their like is not found in all the world. However, pigs and other animals are not present at all."³³ Iosaphath Barbaro muses, concerning the quantity of cattle in Ulus Jochi in

²⁹ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 150.

³⁰ Krasnov 1987, p. 223.

³¹ Jochids: ruling dynasty of the Golden Horde, founded by Jochi, eldest son of Chingiskhan.

³² Petrenko 1988, p. 258-259; Tsalkin 1967, p. 117, 129.

³³ *Dzhiovanni* 1957, p. 28.

the 15th century: “What to tell about the great, even uncountably great number of animals in this horde? Who would believe me?”³⁴

Horse breeding in the steppe had an important military value: each warrior departing on a campaign was obliged to have with him several horses. In addition, “koumiss” was made from mare’s milk - a traditional drink of steppe nomads. Nomads paid taxes in cattle and koumiss.³⁵ In summertime, the nomads mainly used various dairy products for food (reserving oil, dried curd, cheese and dried meat for the winter), and in wintertime, they ate meat.³⁶ Al-Omari (700-749 AH, 1300/01-1348/49 AD) reports of the role of meat as food and about the custom of donation of meat amongst the nomads of Ulus Jochi:

“Their food from their animals: horses, cows and sheep. ... Amongst those who live in the steppe, meat is not for sale and is not bought. ... When one of his cattle somehow starts weaken, such as a horse or cow or sheep, he slaughters it and together with his household eats part of it, and gives a part to his neighbours, and when they in turn have a sheep, ... a cow, or a horse go bad, they slaughter it and give some to those who presented them [with meat before]. For this reason, in their houses there is never a lack of meat. This [custom] is so well-established between them, it is as though ... meat donation is an obligatory decree.”³⁷

The Golden Horde exported cattle in large quantities. For example, horses were taken out to India in a large numbers, where they were used for the household purposes. Ibn Batuta, writing about the export of horses from Ulus Jochi to Indian lands, reports of the steppe zone of the Golden Horde state:

“Horses in this land are extraordinarily in abundance and they cost a trifle. ... They use them for food; in their country they are as plentiful as in our land are the sheep, perhaps even more. One Turkic man could have several thousand of them. One of customs of the Turkic horse breeders occupying this country (is) that on bullock-carts, in which their wives travel, they place a piece of felt, a span in length, attached to a thin pole, a cubit in length at the corner of the bullock-cart; For each thousand head of horses, one such piece of felt is placed. I saw that some individuals had 10 pieces [i.e. owned 10,000 horses] and others even more than that.”³⁸

Iosaphath Barbaro also narrates in detail regarding the cattle trade:

“Among these people there are dealers in horses; they bring out horses from

³⁴ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 149.

³⁵ Fyodorov-Davydov 1973, p. 39-40.

³⁶ *Dzhiovanni* 1957, p. 95-96.

³⁷ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 230-231.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

the horde and drive them to various places. ... It happened to me that on the way I met merchants driving horses in such quantity that they covered the space of the whole steppe. ... The second type of animal these people own is beautiful, large bulls, and in quantities that would be quite sufficient even for Italian slaughter-houses. They drive them to Poland, where some are sent through Walachia to Transylvania and also to Germany, and from there ... brought to Italy. ... The third species of animals kept by these people is the tall, shaggy, two-humped camel. They drive to Persia and sell them there for twenty five ducats each.”³⁹

Large and small horned cattle in a large quantities were delivered by the nomads to neighbouring settled regions, for example, to the Middle Volga region⁴⁰ and to Old Rus, where the cattle substantially differed, being of smaller size: the average height of large horned cattle from the Golden Horde was almost 10 cm higher than that of cattle common to the territory of Rus.⁴¹

The system of wandering in the Golden Horde time was strictly regulated by the khan's power. All pastures and nomadic routes in the state were distributed according to its military-administrative division. Each superior chief specified territories and nomadic routes to the subordinate one. Plano Carpini reports:

“For no man dares abide in any country, unless the emperor has assigned him to be there. Also, he himself appoints to the chiefs the lands they should inhabit. Likewise the chiefs assign lands to every Millenary or commander of a thousand warriors, the Millenaries to each captain of a hundred, the captains to every corporal of ten.”⁴²

The meridional system of wandering - parallel to the flow of the large rivers in the Golden Horde territory - dominated. In summer, nomads in search of optimal conditions moved along the rivers' basins to the north, and in winter to the south. William of Rubruck wrote, that

“every chief (‘capitaneus’) knows, according (to whether) he has more or fewer people under his power, the limits of his pasture land and also where he can graze herds in winter and summer, spring and autumn. In particular, in winter they go down to the south to warmer countries, in summer they go up to the north, to cooler (ones). In the places convenient for pasture but without water, they graze the herds in winter when there is snow there, because the snow serves them instead of water.”⁴³

³⁹ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 149.

⁴⁰ Petrenko 1988, p. 258, 260, 271; Petrenko 2007, p. 103-104, 106-107.

⁴¹ Tsalkin 1967, p. 120.

⁴² *Dzhiovanni* 1957, p. 45.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

In addition to agriculture and cattle breeding, it seems that hunting was also useful for the people who inhabited the Ulus Jochi. Marco Polo provided information about hunting in the eastern part of Jochid state for ermines, sables, squirrels, silver foxes and marmots.⁴⁴ "They are perfectly able to hunt, using mainly bows," Iosaphath Barbaro reported about the population of Ulus Jochi.⁴⁵ The fur of sable, ermine, marten, weasel, fox, lynx, squirrel, hare, beaver, otter, marmot, and polar bear (which mainly came from the northern regions of the territory) was one of the most important items actively exported by the Golden Horde.⁴⁶

Battue hunting, in the tradition established by Yasa,⁴⁷ was an original school of military training, some kind of army manoeuvres.⁴⁸ Hunting was also one of the traditional entertainments of the Jochid aristocracy. Hawkers and masters of panthers were mentioned in the lists of Golden Horde officials in the yarliqs of Mengü-Timur⁴⁹ (1267), Birdibek (1357),⁵⁰ Tulyakbek⁵¹ (1379) and Timur-Qutlug (1398).⁵² Hunting falcons, gyrfalcons, and what were possibly golden eagles are mentioned by William of Rubruck.⁵³ Russian chronicles reported in 1283 that Golden Horde hawkers hunted swans.⁵⁴ In 702 AH (1302/1303 AD), ambassadors from Tokta brought, amongst other gifts for ilkhan Gazan, hunting falcons and furs of "Kirghiz squirrels, Karluk weasels ('fennec'), Slavic ermines and Volga Bulgarian sables."⁵⁵ Falcons are also mentioned among the gifts sent by khan Uzbek in 717 AH (1317/1318 AD) to the Egyptian sultan.⁵⁶ Gyrfalcons were sent by Uzbek to a great khan of the Yuan dynasty in

⁴⁴ Minaev 1955, p. 225-226; Yule 1903, p. 481.

⁴⁵ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 142.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51, 57-58, 66, 217; *Dzhiovanni* 1957, p. 88; Emanov 1995, p. 23-28, 34, 64, 80, 84, 97, 147, 149; *Il libro dei conti* 1956, p. 386; Karpov 1990, p. 152-154; Karpov 1991, p. 191; Karpov 2000, p. 183; Pegolotti 1936, p. 24, 150; Rockhill 1900, p. 44; Tizengauzen 1884, p. 297-298.

⁴⁷ Yasa: legal code of the Mongol Empire since Chingiskhan; it included common law and new laws, created according to the needs of empire.

⁴⁸ *Dzhiovanni* 1957, p. 99; Rockhill 1900, p. 71.

⁴⁹ Mengü-Timur: khan of the Golden Horde 1266-1282.

⁵⁰ Birdibek: khan of the Golden Horde 1357-1359.

⁵¹ Tulyakbek: khan of the Golden Horde in 1379-1380.

⁵² Grigor'ev 1990, p. 64, 74, 82-84, 102; Radlov 1889, p. 21, 25; *Yarlyki* 1955, p. 465, 467, 469.

⁵³ *Dzhiovanni* 1957, p. 98, note 59; Rockhill 1900, p. 69.

⁵⁴ Polnoe 1856, p. 177; Polnoe 1949, p. 154-155; Polnoe 1963, p. 62, 222; Priselkov 1950, p. 340-341.

⁵⁵ Tizengauzen 1941, p. 83.

⁵⁶ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 325-326, 438.

China.⁵⁷ Ambassadors of Janibek⁵⁸ arriving in Egypt in sha'baan 758 AH (20 July to 18 August 1357 AD) delivered gifts including sable furs and birds of prey.⁵⁹ Also, on 30 January 1385 AD, ambassadors of Toktamys⁶⁰ brought the Egyptian sultan seven falcons, amongst other gifts.⁶¹ Iosaphath Barbaro reported of hunting with falcons and gyrfalcons, and also of hunting for deer, geese and goldfinches.⁶²

Italian merchants imported dried and salted whole fish, as well as cured fillets of fish (primarily sturgeon), and caviar from the Golden Horde.⁶³ William of Rubruck similarly reported how merchants from Constantinople (which it can be inferred were Italian ones, because his information referred to the period when the city was a capital of the Latin empire) purchased dried sturgeons, breams “and other fish in boundless quantity”⁶⁴ at the mouth of the Don River. The same traveller commented on how inhabitants of this region always had large quantities of dried fish.⁶⁵ Johann Schiltberger, a Bavarian warrior who travelled in Europe, Central Asia and Africa between 1394 and 1427, characterises Azak⁶⁶ as a city “on a bank of the Don, abounding with fish, which it exported on big ships and galleys to Venice, Genoa and islands of the Archipelago.”⁶⁷ Iosaphath Barbaro, referring to the Volga River and the Caspian Sea, reported that “in the river, as well as in the sea, the quantity of fish is incalculable.”⁶⁸ Contarini discussed the fishing of sturgeons, white sturgeons and seals in the Caspian Sea.⁶⁹

Salt extraction was closely connected with the salting and drying of fish. The presence of this trade in the Golden Horde and their export of salt to Rus is mentioned in reports by Barbaro, Contarini⁷⁰ and William of

⁵⁷ Yule 1866, p. 238.

⁵⁸ Janibek: khan of the Golden Horde from 1342-1357.

⁵⁹ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 441.

⁶⁰ Toktamys: khan of the Golden Horde from 1379-1395.

⁶¹ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 441.

⁶² *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 147-148.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 50-52, 57-58; Emanov 1995, p. 79, 100-102, 104, 122-124, 146, 149; *Il libro dei conti* 1956, p. 416, 676, 701; Karpov 1990, p. 149; Karpov 1991, p. 191, 195, 210; Karpov 2000, p. 183; Pegolotti 1936, p. 24, 102, 380; Shrayner 1981, p. 218; *Ustav* 1863, p. 803.

⁶⁴ *Dzhiovanni* 1957, p. 88.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109; Rockhill 1900, p. 97.

⁶⁶ Azak: the Golden Horde city in the mouth of the Don River, inside the modern Azov, a town in the Rostov region of Russia.

⁶⁷ *Shiltberger* 1984, p. 44-45.

⁶⁸ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 157.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 216, 218.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 157, 219.

Rubruck, who discussed the significant amount of money that came to the khan's treasury from the control of salt production.⁷¹ One of the mountains along the Ural River was labelled "Salt Mountain" on the map of cosmographer Fra Mauro,⁷² dated 1459.⁷³

Wild hive beekeeping was also of some importance. Honey and beeswax were exported by Ulus Jochi, and honey, grasses and roots were gathered and used as food by the local population.⁷⁴ The Codex Cumanicus contained the words for nut ("cox"), hazelnut ("čatlauc"), almond ("badam"), pistachio ("pistac"), chestnut ("castana"), rue ("sadaf"), mint ("gischic"), sage ("salg")⁷⁵ in its Cuman section, indicating that these resources were also gathered. Moreover, herbs were gathered for medicinal purposes. For example, the inflorescences of Levant wormwood were exported from the Black Sea and Azov Sea regions to Western Europe and the Near East.⁷⁶

Conclusions

According to archaeological data, the most commonly cultivated crops were millet, rye, wheat, barley, oat and peas. Along with agriculture, cattle breeding was one of economic bases of the Golden Horde state. It developed not only in the nomadic economy, in which it served as way of life, but also amongst the settled population. Cattle breeding was carried out for the purpose of obtaining not only meat, but also milk, wool, leather. The Golden Horde exported cattle in large quantities. Hunting, which was mostly carried out for obtaining furs, had little significance as a source of meat. Fisheries were well developed and their products exported abroad as far as Italy. Amongst these trades we must also mention salt extraction and the gathering of honey, nut, grasses and roots. Further data on the agriculture and trades of the Golden Horde could be obtained from future archaeological excavations.

⁷¹ *Džhiovanni* 1957, p. 90-91, 107; Rockhill 1900, p. 52, 92.

⁷² Fra Mauro: Venetian cosmographer of 15th century.

⁷³ *Il mappamondo* 1956, p. 56, XXXIII.

⁷⁴ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 51-52, 57, 66, 142, 153, 220; *Džhiovanni* 1957, p. 95; Emanov 1995, p. 32-33, 79, 84, 95-97, 104, 111, 128-129, 147, 149; Karpov 1990, p. 131; Karpov 1991, p. 195, 210; Pegolotti 1936, p. 24, 43, 150; Rockhill 1900, p. 62; Tizengauzen 1884, p. 234.

⁷⁵ Kuun 1981, p. 125-126; Drimba 2000, p. 106.

⁷⁶ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 147, note 69; Emanov 1995, p. 84, 119; Pegolotti 1936, p. 69, 138, 429-430.

**Agriculture, Cattle Breeding and Trade in the Golden Horde
Based on Data from Written Sources**

(Abstract)

This article examines data available from written sources on agriculture, cattle breeding and trade in Ulus Jochi. According to archaeological data, in the Golden Horde, millet was the most widely cultivated crop, followed by rye, wheat, barley, oat and peas. Besides agriculture and cattle breeding, special attention is devoted to examining characteristic features of hunting and fishing. Such trades as salt extraction and the gathering of honey, nuts, grasses and roots are also briefly characterised.

Medieval authors clearly noted millet cultivation in the Golden Horde state. Italian and Byzantine merchants bought different kinds of grains from the Golden Horde: namely, wheat, millet and barley, in order of preference. Along with agriculture, cattle breeding was one of the economic bases of the Golden Horde state. It was developed not only in the nomadic economy, in which it served as way of life, but also amongst the settled population. Cattle breeding was carried out for the purpose of obtaining not only meat, but also milk, wool and leather. The Golden Horde exported cattle in large quantities.

Hunting was mostly carried out for the purpose of obtaining furs, and had little significance as a source of meat. The furs (which mainly came from the northern regions of the territory) were one of the most important items actively exported by the Golden Horde. Italian merchants imported dried and salted whole fish, as well as cured fillets of fish (primarily sturgeon), and caviar from the Golden Horde. Salt extraction was closely connected with the salting and drying of fish. Wild hive beekeeping was also of some importance. Honey and beeswax were exported by Ulus Jochi, while honey, grasses and roots were gathered for food by the local population.

This study will be significant for historians, archaeologists and linguists whose research is in medieval studies.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

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|---------------------------------|---|
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| Drimba 2000 | - Vladimir Drimba, <i>Codex Comanicus: Édition diplomatique avec facsimilés</i> , Bucharest, 2000. |
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Keywords: agriculture, cattle breeding, trade, the Golden Horde, written sources.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskoye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archives. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskoy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheskij jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF WOODEN REMAINS FROM 16TH-19TH CENTURY SVIYAZHISK

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The island of Sviyazhsk is home to a number of unique archaeological sites dating back to ancient times. Intense settlement of the area occurred due to its unique river systems attracting humans to the rich biological resources they offered.¹ Numerous archaeological sites have been discovered near the flood plain, the earliest of which date back to the Stone Age.² The origin of the town of Sviyazhsk is linked with the events of the mid-16th century, the period of conquest of the Kazan Khanate.

Archaeological investigations of the faubourg (suburb), located in the lower part of the island, are of great significance in the study of Sviyazhsk's past. Intense development in the town area led to the formation of a unique damp cultural layer which preserved organic items (wooden constructions, household buildings, household items, leather goods, textiles, etc.) in its oxygen-free environment. Excavations carried out in the area along the strand line which is gradually being destroyed by water erosion, revealed numerous 16th-18th century buildings, making it possible to reconstruct the topography of the late medieval town based on the remains of the streets and premises.³

The cultural strata of Sviyazhsk were first studied in the systematic archaeological research undertaken by L. A. Belyaev and L. S. Shavokhin in

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¹ Shakirov, Valiev 2009, p. 103-111.

² *Archaeological Map* 1985, p. 15, 72-73; Galimova 2006, p. 37; Chernyshev 1971, p. 272-292.

³ Shakirov, Valiev 2009, p. 107-108; Shakirov 2010, p. 23-24.

1978-1981.⁴ Attention was drawn to the existence of a damp cultural layer in the lower part of the faubourg, although at the time no special studies were made of that part of the site.

However, during the study of the north-eastern part of the island of Sviyazhsk in 2006, some remarkable areas of destruction of the cultural layer were recorded along the strand line of the Kuibyshev water storage reservoir.⁵

In 2008, an excavation of an area 157 m² in size was begun in the north-eastern part of the island (**fig. 1/A-B**). At the time of the excavation, there were no longer any residential constructions in this area; the locals were using it as a kitchen garden.

According to certain written sources, in the 16th-17th centuries, the 2008 archaeological site had been the location of Rozhdestvenskaya, Kuznechnaya, Tatarskaya and Bolotnaya streets which were densely lined with wooden buildings.⁶ The location of streets and wooden buildings remained unchanged until the middle of the 20th century⁷ (**fig. 1/A**).

The excavation stratigraphy reflected deposits, diverse in their capacity and saturation, which were formed over a long period of household development of this area. The depth of this cultural layer was about 3 m.

The 19th-20th century building horizons, with a depth of 90-120 cm over the entire profile, were represented by loose loamy light sand with grey, brown and grey-brown variations, along with plenty of material debris such as brick and calcareous medley, gravel, sand, coal, ash and decayed wood.

The finds from this layer included present-day trash, glassware and window glass, crockery and fragments of 19th-20th century ceramics, lead cast net weights and parts of leather shoes. In addition, fragments of 17th-18th century ceramics and ceramics of the Bulgar tradition were found in the remanié form (a deposit of older material within a newer deposit) (**fig. 6/1-20**). Five sites were linked with this layer.

The most recent log house on the site was named construction 1; it was 570 x 450 cm in size, oriented with its corners to the cardinal directions with some inclination to the West. The perimeter could be traced in the form of decomposed logs about 28 cm in diameter. In the sampling process

⁴ Proect 1979; Proect 1980a; Proect 1980b; Proect 1981; Proect 1982.

⁵ Shakirov 2009, p. 499.

⁶ *Chronicles* 2011, p. 35, no. 7; *List* 1909, p. 36-58.

⁷ NART, fund 324, inventory 739, doc. 281; fund 324, inventory 739, doc. 282; fund 324, inventory 739, doc. 284.

used to analyse the filling of the construction on various levels, pieces of decayed wood from fallen structural elements of the building as well as the decomposed floor boards were found. From the filling of the log house, fragments of an ornamented glazed noisemaker, non-glazed encaustic tiles, stone and clay weights (**fig. 7/8, 10, 15**), leather shoes, a copper Christian cross and an iron item were found.

Construction 1 was the remains of a residential building, used in the second half of the 19th-mid-20th century. According to elderly residents in the area, it was disassembled before the emptying of the Kuibyshev reservoir.

The other four sites (constructions 2 and 3 and some pole-pits) date back to the 20th century.

In the 19th century, Sviyazhsk faced severe economic downturn.⁸ At the turn of the 20th century, the town became one of the twelve typical district towns of Kazan Province, having lost much of its former importance as a major religious, administrative and trading centre in the Volga region. When the Kuibyshev reservoir was built at the end of the 1950s, the riverside farms ceased to exist. The finds excavated in the upper horizon of the cultural layer reflect the growing desolation of the area from the middle of the 20th century.

The 18th century building horizons were of dark-grey and dark-brown humus and loamy light sand with inclusions of large amounts of decayed wood, bark and wood chips. The layer representing this period was about 34-70 cm deep.

Six constructions were linked to this layer (**fig. 2/B**). Five of them were wooden buildings from the first half of the 19th century. All wooden constructions were oriented with their corners to the cardinal directions with some inclination to the West. This cultural layer was formed during the period when Sviyazhsk became the centre of Kazan Province. The 18th century was the epoch of Sviyazhsk's most significant rise to prominence.

Specific finds from this layer included non-glazed circular ceramics and glazed ceramics of the 18th century, cast net weights, iron items and leather and wooden items, as well as white loamy ceramics and Bulgar-style ceramics in a decomposed form (**fig. 6/8**).

Before the most recent building (construction 1) was erected there was another construction - 1a - a residential building built in the middle of the 18th century and disassembled due to dilapidation at the beginning of the 19th century. It was a log house, 520 x 530 cm in size, made from logs about 34 cm in diameter. Its partition was made of 26 cm diameter logs,

⁸ *Statistics* 1830, p. 68-69.

dividing the house into two equal spaces. The construction, which included the remains of the porch and ran alongside the log house, was cleared from the south-east. The preserved height of the log house was three timber sets high. Lower timber sets and the partition were laid upon a vertical fixed wooden billet 40 cm in diameter.

An iron knife with a bronze plate on its handle was found under the porch (**fig. 9/8**). From the filling of the log house, in addition to ceramic material, fragments of leather shoes, clay and stone weights, blue glass beads (**fig. 7/11**), bronze buttons, stone items (**fig. 7/14**), an iron heel plate from a shoe, and fragments of red loamy Bulgar-style ceramics were excavated (**fig. 6/19**).

Another wooden building, known as construction 4, was the remains of a residential building similar to construction 1a. Located in the eastern part of the site, this building was 390 x 214 cm in size and reached the western wall of the excavation site (**fig. 2**). A log house built of 25 cm diameter logs, its preserved height was five timber sets. The lower sets lay upon horizontal billets of wood. Individual finds from the filling of the log house included fragments of leather shoes, leather scraps, blue glass beads, stone items (**fig. 7/17**), clay weights and fragments of vessels made in Bulgar traditional style.

Construction 6 was the remains of a wooden pavement between the buildings (constructions 1a and 4). It was a rectangular construction 320 x 470 cm in size, made from planks 16-26 cm wide laid across transverse lags 11-20 cm wide (**fig. 2**).

The eastern part of another wooden building (370 x 176 cm) was excavated on the site (Construction 5), dating back to the mid-18th-early 19th century. It was made from 25 cm diameter logs and it had been preserved up to a height of three timber sets. The lower sets lay on transverse billets of wood. Sampling the filling of the construction revealed, in addition to pieces of stoneware, fragments of copper buttons, clay weights, the remains of leather shoes and fragments of encaustic tiles with the turquoise enamel. Most of the construction stretched beyond the western boundary of the excavation site, making it difficult to determine its functional purpose.

Construction 4a was thought to be a household building or fencing wall dating back to the mid-18th-early 19th century, based on the characteristics of the deposit layer. Its construction was preserved in the form of a log wall up to two timber sets in height and 380 cm in length laid on a transverse billet of wood. The construction had a wooden frame and pillar design. Most of it had been destroyed by the waters of the Kuibyshev reservoir.

Construction 7b was a pit left where a construction had been built in the middle of the 18th century; it was excavated from the northern boundary of the excavation site.

The formation of these cultural layers and the time these constructions dated from is linked with the period following 1719, when the town of Sviyazhsk became the centre of Sviyazhsk district, Kazan Province. Eight districts were under its governance, thus intensifying life in town. The period after Sviyazhsk became a district town in 1781 is also linked with the same horizons. The 18th century was the town's period of maximum growth, represented by a great concentration of development and growing population.

The 17th century building horizons were represented by dark-brown and dark-grey humus and loamy light sand with inclusions of a large amount of decayed wood and chips. The depth of the layer was 34-50 cm. The finds included 16th-17th century circular ceramics, cast net weights, entire and fragmentary leather shoes, leather goods, wooden goods (including elm). A few re-deposited fragments of circular stoneware crafted in the Bulgar tradition were excavated here (**fig. 6/2-3, 6-7, 9-11, 15, 21**). Five log house constructions were linked with this layer (**fig. 3**).

Construction 7a was a 490 x 480 cm log house, made from 22 cm diameter logs. The northern corner of the log house had been preserved up to two timber sets in height. Among the single finds were fragments of an iron knife and an iron heel plate. Construction 7a was a residential building of the second half of the 17th-beginning of the 18th centuries. The excavated logs, which were charred on the inside, indicate that it was destroyed by fire.

Construction 7 was excavated from under construction 7a. It was also a log house, more or less square in form (360 x 388 cm), abutting the western boundary of the excavation site. Made from logs with a diameter of 26 cm, it was up to four timber sets high. The floor was made from logs and boards. Inside the log house vertical fixed raker piles and billets of wood with a diameter of 20-30 cm held the transverse lags of floor.

Adjacent and to the south of the log house there was a building space 100 cm wide made from 16 cm diameter logs. Its outer walls were additionally fixed with the vertical stakes. On the eastern side adjacent to the log house there was another building space 140-160 cm wide made from 30 cm diameter logs also fixed with vertical stakes. At the northern corner, a

Fragment of plan Sviyazhsk, 1869

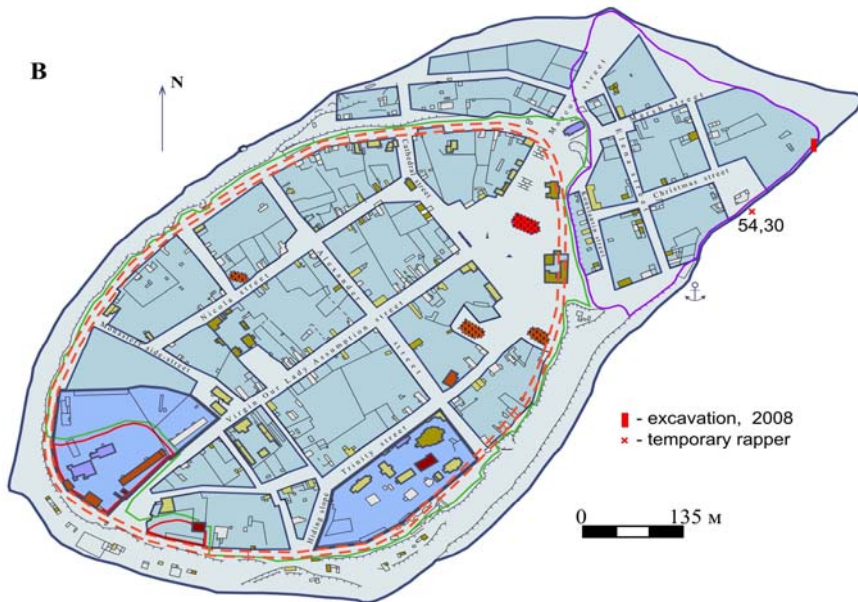
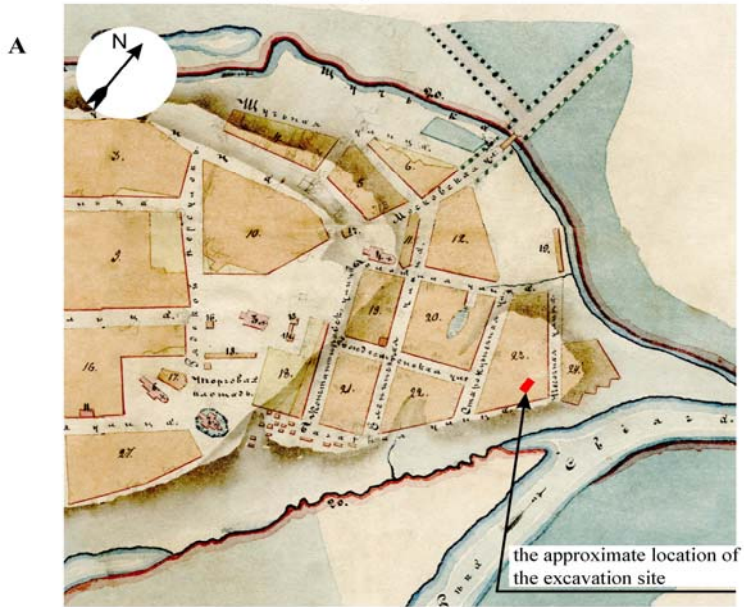


Fig. 1. A - Fragment of the plan of Sviyazhsk, 1869 (The National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 324, inventory list 739, case 281); B - Plan of Sviyazhsk Island

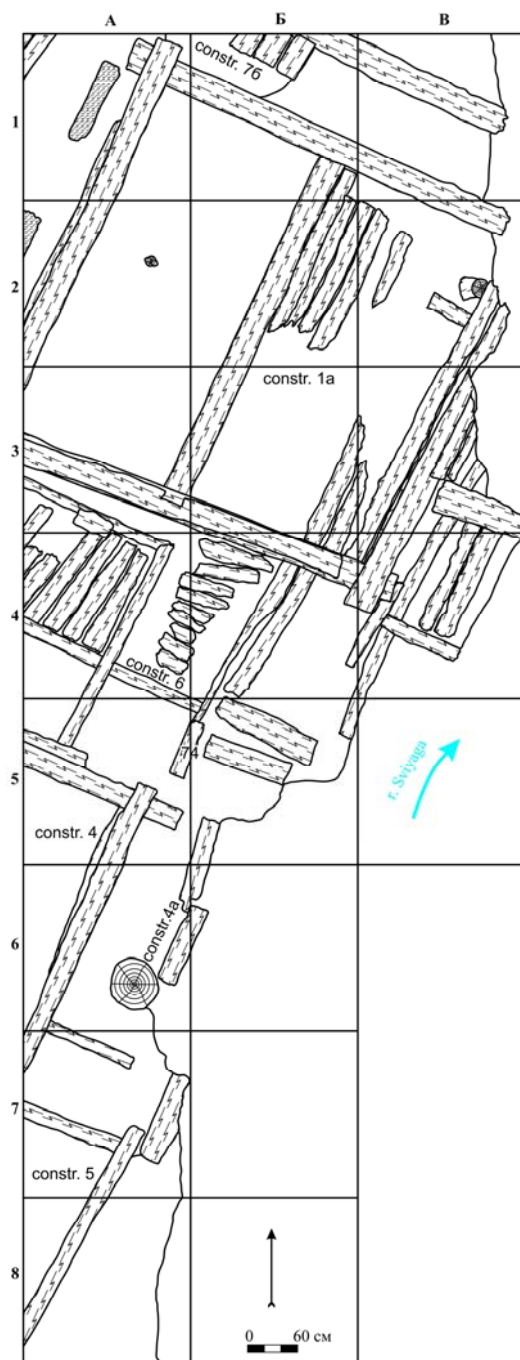


Fig. 2. Consolidated plan of the 18th century constructions

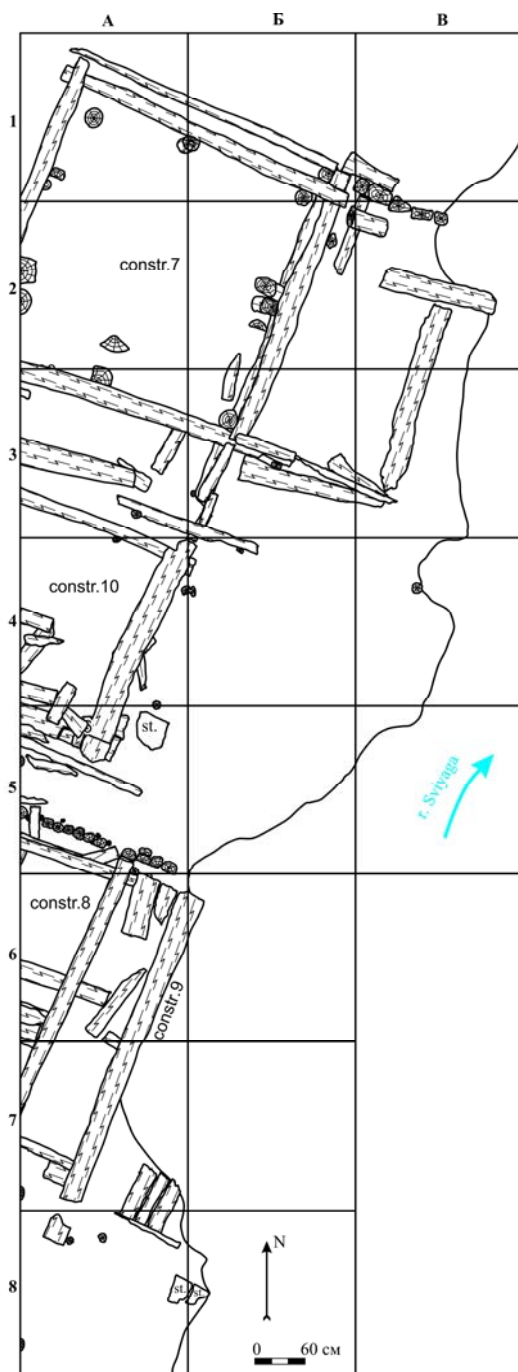


Fig. 3. Consolidated plan of the 17th century constructions

fence in the form of vertically-driven logs with a diameter of 16 cm was excavated (**fig. 3**).

The finds from the construction included fragments and entire leather shoes, iron brackets, a bone piercer (**fig. 8/15**), a round wooden float, a leather muffler and goods made from elm. Ceramics were made of Russian white clay or other white clay typical of the 17th century. Fragments of red and brown Bulgar-style ceramics were also found.

Construction 10 was part of a log house, 262 x 216 cm in size, abutting the western edge of the excavation site. It was made from 16-34 cm diameter logs (**fig. 3**). Along the north-eastern and south-eastern walls were found vertically-driven timber set edges and stakes with a diameter of 9 cm which were additional fitters. The log-house was two timber sets high, with lower sets laid on a transverse billet of wood. In addition to typical ceramic materials of that time, two fragments of stoneware designed in the Bulgar tradition were found (**fig. 6/4, 16**). To the north of the log house, which was a terrestrial household building, there was an adjacent wooden building, the entrance to construction 7 (**fig. 3**).

This complex - a house with an entrance, porch, household building and fence - was part of one courtyard. It functioned from the second quarter to the last third of the 17th century but was disassembled and filled after it became dilapidated. The date identified from tree ring analysis of a saw cut (no. 2) suggested the timber was felled in 1633.⁹

Constructions 8 and 9 were also of particular interest. Construction 8 was part of a log house 344 x 200 cm in size, abutting the western boundary of the excavation site. The log house was made from 20cm diameter logs and was three timber sets high, with the lower set laid on a transverse billet of wood with a diameter of 16-18 cm. In the process of sampling the construction, a charred floor (**fig. 3**) was cleared. In addition to various ceramic materials characteristic of that time, two fragments of Bulgar-style vessels were found. Parallel to the north-eastern wall of the log house, at a distance of 30 cm, a fence made from vertically-driven stakes and timber edges with a diameter of up to 18 cm was excavated (**fig. 3**).

Construction 9, a terrestrial log house made from 26 cm diameter logs, was uncovered to the south-east of the above construction. 444 x 166 cm in size, most of it had been ruined by the waters of the Kuibyshev reservoir. Between constructions 8 and 9 there was an entrance way 80 cm wide, with a floor made from 15-28 cm wide boards laid on transverse lags 12-18 cm in diameter (**fig. 3**).

⁹ Tishin, Shakirov 2010, p. 36-39.



Fig. 4. Consolidated plan of the 16th century constructions

We suppose that constructions 8 and 9, which shared an entrance way and the remains of the fence, were both within the same courtyard. The courtyard buildings were used until the last third of 17th century and were lost in a fire.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Sviyazhsk still served a pivotal role within the Russian State in relation to the surrounding territories, as it had done since the second half of the 16th century. Towards the middle of the 17th century, with the transfer of military personnel to the abatis (defensive) line and to Astrakhan,¹⁰ the population of the town decreased dramatically, principally in the faubourg. The population decline was connected with the gradual diminishing of the town's trade and economic role and its administrative transfer to Kazan.

The 16th century building horizons, connected with the beginning of the active development of the town, were characterised by dark-brown and dark grey humus and layers of loamy light sand with inclusions of wood chips. The layer's depth was about 94-130 cm. The finds include 15th-16th century circular ceramics, leather and wooden goods, fishing net weights, fragments of circular Bulgar-style ceramic vessels and glazed ceramics (**fig. 6/12-14, 18, 22**).

Forming the major section of the excavation site, 23 constructions were linked with this layer (**fig. 4**). All the wooden constructions had their corners oriented to the cardinal directions, reflecting the street plan. Parts of these buildings were still in use up to the beginning of the 17th century.

Construction 8 was part of a log house, 312 x 140 cm in size, reaching the western boundary of the excavation site (**fig. 4**). It was three timber sets high, with the lower sets laid on a transverse billet of wood. The floor consisted of charred boards 10-26 cm wide and logs with a diameter of 18 cm, lying lengthways along the building and laid on transverse lags.

The floor in the northern part sagged under the weight of a furnace. This building was the only construction with a preserved furnace found on the excavation site. The furnace was 118 x 60 cm in size. Its bottom plate was located near the northern wall of the log house, and was formed from white clay bricks (5 x 13 x 16 cm) in a row on a base stone. The layer of bricks was fixed by means of loam mortar with a large amount of sand (**fig. 4**). On the edge a band of hardened material was observed: 2-14 cm in width and up to 28 cm deep, it would have formed as the furnace functioned. The bottom plate was laid on a cushion of aseptic sand 30-32 cm deep. A space of 16-30 cm between the furnace and the wall of the log house was packed with aseptic light-grey solid loamy light sand with

¹⁰ Smirnov 1919, p. 167-169.

inclusions of brick medley and sandy clay. In the south corner of the furnace there was a vertically-fixed pole with a diameter of 8 cm - a detail of the furnace's construction. The building was likely to have been residential, functioning in the last third of the 16th-beginning of the 17th century and lost in a fire.

The finds from the log house included an iron buckle (**fig. 9/27**), a cup hook and an ordinary nail. Three fragments of Bulgar-style ceramics and one fragment of a pot made of Russian white clay were found.

Construction 11 was a charred log house 424 x 432 cm (**fig. 4**) in size. Only the lower timber sets made from logs with a diameter of 23-30 cm, had been preserved. Sampling at different levels revealed fallen wooden fragments from the building in the form of logs with a diameter of 18-26 cm and a floor made from 15-30 cm wide boards. Some of the material that had fallen into the construction resulted from a fire. A saw cut (no. 1) taken for tree-ring analysis indicated that the building was constructed in 1591.¹¹

Near the eastern corner of the building, vertically-driven poles with a diameter of 10-12 cm and the remains of a wooden fence (**fig. 4**) were found. Among the ceramic finds were fragments of vessels made in the Bulgar tradition. The finds also included hazelnut shells, textiles, iron items, nails, a knife, heel plates from shoes (**fig. 9/35**), whole leather shoes, fragments of shoes and leather cuttings. Clay whistles shaped like birds (**fig. 7/9**) were also found, typical of objects found in medieval Russian cities.¹² There were also wooden goods, such as a mixer, chopping board, pitcher, ladle and saucepan (**fig. 8/4**), a part of a spinning wheel (**fig. 8/14**), an unidentified item (**fig. 8/6**), a toy boat (**fig. 8/5**), a float (**fig. 8/8**) and birch bark shoe inserts.

Construction 12 was part of log house 284 x 146 cm in size, located along the western boundary of excavation, made from logs and timber set edges with a diameter of 16-30 cm. The preserved height was two timber sets. In the central part of the log house, a 16 cm wide timber set edge was found, dividing it into two halves. The floor was made from boards 20-30 cm wide, which lay on transverse lags (**fig. 4**). The finds included iron heel plates from shoes, Bulgar-style ceramics, fragments of Russian clay ceramics and other white clay items.

100 cm to the south-east of construction 12, construction 13 was discovered: the remains of a terrestrial wood frame and pillar building 260 x 230 cm in size. In slots cut into vertically-fixed logs with a diameter of 24-28 cm in the corners, 12-22 cm diameter logs had been driven (**fig. 4**). The

¹¹ Tishin, Shakirov 2010, p. 36-39.

¹² Ekimov 2005, p. 12-18; Nesterova 2002, p. 24-28.

walls of the construction were two timber sets high. The floor was of round lagging made from 10-22 cm diameter logs, laid on transverse lags with a diameter of 14-26 cm. Individual finds from the filling included iron items such as a knife, heel plate and spinning wheel (**fig. 9/28**). There were many wooden floats (**fig. 8/7**) and leather items such as a quiver (**fig. 10/10**), children's shoes, a whole boot, fragments of leather shoes, leather cuttings, birch bark shoe inserts and birch bark floats (**fig. 8/11-12**), a felted insole and clay weights.

Construction 16 was also a terrestrial wood frame and pillar building. Most of it had been ruined by water from the reservoir. 232 x 170 cm in size, the construction was made from logs with a diameter of 16-26 cm and pillars with a diameter of 18-20 cm (**fig. 4**). The floor was a layer of planks up to 20 cm wide, laid on transverse lags with a diameter of 26 cm.

The complex, which included a residential building with a fence (construction 11), household buildings (constructions 12, 13 and 16), and pavements between them (**fig. 4**), was part of a courtyard complex from the last third of 16th-beginning of 17th century which was lost in a fire.

Construction 15 was the remains of a square cut log house (387 x 390 cm). The preserved height was two timber sets, made from logs with a diameter of about 20 cm (**fig. 5**). In the process of sampling at different levels, fallen wooden items from the building itself in the form of logs with a diameter of 14-18 cm and a floor made from 26 cm wide boards were discovered. Finds included fragments of a cast iron boiler (**fig. 9/24-25**), an iron knife, shoe heel plates (**fig. 9/32, 34**), a horseshoe (**fig. 9/36**), a bracket (**fig. 9/23**), a nail, a disruptive chain (**fig. 9/17**), a wooden comb, a toy sword, bark goods, fragments of leather shoes and cuttings, a leather case for a knife (**fig. 10/12**), clay weights, Bulgar-style ceramics, etc.

Beyond the eastern corner of the log house, an L-shaped fence was discovered in the form of a row of vertically-driven logs with a diameter of 10-14 cm (**fig. 5**). The construction had been a residential building with a fence, dating from the third quarter of the 16th century.

The above-mentioned constructions were the earliest wooden buildings on the site, and may have been among those mentioned in the cadastres (real estate registers) of 1565-1567.¹³

Among them was construction 14, which was charred from a fire (505 x 360 cm). The log house was made from 20-31 cm diameter logs (**fig. 5**), with a height of three timber sets. To the south, adjacent to the log house, a separate building (construction 14a) was excavated. Inside this construction and in areas nearby, flooring made from tree bark 16-44 cm and 50-366 cm

¹³ *List* 1909, p. 36-58.

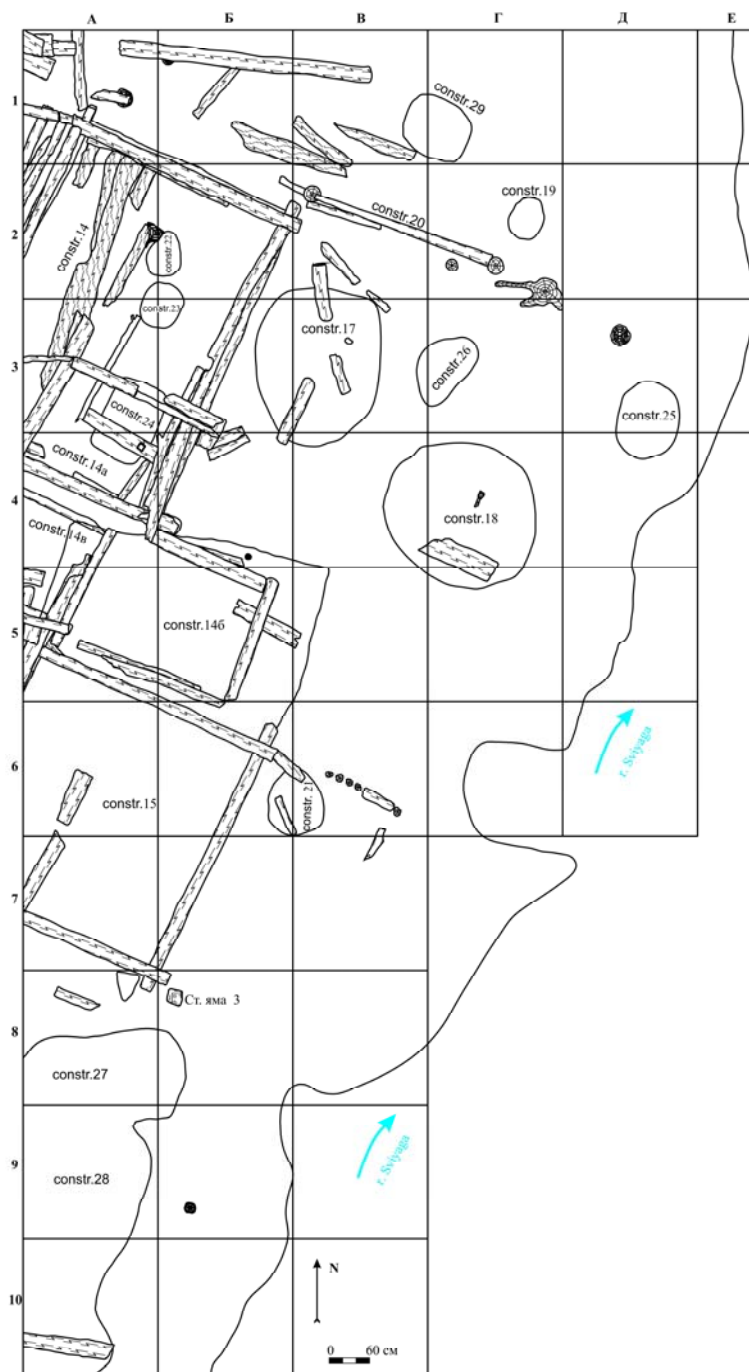


Fig. 5. Consolidated plan of the 16th century constructions

long was found; this would have served as the floor of the construction and the pavement of the courtyard. In the process sampling various levels of the fill, wooden items from the structure of the building, namely logs of 14-20 cm in diameter and boards 11-22 cm wide were unearthed. There was a layer within the construction formed when it was lost to fire. Among the finds were iron heel plates of shoes, a knife with a wooden handle (**fig. 9/15**), a leather bag, a case (**fig. 10/9**), a whole boot and fragments of shoes, a mitten (**fig. 10/11**), wooden floats, the handle of a lash and a beetle. Among the rare archaeological finds was an iron tripod for placing pots over the fire (**fig. 9/16**) and a small wooden head from a potter's wheel (**fig. 8/13**).¹⁴

Inside this log house, construction 14a was excavated. It was in the form of a square cut wooden building 190 x 242 cm in size, adjacent to the log house (construction 14) and made from logs with diameter of 10-24 cm (**fig. 5**). The lower timber sets were laid on transverse billets of wood with a diameter of 8-16 cm. The most interesting find there was a thrift box (**fig. 7/21**).

Construction 14b had an original design, namely, some woven, square-shaped flooring, 396 x 270 cm in size, made from canes threaded between poles 3-7 cm in diameter (**fig. 5**). The construction dates back to the third quarter of the 16th century. During the excavation, a collection of weights (5 pcs.) (**fig. 7/1-5**), whole leather boots, shoe fragments made from birch bark (**fig. 10/17**), iron heel plates, wooden floats and willow fibre rope were found.

Construction 20 was a terrestrial joist and pillar structure with a fixed size of 278 x 18 cm, made from vertical logs with a diameter of 24-28 cm, into the slots of which were fixed timber set edges 7-18 cm wide (**fig. 5**). This construction was in use in the third quarter of the 16th century, and was part of a farm complex which included a residential building (construction 14) and household buildings (construction 14b and c) and which was destroyed by fire.

Construction 14c was another an early example of the excavation site: a terrestrial log house (396 x 270 cm) subdivided into two spaces, made from logs and timber set edges with a diameter of about 18-20 cm (**fig. 5**). The single finds included an iron knife, wooden items, fragments of leather shoes and cuttings, and Bulgar-style ceramics. The construction may have been a residential building within the courtyard in the third quarter of the 16th century.

¹⁴ Bobrinsky 1962, p. 47-50; Plokhov, Sorokin 2006, p. 105-114.

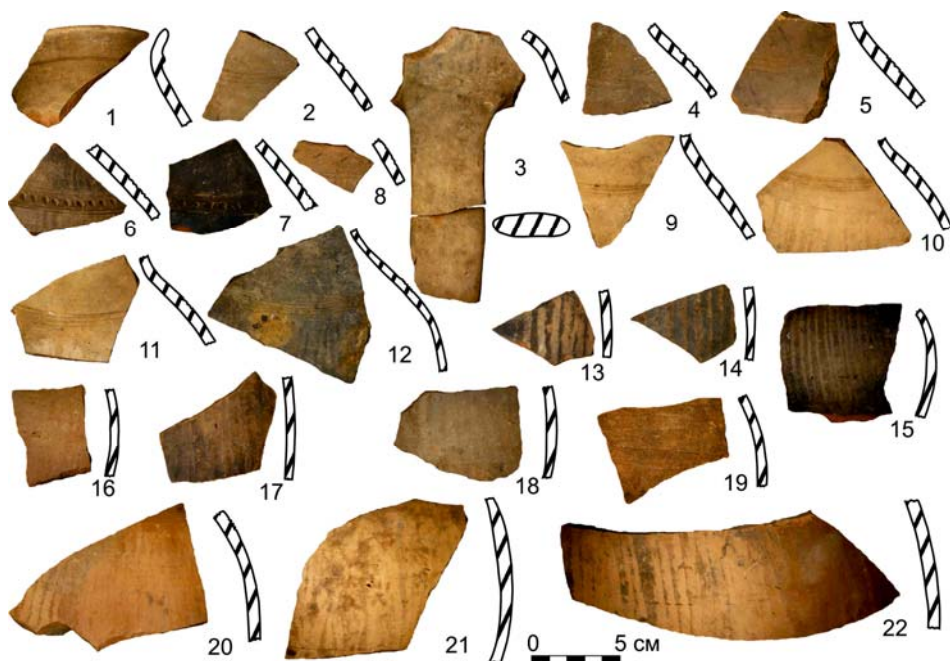


Fig. 6. Bulgar-style ceramics

A cellar (construction 17) and some middens (constructions 18, 19 and 21-29) from the mid-16th century were linked with the early horizon.

The formation of this layer was contemporaneous with the development of the town during the second half of the 16th century. Sviyazhsk fortress and its faubourg played a major role as one of the most important pivotal towns and an outpost for the colonisers of the neighbouring territories, a hub of intense activity compared to other periods. Sviyazhsk played an important role as a trading centre, with a bazaar and other trading spots such as street-stands, benches, shelves and huts along the banks of the Sviyaga River.¹⁵ During this period, the upper area of the town held over 370 courtyards and the faubourg consisted of more than 700 courtyards. There were approximately 300 trading spots, some of which were located in the lower unfortified faubourg where the excavation site was located.

Summary

The 2008 archaeological survey represented the first research on the Sviyazhsk faubourg and yielded much information on the town's plan.

¹⁵ List 1909, p. 16-52.

Around 40 constructions dating from the second half of the 16th to the beginning of the 20th century were studied as a result of the excavation. The residential character of the excavated buildings was determined by the presence of furnace remains found in the excavation site.

The unified orientation of the household buildings from the mid-16th right up to the 20th century indicates the preservation of the original street plan throughout the period when the faubourg was inhabited. The direction in which the streets ran may have been influenced by the line of the Sviyaga River and the surrounding landscape. More than half the studied constructions had been damaged by fire, which accordingly gave rise to the development of the faubourg.

5,374 finds from the late medieval and modern periods were excavated. Ceramic items (2,862 fragments) reflected the general patterns of pottery production in the Volga Region in the 16th-19th centuries.¹⁶ Of greater importance was the collection of ceramics (334 fragments) made in the Bulgar tradition (**fig. 6**) which were also well represented amongst the materials found in the Kazan Kremlin.¹⁷

Approximately half the finds were leather goods (2,391 fragments). The range of leather goods included mittens, entire shoes and fragments of shoes (**fig. 10/5-8, 13-16**), leather scraps, etc. Similar finds were discovered in other medieval Russian cities.¹⁸ The methods of producing these leather goods were analogous to the traditions of the Kazan Khanate.¹⁹

Also among the finds were fragments of knitted woollen and homespun linen fabric (**fig. 10/1-2**) as well as felt (**fig. 10/3**). The wooden items represent a special aspect of the collection. They include birch bark, bark and willow fibre goods (**fig. 8/2-3, 9-10; 10/4**). Iron goods included knives and fragments of knives (**fig. 9/2-4, 6-7**), fragments of scissors (**fig. 9/10**), shoe heel plates (**fig. 9/30, 33**), a buckle (**fig. 9/28**), brackets (**fig. 9/22**), a cup hooks, rims, nails (**fig. 9/19-21**) and other items (**fig. 9/11**).

Household items included a key rusted into the spring mechanism of a lock (**fig. 9/24**), analogous to the antiquities of 14th-15th century Novgorod.²⁰ Agricultural implements such as ploughs (**fig. 9/13**), hoes and scythes (**fig. 9/12**) were discovered. Scythes with a folding handle are well known from amongst the finds relating to Novgorod the Great, dating back

¹⁶ Gordeev, Pavlenko 2004, p. 158-179; Sitdikov 2006, fig. 25-32, 58-64, 73-75; Sitdikov, Khuzin 2009b, p. 51-72.

¹⁷ Sitdikov 2006, fig. 22-23, 56-57, 71; Sitdikov, Khuzin 2009a, p. 107, fig. 7.

¹⁸ Kurbatov 2004; Osipov 2006.

¹⁹ Valiev 2009a, p. 112-124; Valiev 2009b, p. 73-95.

²⁰ Kolchin 1959, p. 82-84.

to the 13th-15th century.²¹ Weapons were represented by arrowheads (fig. 9/9) typical of those used from the 10th-17th centuries.²²



Fig. 7. Clayware (1-11, 18-21), glass (12-14) and stone (15-17). Items 1-8, 10, 15 - weights; whistle; 12-13 - beads; 14 - wine cup bottom; 15-17 - fragments of items; 18-21 - crockery)

²¹ Ibid., p. 74-75.

²² Medvedev 1966, p. 47, type 40; Dvurechensky 2006, p. 281-284.

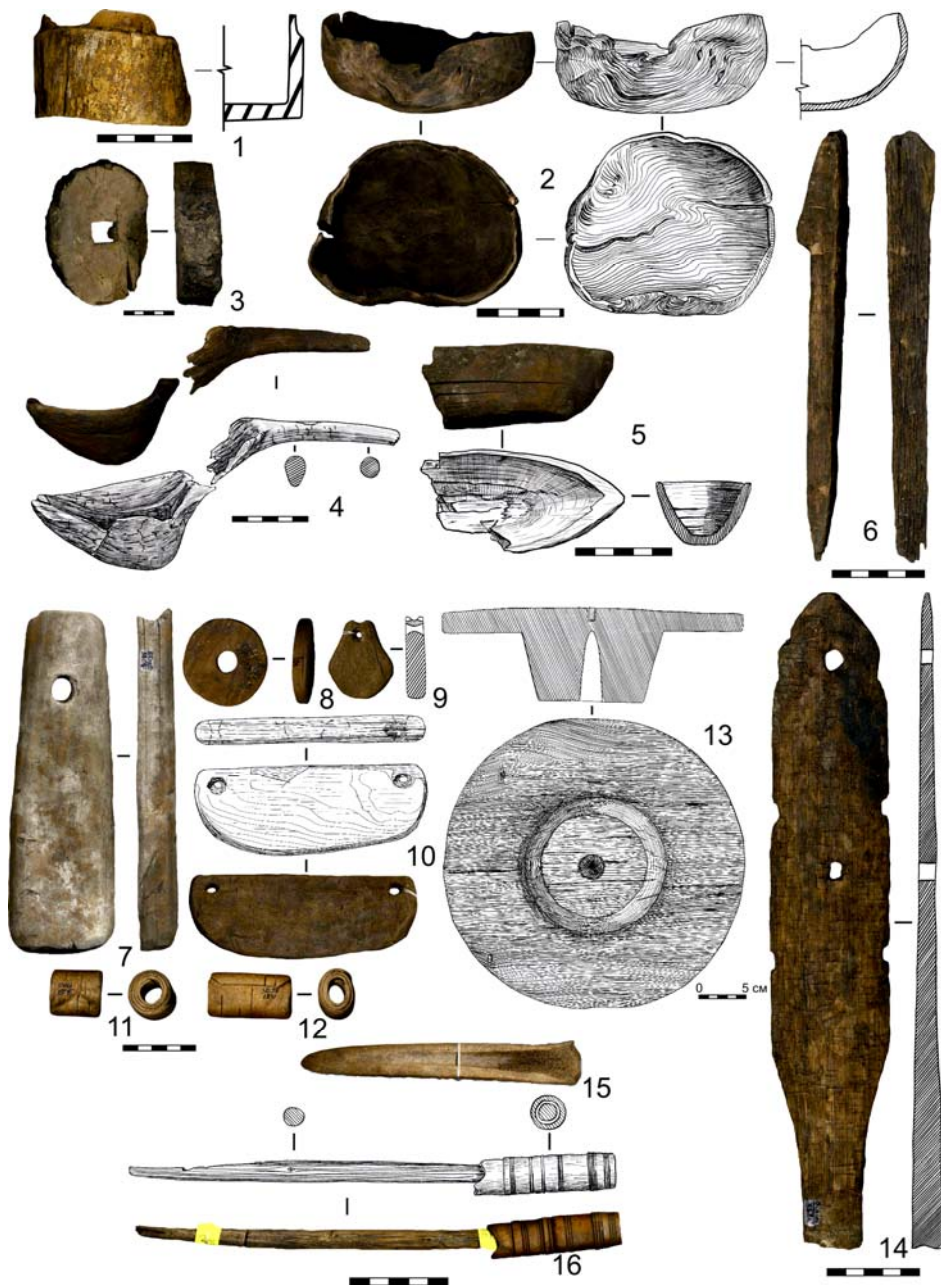


Fig. 8. Wooden goods (1-10, 13-14), birch bark (11-12), bone (15), wood and bone (16). 1-2 - vessels; 3, 6 - unidentified items; 4 - saucepan; 5 - toy boat; 7-12 - floats; 13 - small head of pottery wheel; 14 - digger (from a spinning wheel); 15-16 - piercer



Fig. 9. Iron goods: 1-7 - knives; 8 - knife in a leather case; 9 - arrowhead; 10 - scissors; 11 - unidentified item; 12 - folding scythe; 13 - plough; 14 - bush hook; 15 - broadsword; 16 - tripod; 17 - disrupted chain; 18 - drift pin; 19-21 - nails; 22-23 - brackets; 24-25 - fragments of cast iron boiler; 26 - fragment of a lock with key; 27-28 - buckles; 29-35 - heel plates of shoes; 36 - horseshoe)

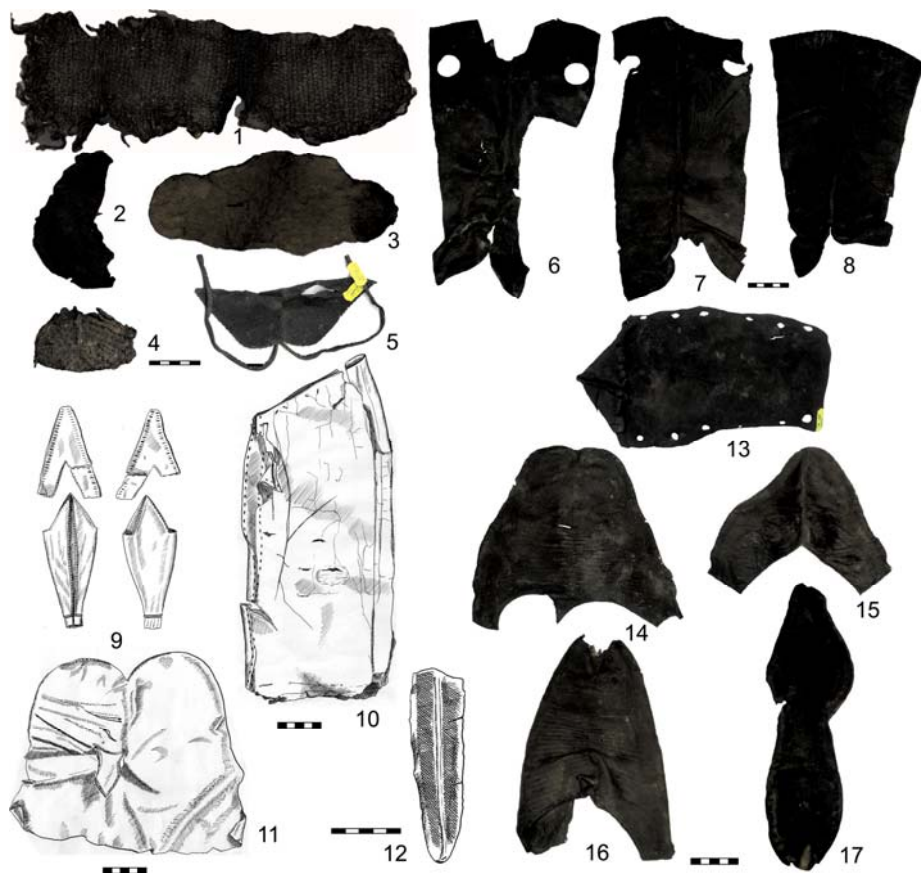


Fig. 10. Textile/ leather fragments: 1 - wool; 2 - linen; 3 - felt 4 - willow fibre and 5-17 - leather. 5 - snip of a shoe head, 6-8 - boot-tops, 9 - spoon case?; 10 - quiver; 11 - mitten; 12 - knife case; 13 - piston (part of a shoe); 14-16 - shoe ends; 17 - heel plate)

The numerous finds that emerged from the excavation reflect the life, craft, farming and trading activities of the population of this medieval town,²³ and concurred with the other known sources illustrating the life of Sviyazhsk residents.

Among the excavated materials were finds which indicated the existence of an earlier Bolgar-Tatar settlement, linked with the pre-Russian development of the site. Among the ceramics found in the lower horizon of the cultural layer and in the filling of some holes (the daily levels of which were remade in the second half of 16th century) pieces of Bulgar-style red glazed ware (**fig. 6**) predominated, dating from the 14th-first half

²³ Gordeev, Pavlenko 2004, p. 104-157.

of the 16th centuries. Such ceramics were found in the constructions and strata relating to the second half of the 16th century (about 68% and 17% respectively of all ceramics found).

Recent archaeological studies have made it possible to clarify important data about the features of the cultural layer and the topography of the former faubourg in the area around the eroded bank of the new wharf. The excavated strata indicated that this part of the island settlement was developed in the Bolgar-Tatar period. It is clear that the active development of the outlying area began in the second half of the 16th century after the construction of the fortress and annexation of Kazan Khanate by the Russian State. The data obtained from this study has been used to compile museum exhibits and recreate the historical and cultural landscape of the site. The information can be used for further research to create a model of late medieval town which could be used to improve the touristic potential of this valuable piece of cultural heritage.

Archaeological Survey of Wooden Remains from 16th-19th Century Sviyazhsk

(Abstract)

This article is devoted to the results of an archaeological survey carried out in 2008 on the site of the former faubourg (suburb) of Sviyazhsk town. The survey obtained and analysed useful information about the nature and contents of the cultural layer being revealed by the eroding banks of the Kuibyshev reservoir.

The survey represented the first archaeological research carried out in the Sviyazhsk faubourg, and yielded much information on its layout. The remains of approximately 40 wooden constructions (buildings, fences, pavements, etc.) from the second half of the 16th-beginning of the 20th century were uncovered during the excavation. The residential character of the excavated buildings was determined by the presence of furnace remains found on the excavation site.

The unified orientation of the household buildings from various layers of the excavation site, dating from the mid-16th up to the 20th century, indicates the street plan of the faubourg, which was more or less maintained throughout its existence. More than half the studied constructions were damaged by fire which accordingly gave rise to the development of the Sviyazhsk faubourg.

The finds - 5,374 items in total - included 2,863 ceramic fragments (of which 334 were of traditional Bulgar style); 2,391 leather items (shoes, mittens, quivers, etc.); textiles (wool, homespun linen, felt, willow fibre) and iron goods (knives, scissors, nails, etc.). The numerous finds that emerged from the excavation site reflect the life, craft, farming and trading activities of the population of this medieval town and concurred with other known sources illustrating the life of Sviyazhsk residents as the town waxed and waned in its political importance as a trading post and economic centre of the region.

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Keywords: Middle Ages, Sviyazhsk, faubourg, suburb, damp layer, residential and household buildings.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijskij na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolyucii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheskij jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

LEGISLATIVE MEASURES OF THE RUSSIAN STATE RUSSIA RELATING TO REGULATION OF ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITY BETWEEN THE MID-18TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Liliya Gabdelvalievna NASYROVA*

Introduction

This article deals with the laws created by the Russian government in the sphere of the legal regulation of business activity by the rising merchant class, which was characterised by its social status as well as entrepreneurship. The wide-scale reforms of Peter I included legislative transformations in the sphere of taxation. During the reign of Peter I, all population categories had trade and commercial privileges which depended only on their social status and professional activity.

Legislative formalisation of merchantry occurred during the reign of Catherine II, who sought to increase budget revenues at the expense of non-tax revenues. In accordance with European liberal economic theories, Catherine II granted the entrepreneurs and industrialists greater freedom and encouraged the development of private initiative.

A considerable impact of Catherine II's reforms was that they brought merchants, businessmen and industrialists out of the burgher community and formed them into a special group of taxpayers, liable to pay tributes to the treasury directly depending on the value of their capital. Consequently merchants, as well as commoners and guild members, were relieved of various state duties, especially such serious duties as military service.

Consistent state support of entrepreneurial activity at the legislative level significantly strengthened the merchantry and encouraged its prominent representatives to conduct diverse business activities. As a result, by the middle of the 19th century the merchantry had become not only the most economically active segment of the population involved in commercial activities, but also the most privileged estate (social group) after the nobility and clergy.

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In the second half of the century, the legal status of entrepreneurs underwent significant changes. The abolition of serfdom and the liberal reforms of the second half of the century provided a powerful impetus for the development of capitalist relations, contributed to the formation of the foundations of a law-based bourgeois society, and also resulted in changes to socio-economic life.

The tax reforms of S. Y. Witte abolished the class-based nature of commercial activities. The adoption of new regulation was a result of the need for an income-progressive system for the taxation of entrepreneurial activity. In contrast to the previous system of charges, according to the trade tax as of 1898, the object of taxation was not the entrepreneur, but the enterprise. It was declared that belonging to the merchantry could be confirmed by the possession of both merchantry and trade certificates. Thus, the previous system of double taxation in the form of basic and additional charges was preserved, but only trade and industrial enterprises were subject to the taxation, not the traders.

Due to these changes in the system of taxation there was, inevitably, a change in the socio-legal status of the merchantry. By the 1890s, the class privileges of the merchantry had lost much of their former importance, as evidenced by the fact that during the preparation of the tax reforms, questions were raised as to the appropriateness of retaining merchantry class rights. As a result, despite the fact that existing privileges were preserved unchanged, they were separated from the right to engage in entrepreneurial activity, as was reflected in the division of certificates for trade and those for merchantry. Consequently, the merchantry tax changed from being the main commercial tax into a charge solely for belonging to the merchantry and entrepreneurs who wanted to enjoy the rights and privileges of the merchant estate had to obtain a merchantry certificate along with a trade certificate.

The study of the socio-legal status of the Russian merchantry of the mid-18th-early 20th centuries has led to the conclusion that the merchantry was a special class with the inherent attributes of a closed estate corporation. Due to its fairly high socio-legal status and economic strength, the merchantry played an extremely significant role in the post-reform Russian society.

The evolution of Russian entrepreneurship during the post-reform period was closely related to the fate of the merchant estate, which was experiencing a difficult period of transformation under circumstances of the rapid development of capitalist relations. The government paid constant attention to the business activity of the merchantry, and the care of

development of domestic crafts and trade was treated as one of the most important functions of the state authority. The American historian R. Pipes astutely noted that

“The Russian government for the first time started to take care of the welfare of its business class in the middle of 17th century, and ever since it permanently encouraged private entrepreneurship and supported the local bourgeoisie.”¹

The accuracy of this observation is confirmed by the legislative acts of the 18th and 19th centuries, by means of which the Russian State tried to influence the independently developing trade class.² The Russian researcher L. E. Shepelev emphasised three main sets of legislative acts adopted during that period which regulated the legal status of the industry and all entrepreneurial activity: 1. interaction of entrepreneurs with each other in view of their commercial transactions; 2. conditions of establishment and operation of businesses; 3. determination of the scope of persons who could conduct business activities and the range of their rights.³

Study Findings

The beginning of the strict regulation of the trade estate's rights, which incurred a change in its status, took place during the reign of Peter I. The large-scale transformations in Russia forced the government to seek new sources of income and change their financial policy. When searching for a more effective system of tax collection management, new reforms were implemented in the country, the main target of which was the “replenishment of the treasury of His Majesty the Emperor with all incomes and duties.”⁴ The newly-created *Razsypannaya Khramina* (Scattered Assembly) of the Russian merchantry was also considered to play an important role, and bodies such as magistrates and town halls were to conduct it.⁵ During the reign of Peter I, the right to engage in trade and craft activity belonged to all categories of the population and depended only on the state and the professional activity.

The legislative establishment of the merchantry guild took place during the reign of Catherine II, by granting entrepreneurs and manufacturers more freedom and encouraging the development of private initiative. With regards to special rules of taxation for merchants and

¹ Pipes 1995, p. 384.

² Shepelev 1981, p. 275.

³ *Zakonov Rossijskoj imperii*, vol. III, 1705, no. 1674, p. 598.

⁴ Shepelev 1981, p. 275.

⁵ *Zakonov Rossijskoj imperii*, vol. VI, 1775, no. 3708, p. 290.

manufacturers, the government implemented several important reforms in the country and adopted several laws. These primarily concerned only the small group of entrepreneurs who belonged to the guild of merchants. For example, the Manifest dated 17 March 1775 divided traders into the privileged guild merchantry and the lower middle class. The latter included people with capital of less than 500 rubles. First guild merchants had to have capital above 10,000 rubles, second guild merchants between 1,000 and 10,000 rubles, and third guild merchants between 500 and 1,000 rubles.⁶

The *Zhalovannaya Gramota Gorodam*, dated 1785, reinforced these innovations and also extended the estate rights of merchants. From that moment, trade was finally acknowledged as the monopoly of merchants. According to *Zhalovannaya Gramota Gorodam*, any person could become a merchant if he declared any capital between 1,000 and 50,000 rubles. Depending on the size of their capital, merchants were divided into three guilds. The census recorded merchants as belonging to the first guild (equal to 10,000 rubles), the second guild (1,000 rubles) or the third guild (500 rubles).⁷

Representatives of the merchantry, being released from head tax and military service, instead had a new direct tax imposed upon them, to the amount of one percent of their capital. Unlike the lower middle class, the tax was imposed on the whole family, not on each man. The size of capital required for being recorded in a guild was gradually increased, thus turning guild merchantry into a monopoly and limiting the access of other estates' representatives to it. For example, the 1785 *Zhalovannaya Gramota Gorodam* set the capital size of 1,000 rubles for entering the third guild, and 5,000 rubles for entering the second one. In 1794, the rates were increased again. For those who wanted to be recorded in the first guild the threshold was increased to 16,000 rubles, for the second guild to 8,000 rubles, and for the third guild to 2,000 rubles. At the same time, the tax rate was also gradually increased from 1% to 1.25% of the declared amount of capital. This tendency was convincingly demonstrated in the early 19th century when the guild fee was increased to 5.225% of the declared capital. In fact, the new tax turned out to be not a tax on capital, but a kind of annual fee for belonging to a certain guild, which the merchants selected themselves.⁸

Unlike other estates, merchantry did not offer lifetime inclusion: a merchant had to confirm his guild certificate annually. In cases where the certificate was not extended, the merchant was excluded from the

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Kashenov 2005, p. 39-43.

⁸ *Zakonov Rossijskoj imperii*, vol. XX, 1810, no. 14275, p. 243.

merchantry along with his family and automatically became one of the lower middle class. All relatives included in the certificate were deemed to be assigned to the merchant estate and thus had all estate rights and privileges, which included release from any corporal punishments, freedom of movement, the right to obtain personal or hereditary citizenship, the right to participate in the self-management of the estate, and some other rights under certain conditions.

The law described in detail the relatives who could be included in the merchant's family. The merchantry certificate issued to a husband could include his wife, and for fathers or mothers, their sons or unmarried daughters were also included. Grandchildren were included only if their fathers were also included on the family certificate, and could not trade on their own behalf. The members of a merchant family, as recorded in the certificate issued to the named head of the family, were permitted to engage in his/her business affairs. Sons and daughters, as they reached adulthood, could choose to have a certificate issued in their own name, but should they do so, they would be excluded from the certificates of their father or mother and be solely responsible for their own business activity. This detailed regulation of merchants' families was dictated by the fiscal interests of the state in order to limit the range of persons who were entitled to trade under a non-divided capital and, thus, prevent avoidance of payment of the guild fees.

In many aspects, the reforms of Catherine II made merchants, entrepreneurs and manufacturers distinct from the craft community and made them into a new group of taxpayers, obliged to pay taxes directly to the treasury according to the size of their capital. This was also encouraged by the release of merchants from various state duties, especially severe ones such as military service, unlike the lower middle class and craftsmen. As a result, by the middle of the 19th century the merchantry had become not only one of the most powerful segments of the business population in economic terms, but also the most privileged estate after the nobles and the clergy.

At the same time, remaining in a merchant guild was directly dependent upon on many factors: the success of the business, the economic environment and the policies of the government. Though access to the merchantry was open to the representatives of any social group (with some exceptions), only a few families managed to stay in this estate for longer than one generation. Therefore, during the pre-reform period, the most successful and adventurous merchant families came to the fore.

The consistent governmental support for entrepreneurship at a legislative level considerably strengthened the merchantry, encouraging its most prominent representatives towards energetic and versatile business activities. With this purpose in mind, Emperor Pavel I in 1800 introduced the rank of *Kommertsii Sovetnik* (Councilor of Commerce) as a sign of special merit for successful businessmen and manufacturers among the merchantry. Individuals who achieved the best results in commerce, and who had remained in the first guild for 12 consecutive years, were awarded this rank. Such people were equated with the eighth class of government service, which granted them the rights of the noble estate and gave them the general title *Vashe Vysokoblagorodiye* (Your High Nobleness). Besides, those awarded with this merit were invited to governmental meetings dedicated to trade and industry issues. In 1810, the Manifest *About the Methods to Achieve Better Structure of Cloth Mills* introduced the rank of *Manufaktur-Sovetnik* (Manufacture Councilor) for merchants in the industry who had remained in the first guild for 12 years and manufactured more than 100,000 arshins of cloth (approx. 71,000 meters) annually.⁹ Those who were awarded this rank obtained the same privileges as *Kommertsii Sovetnik*. Thus, the government encouraged the growth in both ambitions of entrepreneurs and active business activities.

Starting with the reforms by Catherine II and throughout the whole of the 19th century, the process of extending the rights and the social base of domestic entrepreneurship, as well as the active involvement of businessmen in the solution of problems of local self-management and benevolence, took place. The subsequent legislative unification of the business activity and the social status of merchantry helped to reinforce entrepreneurship and make its role in the social life of a city more important. Lack of prospects in the state or military service forced entrepreneurs to participate in the economic development of the city more actively. From this perspective, the growth of merchants' influence on city management in the second half of the 18th century was to be expected. As noticed by L. M. Sverdlova, during this period "city management was virtually completely controlled by guild merchantry."¹⁰

The most successful entrepreneurs were treated as "renowned citizens" and obtained certain significant privileges and rights. In November 1824, the right to wear a governor's uniform (with a court sword) was granted to first guild merchants. Acknowledgment of the increasingly active role of the business community in the life of society and the state was made

⁹ Sverdlova 2009, p. 159.

¹⁰ Mackenzie 1891, p. 153-155.

by the introduction of hereditary honorary citizenship, in a Manifest of Emperor Nikolay I. After the practice of granting merchants the title of renowned citizens was abolished in 1807, this measure became a kind of compensation for the growing body of domestic entrepreneurs who demanded broader rights and privileges. Hereditary honorary citizenship was granted to merchants who held the *Kommertsii Sovetnik* title, were awarded government orders and were members of the first guild for 10 subsequent years or the second guild for 20 subsequent years, and had never been acknowledged bankrupt or indicted in a court during that time. Those who were included in this estate group were released from military service, corporal punishment and the head tax. They obtained the opportunity to take part in elections without property qualification. The Hereditary Honorary Citizenship was inherited, a circumstance which was also very attractive for the heads of powerful and rich merchant families.

In the second half of 19th century, considerable changes took place in the legal status of entrepreneurs. Cancellation of the law of serfdom and the liberal reforms of the second half of 19th century gave rise to capitalist relations, encouraged the establishment of the basic principles of bourgeois society, and caused changes in social and economic life.¹¹ Understanding the defects of the then existing business legislation, which became obvious during the industrial crisis in the late 1850s, the Russian government made certain efforts to improve it.¹² As early as in 1861, a bill was prepared, which provided for cutting the business activity tax. Though the bill was not adopted in full, the ministry of finance slightly reduced the cost of the first guild certificates and increased the duty for the second and third guild certificates.

The key event in the history of merchantry in Russia was the adoption of the *Polozheniye o poshlinakh na pravo trgovli i drugikh promyslov* (Provision on duties for the right for trade and other crafts) in January 1863. Subsequently, a law dated 9 February 1865 introduced certain corrections to it.¹³ The biggest changes concerned the legal sphere of entrepreneurial activity. According to these legislative acts, the rights of merchants were granted to those citizens who paid patent and ticket business duties. Thus, the right to conduct business activity was granted to people belonging to any category of the population who could pay the required duty for conducting commercial or craft business activity. The trade certificates were issued to Russian nationals of any estate, to persons of any gender and any

¹¹ Sweezy 1970, p. 99.

¹² *Zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, vol. XXXVII, 1865, no. 39118, p. 145.

¹³ Pipes 1999, p. 420.

age (through a custodian, if required), who could choose to keep their previous rank or be assigned the rank of merchant. According to the new provision, entrepreneurs had to obtain special certificates annually, which were broken down into merchant or guild certificates and simple craft certificates. A person who took a merchant or guild certificate obtained, along with the right to conduct trade or craft in within a set scope, the personal rights and advantages of the merchantry.

The number of merchant guilds was reduced to two and the trade patents or guild merchantry certificates were divided into two guild classes. Establishing and maintaining trade and industrial facilities was permitted only after obtaining a guild certificate. Obtaining a certificate of the first guild granted permission to conduct wholesale trade with respect to Russian and foreign goods throughout the country, possess factories and plants, and enter into contractual relations without any limitation to the amount. Accordingly, a merchant of second guild could conduct a retail business within a city or a district, possess a factory or a plant, and enter into labour contracts to the amount of up to 15,000 rubles. The price of the certificate depended on the set class of the city location in which the merchant was registered in the estate. Only a person who had purchased an estate guild certificate was entitled to be called a merchant. Persons who had not previously belonged to the merchantry and then purchased a certificate could be either registered as merchants or keep their previous rank. However, as the estate rights of merchants were very extensive, few people other than nobles used their right to keep their former rank. On the other hand, people with small capital were entering guilds with the aim of obtaining full merchant privileges. This caused the occurrence of the “temporary merchants” phenomenon.¹⁴ The temporary merchants, having selected a merchant certificate and obtained rights under it, kept their previous estate. As a rule, entrepreneurs from other estates (peasants, lower middle class, and nobles) were assigned to this category.

The next important reform was carried out by the Minister of Finance, S. Y. Witte, in 1898, when the *Polozhenia o Gosudarstvennom promyslovom naloge* (Provision on the State Trade Tax) was adopted. This reform finally put an end to the estate-based nature of business activities. Adoption of the new provision was caused by the need to shift to a progressive income-based system of taxation of entrepreneurs. Unlike previous duties, the trade tax of 1898 made the enterprise, not the entrepreneur, the object of taxation. The provision reinforced that belonging to a merchant estate was determined by the availability of both a

¹⁴ *Zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, vol. XL, 1898, no. 41779, p. 378.

merchant and a trade certificate. A trade certificate could be purchased by people of any estate. The trade tax consisted of the fee for purchasing the trade certificate. The patent price varied according to the geographical location: the territory of the Russian Empire was broken up into four classes depending on the rate of trade and industry development, with the exception of the capital regions. Businesses and private trades were also broken up into classes depending on their activities. Besides this, an additional trade tax in the form of a certain percentage from the capital stock was paid. Another fee, a percentage of the net profit, was set for enterprises which were liable to public reporting, according to a progressive system; for enterprises that were not liable to public reporting, it was calculated based on percentage of the average profitability, which was calculated and fixed for this group of enterprises.¹⁵ Thus, the former system of double taxation in the form of main and additional duties remained; however, individuals engaged in trade were not the subject of taxation, only their business enterprises.

As the order of taxation changed, the social and legal status of the merchantry inevitably changed. By 1890s, the estate privileges of the merchantry had for the most part lost their initial meaning, which is evidenced by the fact that during development of the taxation reform, an issue was raised about practicability of keeping merchantry rights unchanged. As a result, despite the fact that the existing privileges had not been changed, they were separated from the right to engage in entrepreneurial activity, which manifested itself in dividing the certificates into trade and guild ones. Thus, guild duty transformed from being the main trade tax into a fee for belonging to the merchantry. As a result, entrepreneurs who wished to make use of the estate rights and privileges had to obtain an estate merchant certificate along with their trade certificate.

Conclusions

The 1898 reform had several consequences for the development of Russian entrepreneurship. Firstly, a merchant was given the opportunity to be registered as a merchant without conducting any business, and this did not lead to depriving him of his rank. Also, as the merchant rank still provided certain advantages and the merchant's social status was higher than that of peasants or lower middle class, persons who wanted to obtain merchant rights but were not engaged in entrepreneurship started to buy up guild certificates on a massive scale. This was particularly important for Jews, whose civil rights were limited in the Russian Empire. The increase in

¹⁵ Mironov 2000, p. 183.

individuals not engaged in entrepreneurship in the guilds in the late 19th century was a factor that led to the creation of a special category of “non-trading merchants” who had just the same legal position as trading merchants.

Secondly, due to it being unnecessary to enter a merchant guild in order to conduct entrepreneurial activity, the number of merchant certificates obtained started to decrease and the share of registered merchants among entrepreneurs started to reduce rapidly from the early 20th century. The taxation reform led to a notable reduction of the merchant estate population in the early 20th century. The reduction in the number of guild certificates purchased can be explained both by their high cost and the depreciation in the meaning of the privileges received on becoming a merchant. According to B. N. Mironov, the reduction in the merchantry population during this period was, “according to the opinion of urban and rural dwellers, caused by the reduced attractiveness of the merchant rank.”¹⁶ Besides, many industrialists who were not interested in the additional estate-related rights did not obtain merchant certificates and remained in the lower middle class and peasant estates.

The change in the qualitative and quantitative structure of guilds confirms the conclusion of those researchers who believe that in the late 19th-early 20th centuries, an active process of dilution of the Russian merchantry took place.¹⁷ During this period, not only did the number of merchants decrease rapidly, but the estate itself lost its former business-related meaning.

Legislative Measures of the Russian State Relating to Regulation of Entrepreneurial Activity between the Mid-18th and Early 20th Centuries

(Abstract)

This article deals with the laws created by the Russian government in the sphere of the legal regulation of business activity by the rising merchant class, which was characterised by its social status as much as entrepreneurship.

Due to the reforms of Peter I and Catherine II, merchants, businessmen and industrialists were brought out of the burgher community and formed into a special group of taxpayers, liable to pay tributes to the treasury directly depending on the value of their capital. Consequently merchants, as well as commoners and guild members, were relieved of various state duties, especially such serious duties as military service.

Consistent state support of entrepreneurial activity at the legislative level significantly strengthened the merchantry and encouraged its prominent representatives to

¹⁶ Mironov 2000, p. 183.

¹⁷ Oakeshott 1983, p. 89.

conduct diverse business activities. As a result, by the middle of the 19th century the merchantry had become not only the most economically active segment of the population involved in commercial activities, but also the most privileged estate (social group) after the nobility and clergy.

This study of the socio-legal status of the Russian merchantry of the mid-18th-early 20th centuries concludes that the merchantry was a special class with the inherent attributes of a closed estate corporation. Due to its relatively high socio-legal status and economic strength, the merchantry played an extremely significant role in the post-reform Russian society.

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Keywords: Russia, legislation, entrepreneurial activity, merchants, trading activity, charity, commercial grade.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
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THE MANUFACTURE OF SLEDGES AND CARTS IN THE MIDDLE VOLGA IN THE 19TH-EARLY 20TH CENTURIES: REGIONAL FEATURES OF THE CRAFT AND OF CULTURAL INTERACTION

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Introduction

The traditional culture of the Middle Volga region¹ remains an active driving force that influences various aspects of the formation and development of everyday life; it is a transforming and enriching factor in contemporary culture. Lately, there has been an active rethinking of values and previously neglected forms of everyday life, as well as greater awareness of past experiences. One such area of consideration has been the manufacture of sledges and carts, which were not only one of many types of handicraft produced as part of the complex framework that supported life on the road, but also a significant cultural phenomenon.

Subsistence farming in the European part of Russia was falling into decline from the mid-19th century; as a result, from the middle of the 19th century, the manufacture of household items became a type of specialised industry - in other words, a handicraft. Craft production by the end of the 19th-beginning of the 20th century was becoming increasingly important, and was a necessary supplement to peasant farming.² Since the Middle Volga region was colonised relatively late (the establishment of the Russian population in the Middle Volga region happened during the 16th-19th centuries due to migration from other places), Russian handicrafts appeared in the region in an already established form. Russian immigrants from different regions of the European part of the Russian Empire brought to their new place of residence manufacturing techniques for creating various

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¹ Middle Volga - the territory of the Russian Federation, adjacent to the middle reaches of the Volga River and its shores - Chuvashia, Republic of Mari El, Republic of Tatarstan and also Samara, Saratov, Ulyanovsk and Penza regions. Historically, the boundaries of the Middle Volga region during the study period were changed, as a rule, for administrative reasons.

² Beliavsky 1913; Beliavsky 1914.

objects of everyday life. In turn, Middle Volga craftwork bears the influence of the national traditions of other ethnic groups that inhabited the region - Mordovians, Tatars, Chuvashs, Poles and Germans.

The largest category of handicraft industries of the Middle Volga was woodworking. Included in this group of industries is the subject of this study - the manufacture of sledges and carts. One way or another, this subject relates to the work of many academics in Russia and abroad.³ However, very little targeted research at the regional level has been carried out in this area, and that which has been carried out barely touches upon the study of local features and manufacturing techniques. In the author's opinion, this is not the correct approach: only a complete knowledge of regional cultural forms can create a coherent picture of the national culture.

The Study

Like other crafts, the manufacture of sledges and carts reflects the economic structure, the degree of development of economic relations, the specifics of the social and political development of society, and the economic and cultural contacts of the peoples inhabiting the region.⁴ The manufacture of sledges and carts is part of a complex infrastructure for travel within the system of housing infrastructure (an essential component of the culture's systems for supporting life).⁵ The craft involves four aspects - technological, functional, social and symbolic.

In winter, the main means of transport in the Middle Volga was by sleigh. According to their function, sledges can be divided into three major categories: commercial, household (universal) and passenger. Within these groups are various types and subtypes.

"Drovni" (wood-sledge, firewood-sledge) were widespread as vehicles for the transportation of cargo (**fig. 1**). In the cities, they were called "lomovie" (drays).⁶ For transportation of the catch from seine (dragnet) fishing, the so-called torispherical sleigh or box-sleigh was used. These differed from the other type, having larger parts (**fig. 2**).

For transportation of hay, straw, sheaves, firewood and other goods, a platform could be fastened onto the sleigh. The most common type in 19th-20th century Russia was the mounted cargo platform, which made the sledge wider (**fig. 3**).

³ Brower 1990; Fenton et al. 1973; Knox 1870; Knox 1877; Kreisel 1927; Moser 1990; Moszyński 1929; Tarr et al. 1970.

⁴ Bernstein-Kogan 1930, p. 13.

⁵ Arutyunov, Markaryan 1983, p. 55.

⁶ Rivosh 1990, p. 99.

In the Cis-Ural region⁷ on the eastern bank of the Middle Volga, a type of platform called a “kryaslo” (armchair) was found, consisting of a frame of poles 1.5 meters in length and slightly more than a meter in width, which would be tied to the sleigh by means of bird cherry twigs.⁸

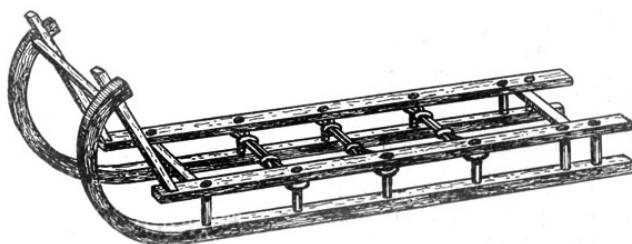


Fig. 1. Drovni



Fig. 2. Torispherical sleigh (box-sleigh)

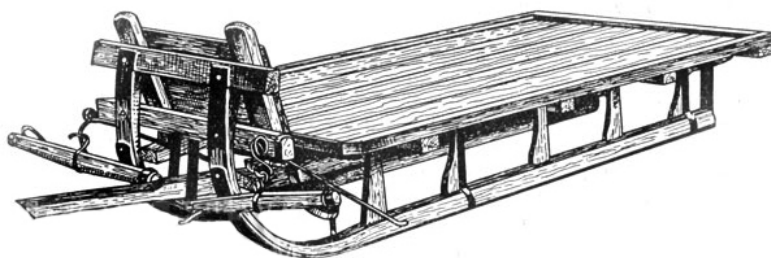


Fig. 3. Cargo platform on a Drovni sledge

⁷ The Cis-Ural region is the area adjacent to the western slopes of the Ural Mountains on the outskirts of the East European Plain. It is located west of the Perm Region, the Republic of Bashkortostan, Udmurtia and the western part of the Orenburg region.

⁸ Lebedeva 1977, p. 13.

The most prevalent types in villages and towns were the universal household sleighs, intended not only for economic purposes, but also for trips to the city, the market, etc. These sledges could accommodate cargoes of 40-50 pounds (650-820 kg) and were called “rozvalni” or “rospuski”⁹ (fig. 4 a-c).



Fig. 4 (a). Rozvalni



Fig. 4 (b). Rozvalni

In 19th-early 20th century in Middle Volga, the Cis-Ural region, Siberia and the north-east of the European North of Russia the use of sledges with

⁹ Vasiliev 2007, p. 230.

wicker bodies spread. These were called “koshevnye”¹⁰ (fig. 5). This name is likely derived from the word “Kosheva,” denoting cart. The design was influenced by the Turkic peoples of the Volga and Cis-Ural regions and by Ukrainian immigrants, who used the name “koshevka” for carts with a wicker body.¹¹

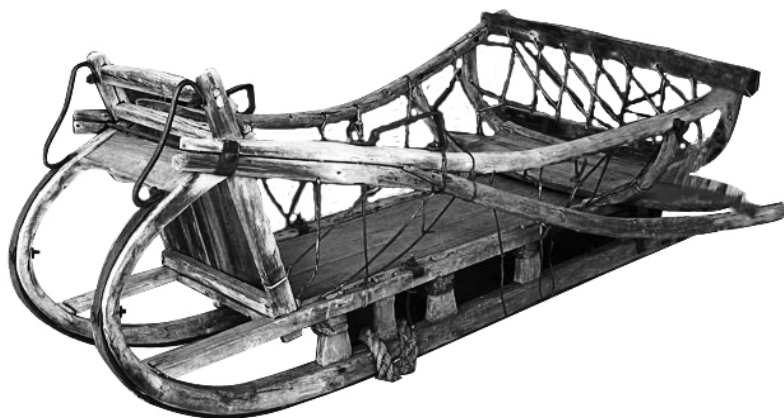


Fig. 4 (c). Rozvalni with a rope body

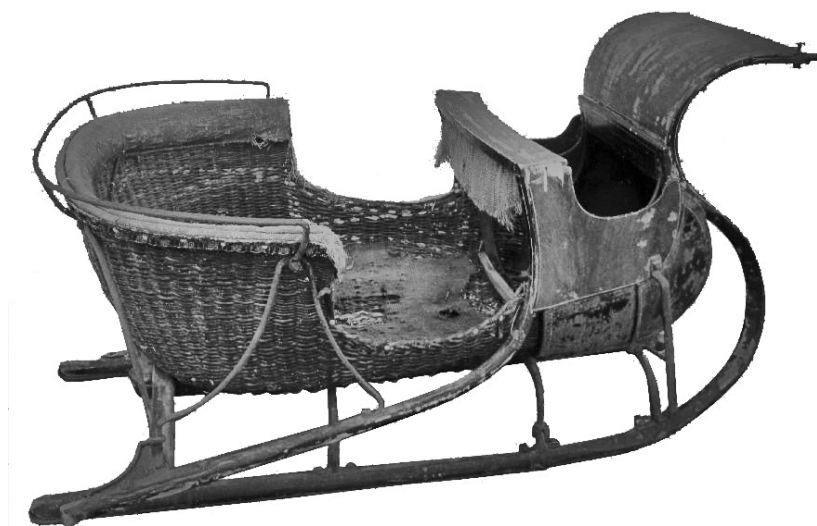


Fig. 5. Sled with wicker body (koshevnye)

¹⁰ Lebedeva 1987, p. 331.

¹¹ Volkov 1916, p. 500.

In Kazan¹² in the 19th-early 20th centuries, the production of passenger sledges famous their décor was developed. The term “Kazan sled” (sledges from Kazan) referred to sledges of various designs, but with a leather trim, metal details and, in particular, curly iron bars.¹³ Sledge-making in Kazan began in the mid-17th century. The craft was entirely in Russians hands.¹⁴ National traits, such as the passion amongst Tartars for beautiful wrought horse harnesses, used for travel during the holidays - themselves a manifestation of ancient nomadic traditions - are evident in the design of these sledges. Later, the term “Kazan sled” was understood as something of a trademark which included a variety (paired and single, open and closed tents, large and small) of sledges.¹⁵

The upper part of wealthy individuals' sledges would be covered in carvings, painting, turned wood (made using a lathe) and artistic metalwork. The body of such sledges was made of redwood (mahogany), ash and walnut and decorated with silver or bronze paint, woven reeds, etc., and the skids would usually be painted in the same colour. Upholstery for the body of the sledge (made of boards, bast fibre and tin) was fitted inside the frame. The frame was made of wood, decorated with carvings and paint and upholstered in carpet, while the front, back and sides were trimmed with a patterned wrought-iron grating.¹⁶

The materials used for making sledges were pine and other local species of evergreen tree, as well as deciduous woods such as birch, oak, aspen, linden, ash and maple, which were procured by the master cartwright or purchased on the market. Oak skids (runners) were considered the most expensive, but bird cherry and elm skids were also used.¹⁷

Wood skids were prepared in winter. Young oak timbers (recommended) were coated in raw horse manure (which was considered the best) and steamed in a sealed furnace-heated hut, then bent. The bent beams were then fixed and left in this position through the summer. The following winter, skids and other details of the sledge body were made of these pieces of woodwork.¹⁸

¹² Kazan is a Russian city (officially adopted from the date of the founding of Kazan, in 1005). It was the main city of Kazan province (which existed from 1708-1920), and the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan.

¹³ Busigin 1966, p. 390.

¹⁴ Vorobyov 1930, p. 88.

¹⁵ Vasiliev 2007, p. 332-333.

¹⁶ Lebedeva 1987, p. 331.

¹⁷ Busigin 1966, p. 145.

¹⁸ *Materialy* 1860, p. 349-350.

Occasionally, hothouses (or hotbeds) were built in the yard, outside peoples' homes. The hothouse was a wooden house in a pit, in the centre of which a beaten clay oven with a built-in cauldron was constructed. Above the cauldron, attached to the walls hung a wooden pole, over an empty space of 1 arshin (28 inches or 0.7112 meters) in height. Timber was used to make a ceiling, and a hole left at the top which could be closed with a plank. Over this, a covering of earth or manure was added. The skids were steamed as follows: over the cauldron, which was filled with water, the skids were hung from the pole. When the water boiled, the rising vapour steamed the tightly-packed runners. The steamed runners were placed on a wooden blockhead ("mgal") between wood and iron plates, fastened with a "rope loop through which a lever or pole was passed, thus skids wrapped up in this loop were curled."¹⁹

The thickness of planks used for sledge runners in the 19th-20th centuries ranged from 8-10 cm (for one runner - "kruglyasha") to 30-35 cm (for the four runners - "quarter") in diameter. The upper part of the runners were hewn with an axe along their entire length. Lower parts were cut only as far as the place where the runner was to be bent. The distance between the runners at the back was 1-2 centimetres more than at the front, making for easier steering of the sledge.²⁰ The skids, shafts and drawbars of sledges were often painted red, occasionally green.

In Saratov province, the production of sledges, carts and wheels was primarily undertaken by the Mordovian population living in woodlands of that province. Their products were simple and cheap. Sleighs and carts in the Saratov province sold well because there were constantly a large number of vehicles.²¹ German colonists had to specialise in the manufacture of postal vans.²²

The manufacture of sledges and carts was the most developed in the wooded areas of the south-west of Simbirsk province,²³ the south-eastern part of the Samara Bend²⁴ (Samara Luka) and in several villages along the

¹⁹ Translated by the author from: *Sbornik* 1884, p. 174.

²⁰ Slezkinsky 1891, p. 178-180.

²¹ *Sel'skokhozyaystvennaya* 1859, p. 253.

²² *Materialy* 1862, p. 207.

²³ Simbirsk province was an administrative-territorial unit of the Russian Empire and the Russian Federation from 1796-1928 (since 1943 it has been known as the Ulyanovsk region). The province consisted of Alaty, Ardatov, Buinsk, Karsun, Kurmysh, Sengiley, Syzran and Simbirsk districts.

²⁴ The Samara bend (Samara Luka) is a large hairpin bend in the middle Volga River at the confluence with the Samara River. It is situated in Samara region (Oblast) in the Volga Federal District of Russia, between the village Usolye and the city Sizran. The Volga River

River Sura. Production exceeded the needs of the local population, so a significant amount of this kind of product was sent to the city of Uralsk.²⁵

In the Sizran and Sengilei districts of Simbirsk province, the manufacture of sledges and carts, including the production of wheels, shafts and arcs appeared in the years 1870-1890, and was the most developed in the villages of Edelevo, Batraki, Troitsa (Trinity), Kuzovatovo, Bezvodovka and Russian Temryazan. In Simbirsk province, the village Kladbishi of Alatyr district was involved in manufacturing wicker tents for carts called “koshevka” (known locally as “pletukh” - large, high baskets of twigs or shingled pine) and “tarantas” (travelling carriages). A large number of master cartwrights engaged in the production sledges and carts worked in the Karsun district, mainly in the same districts that wheelwrights were also located, such as the villages of Sursky Ostrog and Platovo. The same craft was also to be found in the village of Grand Couvai, in the Alatyr district.²⁶

The production carts and sleighs was also known in the village of Zheltonogovo, in the Krasnoslobodsk district of Penza province (now the Republic of Mordovia).²⁷ At the beginning of the 20th century, cart manufacturing engaged about 287 households in the Penza province.²⁸

Wheel rim building existed as an auxiliary of the craft of cart-building. Wheelwrights were most common in the Alatyr and Korsun districts of Simbirsk province, and the craft had been practiced there for a long time - since the 18th century. In Sizran and Simbirsk districts, it emerged in the mid-19th century.

In Samara province,²⁹ wheels were manufactured in the Buguruslan, Buzuluk, Bugulma and Stavropol districts.³⁰ In the Stavropol district of Samara province in the late 19th century, about 208 farms in the villages Chaschik, Mullovka, Terentievskaya Sloboda, Brigadirovka, Podbelskaya, Old and New Sahcha, Lower Yakushkino, Khmelevka were producing sledge runners.³¹

enters its middle course as it reaches the Zhiguli Mountains, and the Samara Bend is formed as the river circles these mountains.

²⁵ *Simbirsk collection* 1870, p. 31. Uralsk is a city in north-western Kazakhstan, formerly known as Yaitsk (until 1775). It was founded in 1584 (formerly the founding date of the city was thought to be 1613).

²⁶ Vorobyov 1916, p. 34, 36, 53.

²⁷ Meshcherskiy, Modzalevskiy 1874, p. 191.

²⁸ Yagov 1994, p. 36.

²⁹ Samara province is an administrative-territorial unit of the Russian Empire and the Russian Federation, which existed from 1851 to 1928. The province was composed of the districts of Bugul'ma, Buguruslan, Stavropol, Busuluk, Samara, Nikolayev and Novouzensk.

³⁰ Meshcherskiy, Modzalevskiy 1874, p. 179, 183, 202.

³¹ *Sbornik* 1884, p. 174.

Rims and wheels were made from oak (mature oak only) or ash. The wood would be steamed for the first time in ordinary peasant bathhouses or in specially prepared areas known as hotbeds (or hothouses). The hotbed was a brick furnace built into the slope of the ravine or hill. In the furnace, a boiler was inserted which could hold 30-40 buckets of water. Above the boiler, a wooden frame (up to 1 meter) with timbered ceiling was arranged. This was covered from above with earth. Wooden blanks - “plahi” - were placed above the boiler through a special hole with a locked wooden gate valve, located in the upper part of the hotbed. To operate, water in the boiler would be heated to boiling point. The village of Couvay in Alatyr district, Simbirsk province, was home to 15 hothouses. One worker in one hothouse could prepare up to 12 wooden blanks in a day.³² Rims were left in the hotbed for a day before being transferred to the bending machines.



Fig. 6. Machine for bending rims

The machine for bending rims consisted of a “gala” - an oak cylinder 1/2 arshin (0.356 m) in height and of varying diameter, depending on the size of the rims being prepared³³ - fixed to a wooden platform (**fig. 6-7**).

³² *ESBE* 1895, p. 676.

³³ Electronic photo archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology the name of N. N. Mikluho-Maclay of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Tambov expedition, 1953, Work tools, Machine for bending rims, Inventory № 167, Cipher photo (negative) 58657, 58658, *Tambovskaya ekspeditsiya, 1953, Orudiya truda, Stanok dlia izgotovleniya obodor (kolesnykh)*,

The steamed wooden bar was attached at one end to the gala so that it faced the core of the cylinder, with the side covered in bark facing outwards. Along the outside of the wooden bar (block or balk) a thin strip of iron for was applied to protect the timber against cracking. Flexion was applied by means of a lever to the free end of the balk (plaha) using a rope loop. One end of the arm (lever) rested on the balk, and the other was driven in rotation by one to three workers (in Balashov district of Saratov province, horses were used to apply this force). When the rim was bent, the ends of the beam were hewn and connected, and it was then removed from the gala.³⁴ Two people with a horse could bend around 20 rims in three days.³⁵



Fig. 7. Machine for bending rims

In Kazan province elm round logs were used exclusively to make arcs known as “kruglyashi.” Kruglyashi were steamed in a very hot steam bath, then bent on a wooden pattern known as a “bolvan” (blockhead). The bent ends were tied with bast ropes and allowed to cool, then removed from the blockhead and cut into shape (**fig. 8**).

Opis' 167, Shifr negativa 58657, 58658, <http://photo.ica.ras.ru/search.aspx?expedid=140>, accessed 14 November 2014.

³⁴ *ESBE* 1893, p. 953.

³⁵ *ESBE* 1895, p. 676.

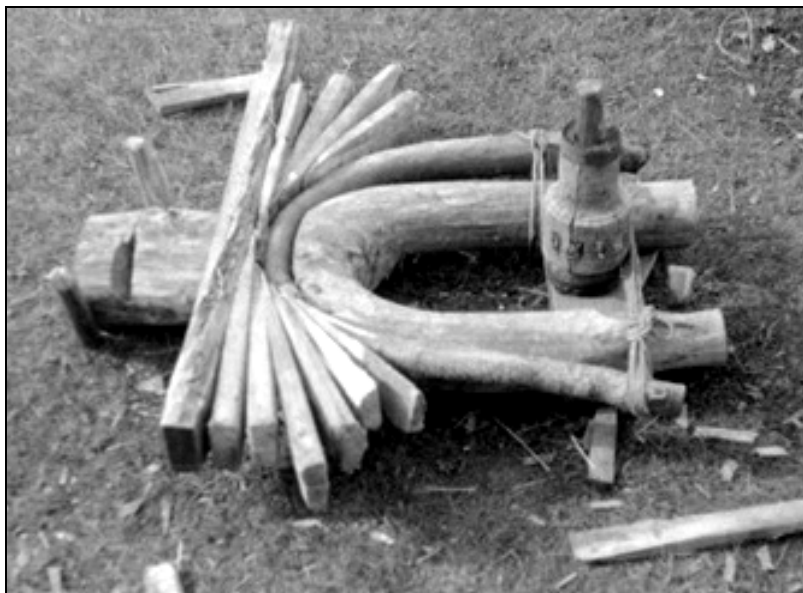


Fig. 8. Bending on a wooden pattern (template)

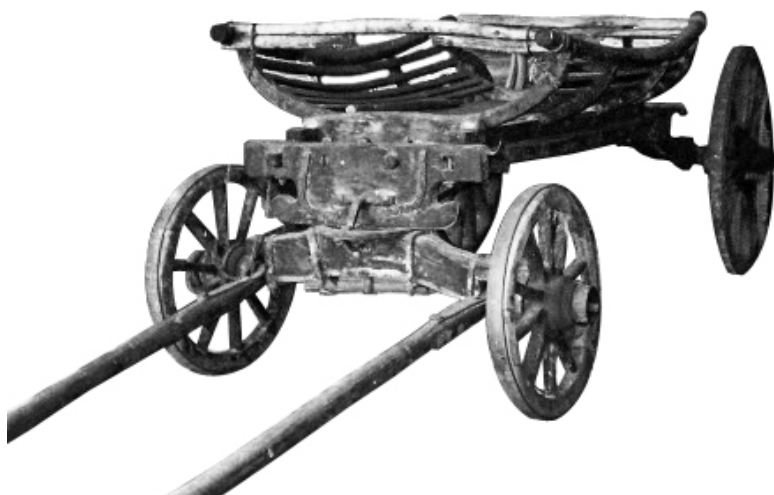


Fig. 9. Dolgusha (from the first quarter of the 20th century)

First they were rough-hewn with an axe, then shaped using scrapers called “skobel” (similar to scythes, with wooden handles on both ends). The hewn arcs were dried in warm huts and could then be cut into different shapes and patterns, using a simple chisel with a wooden handle, called an “oymar.” Completed arcs were painted in olive colour paint, prepared from

buckthorn bark (“mezereon”) which had been finely pounded and diluted with boiling water. Tatars preferred brightly coloured arcs somewhat more than other nations. Large quantities of arcs were prepared for delivery to the Samara and Simbirsk trade fairs.

A four-seated carriage (commonly known as “dolgusha” or “dolgushka”) was widely popular in the Middle Volga region. The cart was a simple device, consisting of a box (body) and chassis (**fig. 9-10**). The box consisted of 11 arcs of bird cherry wood, each 17 cm thick, two “obluk” (boards) and two longitudinal bars.³⁶

Almost everyone in a Tatar household had a cart (“arba”) on a wooden undercarriage. These wagons looked like Russian carts, except that the front and rear of the body was higher and the extending side poles were more bent.³⁷



Fig. 10. Dolgusha (from the middle of the 20th century)

Among Tatars (especially mullahs³⁸ and rich peasants), a type of travelling carriage known as “tarantas” (or “trantas”) was very popular and used as summer cart. It was a simple cart with an iron or wood undercarriage, with sprung suspension and a braided body and coach-box (**fig. 11-12**).

³⁶ *Slovar'* 1847, p. 370.

³⁷ Vorobyov 1930, p. 120.

³⁸ Mullah (Arabic, Turkish) is the name commonly given to local Islamic clerics or mosque leaders.

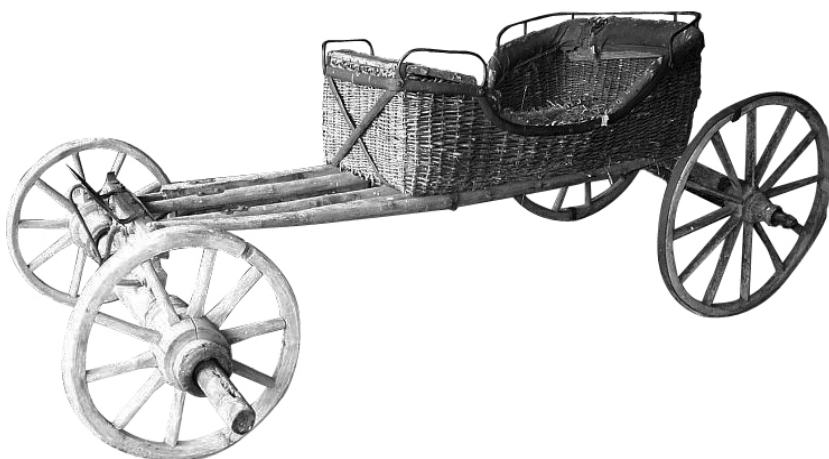


Fig. 11. Tarantas on a wooden undercarriage



Fig. 12. Tarantas

Tarantases were different: they had woven bodies and were upholstered in leather, with wings over the wheels and even springs (**fig. 13**). Inside, they were filled with hay or straw, with a closed felted mat or carpet and a cushion or some kind of fur on top (**fig. 12**). More expensive versions had soft leather seats. Tarantas were considered a luxury, and roofed models were used for long trips³⁹ (**fig. 13**).

³⁹ Vorobyov 1930, p. 121.



Fig. 13. Tarantas on an iron undercarriage, with wings over the wheels and sprung suspension

On the high right bank of the Volga, a special kind of tarantas - the “kyuyma” (kojma) - was produced. It accommodated up to five people and had a woven roof. These were found in Chuvash and served mainly as a vehicle ridden by friends of the bride before a wedding, or as a fun way to ride to the harvest festival, Chukleme.⁴⁰ The use of these vehicles in wedding rituals bears traces of ancient tradition, where the carriage represented the new home of the newlyweds. Tarantases were used as wedding carriages for the bride in the Mordovian region, where they were regarded as borrowed from the Tatars.⁴¹

In the late 19th century in Kazan, carts were given their final finish in villages near where their main production took place. Craftsman who manufactured the carts or carriages bought wheels, skids and sometimes arcs from other masters who specialised in creating these items, producing the rest of the parts and assembling the carts himself.⁴² In some villages, the

⁴⁰ Chukleme (Chuvash) is a holiday celebrating the consecration of the new crop. It is held on the autumn solstice day as the completion of the annual cycle of economic activity.

⁴¹ Evseviev 1925, p. 121.

⁴² Vorontsov 1886, p. 17, 48.

division of labour was seen even in the manufacture of rim wheels. For example, in the village of Kazan, in the province of Derzhavino, one master (the “tesar”) would prepare the blanks (work pieces, or plaha) for rim wheels, another master (the “vypalschik”) steamed the blanks, a third (the “zakrepschik”) - bent them on a gala (see above), while a fourth (the weaver) - tied bast ropes around the curved blanks.⁴³

Conclusions

Thus, despite the fact that the manufacture of sledges and carts in the Volga region had a long tradition and was commonplace for the entire population, we can talk about regional Middle Volga characteristics that are closely related to the ethnic division of labour and production technologies. Ethnic interaction stimulated the exchange of cultural forms in the manufacture of sledges and carts, allowing special features to develop. It was expressed in specific national manufacturing processes and in the decoration of various elements. Division of labour in the manufacture of the sledges and carts could also be considered a characteristic feature of this craft in the Middle Volga.

At the same time, there was a degree of uniformity in terms of the tools and techniques used for manufacturing sledges and carts across all the ethnic groups of the Middle Volga. The reason for this kind of levelling would have been the practical benefits and effects of the long-term cohabitation of peoples, which is characterised by cross-cultural borrowing of ideas in economic life.

Discovering the history of relationships, life and art of the peoples of the Volga Region opens up new possibilities for solving the problems of modern everyday life in this region. For example, it can help us to understand the characteristics and experiences of the traditional everyday culture of different nations; create an image of the culture of daily life based on a summary of the life and traditions of the various ethnic groups of the Middle Volga; and to develop critical thinking skills for considering the conditions of the modern innovation economy and the mass production of household items.

On the whole, studying the manufacture of sledges and carts allows a deepening of theoretical concepts in the fields of culture, history and philosophy regarding the traditional, everyday culture of the Middle Volga. In practical terms, some of the provisions and findings of this study can be used in the development of new areas of research and in design activities to

⁴³ *ESBE* 1895, p. 676.

establish innovative examples of urban transport, based on traditional forms ethnoculturally specific to the Middle Volga.

The Manufacture of Sledges and Carts in the Middle Volga in the 19th-Early 20th Centuries: Regional Features of the Craft and of Cultural Interaction

(Abstract)

This article examines the regional characteristics of the manufacture of sledges and carts in the Middle Volga, in the second half of 19th-early 20th centuries, based on cultural-historical analysis of factors that influenced the production technology and geographical distribution of the craft.

Applying the methodologies of cultural studies reveals the role of sledge and cart manufacture in the everyday culture of the region in this period, allowing us to comprehend related socio-cultural features and capabilities, preserving this cultural heritage through transmission of its value systems and manifestations of its traditional craftwork. Although manufacture of sledges and carts in the Middle Volga region had a long tradition across the entire population, it is possible to discuss regional characteristics that are closely related to the ethnic division of labour and production technologies.

Studying sledge and cart manufacture reveals much about the history and philosophy of the traditional everyday culture of the Middle Volga. The value of traditional culture to society should not be underestimated: traditional culture reveals principles of consensus in the interaction of different elements within that culture. The traditional culture of the Middle Volga region is, in the 21st century, a powerful factor in the formation and development of a multi-faceted daily life, transforming and enriching contemporary culture.

In practical terms, the provisions and findings of this study are useful in developing of new areas of research and design, helping establish innovative examples of urban transport based on traditional forms ethnoculturally specific to the Middle Volga region. Discovering the history of relationships, life and art of the Volga Region opens up new possibilities for solving problems of modern everyday life in this region. It can help us to understand the characteristics and experiences of everyday traditional culture of various nations.

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Keywords: manufacture of sledges and carts, Middle Volga region, casual culture, traditional forms, cultural interaction, mutual influence, handicraft, functions, traditions.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

TRADE ON THE ICY COASTS: THE MANAGEMENT OF AMERICAN TRADERS IN THE SETTLEMENTS OF CHUKOTKA NATIVE INHABITANTS

Anastasia A. YARZUTKINA*

Introduction

This article describes research into the trade management practices of Europeans from Northern America when bartering with Chukotka native inhabitants between the middle of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The Chukchi Peninsula was still a largely undeveloped and sparsely populated territory during this period. People could travel the small distance between the American and Asian mainland across the sea for only a few weeks of the year, at risk of their own lives, due to the extreme weather and difficult icy conditions. The fur trade in Chukotka was both beneficial and dangerous, and it attracted people with wide-ranging skill sets. These merchants, captains, translators, mushers and hunters - all in one person - organised their businesses according to their own experiences, adjusting to the communicative traditions of the indigenous people of Chukotka and the whims of the arctic environment.

Based on detailed descriptions of the specifics of the economic region and product distribution processes, various forms of trade practiced by the Americans have been identified. Depending on contacts with consumers, trade could be direct or through intermediaries. Intermediaries were natives who were respected by their fellow tribesmen. During the year they collected furs and ensured their warehousing before the arrival of merchant ships from the United States.

According to the organisational processes, trade on the Chukotski Peninsular can be divided into summer, which involved the sale of goods directly from schooners; winter, based on trade and hunting operations; and trade through a trading post. Summer trade from vessels was practiced mostly by whalers and small independent traders. A schooner served as a

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floating trading shop, going from one settlement to the other. The success of such trade depended on the date of arrival of a vessel to the coast of Chukotka. Teams of schooners remaining to hibernate converted their vessels into temporary trading posts, which served simultaneously as houses, trade centres and fur warehouses. Over a period of eight months, winter furs, walrus tusks and fur clothing that were brought for exchange by locals were accumulated on the schooner. Additional stocks of furs were obtained by hunting.

A particular form of trade organisation was trading posts where American sales agents lived all year-round. Merchants residing in these outposts travelled between Chukchi and Inuit settlements with a cargo of goods and visited the camp herders, exchanging manufactured goods for products of the traditional economy, and also hunted. Trade with white men was a constant exchange: industrial goods were exchanged for furs, furs for industrial goods and the cycle repeated. But trade was not just an occupation associated with the exchange of material goods: for traders it was a way of life.

Analysis of the forms and patterns of trade in this article shows that the trading and technological processes created by Americans in the extreme north-east of Russia were the most effective and appropriate given the specific conditions of the Chukotski Peninsula. Forming a close relationship with the indigenous people was part of the Americans' trade management practices.

Background

The icy coasts of the Chukotski Peninsula were always considered to be an unfavourable place for man's presence due to the cold climate and the severity of nature. However, profitable trade can open doors to the most inhospitable localities and make the most extreme natural and climatic conditions attractive. Between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the Chukotski Peninsula was an arena of active trade contacts between Europeans from north-western states of America and native inhabitants - Chukchi and Asian Inuits. Europeans from the United States started visiting the Chukotka coast from the middle of the 19th century. Originally they were whalers and travellers, carrying out one-time exchanges with native inhabitants. The profile of the typical American trader changed after a significant increase in Alaska's population from 1898, which was connected with the discovery of gold on the Seward Peninsula. Due to a gold rush, by 1900 the population of Nome - the closest settlement to

Chukotka - had increased to 12,488 people.¹ By no means did all meet with success on the American side of the Bering Strait, so people inclined towards opportunism and adventure were looking for new opportunities to earn in the Russian North. Chukotka, despite its icy coasts and severe winds, was attracting such people thanks to its unexplored resources and new perspectives. After some time, it turned out that gold-seeking in Chukotka was of less interest than fur trade with the local population, and many of these gold prospectors re-qualified themselves as merchants. These people were not professional traders: their trade management skills were the result of their own experiences, and their economic profits often depended on the whims of the weather or the mood of local inhabitants. However, images of American traders, their goods and their trade culture are still alive in the memories of Chukchi and Inuits. Their approaches to trade were copied by local inhabitants and the first builders of the Soviet government. Coastal inhabitants retained the Americans' systems of business organisation across a century, and they were not effaced by Soviet ideological opposition to commercialism.

Modern developments in the areas of marketing and management allow us to consider these past systems of trade organisation in a new light: to reveal the details of the trade process, to understand its specifics and to estimate the role of the trader's personality within trade relationships with native inhabitants.

Methodology

The history of trade in Chukotka was studied in relation to other research into socio-economic relations in the Far East, the north-east of Russia and the districts of the Bering Strait. In Russian research projects, the American traders have tended to be assessed more from a political position, as potential colonisers, not taking into account their activity as a labour process. Moreover, the initial negative perception of commerce in Soviet scientific tradition has locked the history of trade in Russian academic papers within the enumeration of statistical data and the detection of the role of large and small capital.²

American historians and anthropologists have researched trade on the Chukotka coast from a wider perspective that allowed the study of the process of trade organisation as an economic system, having geographical

¹ *Census Office* 1900, p. 136.

² Alepko 2001; Isakov 1994; Kulikov 2002; Vdovin 1965; Zhikharev 1961; Sergeev 1936; Flerov 1964.

expression and socio-cultural peculiarities.³ While accepting the contribution of all of these authors to the study of Bering trans-boundary trade history, it is necessary to point out that research into details of the history of the trade process and trade communications using qualitative methods, the examination of traders biographies and the placing of the topic within the context of modern marketing and management research, has not previously been undertaken.

As Mark Block writes, “it is necessary to understand the past with the help of the present.”⁴ From the beginning of the 20th century - after marketing was segregated from economic theory and became an academic science - there were many achievements within the field regarding the types of human activity directed to meet peoples’ needs and requirements by means of exchange. The development of marketing technologies around the world and their study has widened our conception of the structure, content and possibilities of the social-administrative process of exchange; as a result, it has become possible to look at trade history in a new way.⁵ In this study, we have used a conceptual framework, instrumentality and theoretical evidence in the areas of marketing and trade management with the aim of describing the history of trade organisation in the language of modern economics.

We have reviewed the trade process through the trader’s everyday experiences, his behavioural attitudes and his living conditions in a specific natural-geographic and socio-cultural environment. Papers by F. Braudel, who suggested distinguishing two structural levels in the economy of any society - material and non-material, including human psychology and everyday practices - have been a source of guidance for us.⁶ A micro-historical approach has allowed us to pay attention to the concrete personal fates of a quite small group of traders from Northern America, and from examining the detail in the sources, to expose the cultural and behavioural codes of their labour activity.

³ <https://sites.google.com/a/alaska.edu/far-eastern-borderlands/home/chukotka/trans-beringian-crossings/trade-and-resource-extraction-across-and-along-the-border-19th-20th-century>, accessed 12 July 2014; Bockstoe 2010; Novik 1995.

⁴ Block 1998, p. 17.

⁵ Such a tendency is indicated by the appearance of the *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* (Emerald Group Publishing Limited), which publishes academic research concentrated on marketing history and the history of the idea of marketing, including the study of retail trade, advertisement, consumption and all aspects of marketing as a whole, from a historical point of view.

⁶ Braudel 1992.

While describing the characteristics of the trade process organisation, the techniques and skills involved, and the Americans' trade traditions, we also took into account that in many areas these things were dependent upon the individual characteristics of a specific person who was organising the trade within Chukotka's extreme conditions. It is for this reason that the analysis of traders' biographies and their memories is an important methodical technique in this paper. The resources used included various reports, ethnographic descriptions and itinerary notes of the traders, officials and travellers who visited Chukotka or were living there for some time between the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries and had the opportunity to directly observe trade operations or to take part in them. The sources themselves, most of which are texts created by eyewitnesses, were considered as a form of ethnographic resource, received from the point of view of insiders or from direct observations.

Characteristics of trade organisers

The personality of businessmen plays a big role in the organisation of commercial activity. It is for exactly this reason that when describing the history of trade management, any generalisations will not, in our opinion, be objective. Individual character traits, abilities, motivations and even ethnic and cultural stereotypes of individual people influence the specifics of business organisation.

American businessmen trading on the Chukotski Peninsula came from a society with a well-developed hierarchy of social and political institutions, in which market relations had already penetrated into nearly every sphere of life and commercial activity was assuming a quite significant place.⁷ Representatives of this group belonged to a community displaying economic behaviour that was notable for individualism, practicality, dynamism and cultural diversity.

The analysis of Chukotka traders' biographies has shown that they were representatives of different nationalities and different professions, but that the majority of them were gold prospectors. Before going to Chukotka, these people had come to the north-western region of the United States under the influence of the gold rush. Some of them went to the Chukotski Peninsula as employees of the North-Eastern Siberian Society, which began its activities in Chukotka in 1902, seeking gold and other mineral resources. Trader Clarendon (Charlie) Carpendel came to the river Yukon in 1900 from Australia with the aim of finding gold, and later made his way to

⁷ Ray, Freeman 1978, p. 10-14.

Chukotka with a group of prospectors.⁸ The Swede Karl Johnson, who worked as a trade agent in Chukotka from 1920, had originally migrated to Seattle in the early 1900s.⁹ August Maisick, Estonian by nationality, arrived in Alaska in 1905 and subsequently began visiting the Chukotski Peninsula to trade.¹⁰ Charlie Madsen was a Dane who arrived in Nome in 1902, at the age of 19, seeking gold. However, he dedicated his life to trade with the native inhabitants of the Bering Sea coast.¹¹ Bend Wall was a Norwegian who, at the age of ten, left Norway and went to Alaska with his grandfather. In 1902 he arrived in Chukotka for the first time as a gold prospector, and worked there until the 1930s as a trade agent.¹² Olaf Swenson was born in Michigan State, his father having moved to America from Sweden. This man was the major organiser of trade operations on the Chukotski coast.¹³ Traders Petr Brjukhanov and Yakov Sokolovsky were Russians, Ivan Minenko and Grigory Konchenko were Ukrainians, and Magomet Dobriev and Sandro Malsagov were Ingush. All of them arrived in America during the period of the gold rush and worked there before going to Chukotka at the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁴

The economic behaviour of future traders was formed under the impact of particular cultural and behavioural stereotypes inherent to the community of gold prospectors during the gold rush period. Because of the particular working conditions in gold mines, nonchalance towards those around and towards death, selfishness, the ability to take risks and a tendency towards opportunism, the ability to work hard in the most unfavourable conditions, a rejection of comfort for the sake of future profits, the desire for enrichment, multiculturalism and energy were inherent characteristics of the representatives of this community.¹⁵ These traders had no experience of commercial activity before arriving on the Chukotski Peninsula, but rather were gaining trade skills whilst already in the process of implementing trade activity.

⁸ <http://www.ocotilloroad.com/geneal/carpendale1.html>, accessed 10 July 2014.

⁹ Smith, Worley 2007, p. 119-120.

¹⁰ Masik, Hutchison 1938, p. 5.

¹¹ Madsen, Douglas 1957, p. 2-5.

¹² ARACSODCH, register no. 6, marriage record no. 3 of 25.11.1925 (B. Wall and Tynatvaal).

¹³ Swenson 1944, p. 1-2, 8.

¹⁴ ARACSODCH, register no. 6, death record no. 11 of 19.12.1938 (M. D. Dobriev), birth record no. 33 of 23.12.1927 (N. Konchenko), register no. 1 marriage record no. 1 of 19.02.1929 (S. I. Mal'sagov and Tegrettau); Kaltan 2008, p. 310; Dobriev 1997, p. 3.

¹⁵ Tanaseichuk 2008, p. 76-93.

The main part of the Chukotski Peninsula coast and the eastern part of Chukotka were within America's sphere of influence from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries. Independent Russian trade on the Chukotski Peninsula coast did not exist as a separate activity: nearly all Russian-speaking businessmen who were trading there either represented American and Canadian companies or were connected with them and were getting goods from the United States.¹⁶

It is only possible to count the number of Americans trading in Chukotka from the late 19th to early 20th centuries rather approximately. According to N. Krivitsyn's materials, annually between 30,000 and 40,000 Americans were living here, and the main source of their existence was trade.¹⁷ The number of Americans arriving on the coast on schooners varied every year. Because of the remoteness of the territory and its inaccessibility, it was impossible for Russian authorities to keep records of all foreigners arriving in the peninsula; in fact, state trade control of the territory was non-existent. Most trade vessels were arriving on the Chukotka coast illegally.

On the whole, the Americans did not represent any united socio-professional group. They were diverse in terms of ethnicity and professional relations. They were connected mainly by a common business territory and by the new American culture - they were bearers of a specific economic spirit that was inherent to settlers and labour migrants. It is possible to divide the various types of businessmen into trading whalers, trade agents for big companies and independent trader-travellers. Regarding forms of trade, a distinction can be made between stationary traders (permanently living in Chukotka trading posts) and traders who arrived at the coast by schooner.

The organisation of goods distribution

Delivery of goods to the customer is the most important step of the trade process, and the reason for travel. In Chukotka, barter trade was practised exclusively - industrial goods were exchanged for goods from the native inhabitants' traditional economy. Accordingly, the distribution of goods was circular: traders were importing tea, tobacco, weapons and factory goods to the Chukotski Peninsular, and were exporting furs, walrus fangs, whalebones, clothes and footwear made of deer and sea animals' skins to the United States.

The path these goods took is directly connected to the natural and climatic peculiarities and geographical conditions of the territory, the level

¹⁶ Krivitsyn 1923, p. 56.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 50-51, 58.

of development of vehicles, and the population density within the territory. The main bulk of industrial goods used for exchange with the native inhabitants of Chukotka were imported by American traders from the territory of Alaska, where goods from other cities in the United States were accumulated. Other goods were received directly from Seattle, San Francisco and other ports, mainly through whalers.

By the beginning of the 20th century, Nome had become the main Alaskan port from which Americans specializing in trade embarked for the Chukotski Peninsula. It was in this town that the majority of trade schooners visiting Chukotka shores were fitted out. In this town of gold prospectors there were many stores, shops and trade warehouses where it was possible to purchase all the necessities, at prices which did not greatly exceed those of the Pacific coast. Traders from Nome were dependent on seasonal deliveries, and before embarking for the Chukotski Peninsula they usually had to wait for the arrival of steamships with goods and products from Seattle.

The distance between Alaska and Chukotka in the narrowest part of the Bering strait is 85.2 km. Between the trading post at the settlement of Unazik (Chaplino, Indian Point) in Chukotka and Nome, the distance is about 400 km; the distance between Uelen and Nome is about 280 km. Relatively small distances were made to seem longer by inconstant and challenging hydrological, meteorological and icy conditions in the waters of the Bering Strait.¹⁸ Frequent gale-force winds led to significant redistribution of the ice cover on the seas around Chukotka, and these changing conditions affected the level of shipping possible within the short period that the Arctic is navigable. Intensive ice melting, starting at Cape Dezhnev, usually occurs in late May/early June; it is possible to see the surface of the Chukchi Sea free from ice only in the south-eastern part, adjoining to the Bering Strait.¹⁹ By the end of October, ice begins to form around the Chukotka coast, which would have obstructed schooners attempting to approach settlements. Sailing through the Bering Strait also becomes dangerous around this time due to a flip in both weather and wind direction, and by the beginning of November the navigational season is over. Analysis of the first and last dates that American schooners embarked from Nome for the Chukotka coast between 1910 and 1914 revealed the following periods of travel: 1910 - 4 May to 30 October; 1911 - 17 June to 28 October; 1912 - 12 May to 24 October; 1913 - 24 April to 26 September;

¹⁸ Belikovich et al. 2006, p. 101-110.

¹⁹ Zimich 1998, p. 5, 9.

and 1914 - 13 June to 26 September.²⁰ This shows that American traders could usually only deliver goods to the Chukotski Peninsula for four months of the year, and due to frequent storms their journeys were associated with significant risks.

According to the conclusions of an employee carrying out an analysis of trade on the Chukotski Peninsula in 1923,

“one of the most important conditions for trade success at the coast, apart from the experience and ability to sell, is that it is necessary to ... have a well-adapted motor schooner for long-term sailing in the northern waters at one’s disposal.”²¹

At the end of the 19th century, before the internal combustion engine was widespread in the west of the United States, American businessmen were using high-speed sailing schooners with a small draught, of various displacement and weight-bearing capacities, for journeys to the Chukotski Peninsula. For example, trader Charlie Madsen accomplished his first trade journey on tiny, flat-bottomed, two-mast schooner-type skiff, the “Immaculate,” a little over ten meters in length; however, on his return from the Chukotski Peninsula he noted that because of its small weight-carrying capacity he “had to refuse one thousand dollars value of good furs.”²² Next time, he hired a more capacious schooner, the “Mary Sachs,” which did not yet have an engine mounted.

While analysing this second journey he recalled:

“[W]e sailed up overfilled with furs, however ... she [the ‘Mary Sachs’] depended exclusively on the whims of the wind and nothing will make me go on her to the Chukotski Peninsula again.”²³

Hereinafter, Charlie Madsen, as well as the majority of other traders, started using motorised schooners to carry out journeys.

By the very end of the 19th century, a variety of companies producing engines had widened their business areas to include the western part of the United States.²⁴ At the beginning of the 20th century, petrol engines began to be installed on sailing schooners.²⁵ For example, in order to install a gasoline (petrol) engine into the “P. L. Abler,” a sailing schooner of the North-

²⁰ NARA 1425 RG-36-2(a) US Customs, Alaska, Nome, Vessels engaged in the coastwise trade-entered.

²¹ RSHAFE, fund R-2485, file 7, inventory 1, sheet 19.

²² Madsen, Douglas 1957, p. 15, 58.

²³ Ibid., p. 63.

²⁴ <http://www.fairbanks-morse.com>, accessed 10 July 2014.

²⁵ <http://www.harborhistorymuseum.org/exhibits/online-exhibitions/commercial-fishing/technology-timeline>, accessed 10 July 2014.

Eastern Siberian Society, the boat was sawn in half and supplemented with a middle part in which engine was placed.²⁶ The installation of internal combustion engines to sailing schooners at the beginning of 20th century and the purchase and freight of motorised schooners by American businessmen significantly influenced the development of trade with the Chukotski Peninsula inhabitants.

According to data from customs registers in the period from 1910-1925, schooners were taking anything from 5 up to 140 tonnes of goods out from Nome, depending on each vessel's weight-carrying capacity. For example, L. Lein's schooner the "Polar Bear" could be loaded with 55 tonnes of goods; the "Luella," whose owner was M. Gotshalk - 6 tonnes, B. Tompson's schooner, the "Trader" - 10 tonnes; the "Iskum," which was owned by an American company "Phoenix" (Phoenix Northern Trading Co.) - 42 tonnes; O. Sensone's "King and Winge" - 97 tonnes, etc.²⁷

Traders aimed to own their own schooners, as journeys to Chukotka were connected with a significant risk of losing both schooner and goods. Charlie Madsen hired his first schooner, the "Immaculate," from the Catholic Church parish for a percentage of the profits from selling furs, and with the condition of it being repaired.²⁸ Vilhjalmur Stefansson affreighted the schooner "Polar Bear" for transporting goods, but then decided that it would be better to buy the vessel itself and paid \$20,000 for it, plus \$10,000 for the cargo and \$14,000 for already existing affreight debt.²⁹ Traders and trading companies operating in Chukotka and having stationary trading posts on the peninsula (Swenson Co.; Phoenix Northern Trading Co. et al.) could hire schooners for goods delivery to the peninsula. Such a proposal - to take milk and sugar to Chukotka trading post - was the reason for the protracted journey made by Josef Bernard on the schooner "Teddy Bear" in the middle of October 1921.³⁰ Also, a system was practiced in which trading firms in Nome purchased a schooner, supplied it with their goods and let it out on commission to one or two attorney sailors, as a rule for 50% of the profits.³¹

The distribution of goods was not restricted to settlements on the Chukotski Peninsula coast, Nome or Seattle. Furs delivered to Alaska continued their journey as goods into other towns. Some industrial goods

²⁶ Tul'chinsky 1906, p. 39.

²⁷ NARA 1425 RG-36-2(a) US Customs, Alaska, Nome, Vessels engaged in the coastwise trade-entered.

²⁸ Madsen, Douglas 1957, p. 15-16.

²⁹ Barr 1988, p. 21-22.

³⁰ Bernard 1977, p. 341-349.

³¹ Kalinnikov 1912, p. 174.

brought to the Chukotka coast remained in the settlements, but others were used by dealers or American traders themselves in further chains of exchange with reindeer breeders, as a result of which American goods were reaching as far as the Kolyma river.

Assortment choosing, purchasing work and goods prepacking and packing

The peculiarity of trade with native inhabitants was its barter nature. Furs and other craft products were exchanged for some quantity of industrial goods. Accordingly the trader had to have a certain set of goods which would be taken by the native inhabitants and which aroused the desire to make an exchange.

Correct selection of industrial goods was very important in the trade with native inhabitants. In 1904, the manager of the North-Eastern Siberian Society sent a telegraph to the administration stating that to trade with Chukchi, sugar, tea, tobacco, whiskey, rifle cartridges (44 bore), gunpowder, and other goods were needed,³² and in a subsequent communication he reported that there were some unnecessary goods at the trading posts - namely hats, cloths, playing cards, ketchup and rowing boats, which were not taken by local inhabitants.³³

Thanks to Russian merchants and foreign whalers, the native inhabitants of Chukotka were already acquainted with some industrial goods at the time American traders began to penetrate. By this point, locals had already developed a firm demand for tableware, tea, tobacco and alcohol. However, as trade developed, American businessmen gradually widened the assortment of goods. Olaf Swenson wrote that when preparing for his journey to Chukotka and choosing goods for exchange, he was oriented towards the needs of the populations of Northern Canada and Alaska, and supposed that the same goods would be wanted in Chukchi. "While collecting goods for sale, I have bought, for example, haberdashery, which might particularly interest the native inhabitants."³⁴ Trader Charlie Madsen described in detail his worries when he decided to buy a phonograph and take it to Chukchi to exchange.³⁵

A trade organisation operating on the Chukotski peninsular put in claims for starting capital and for the hire or purchase of a schooner, as well

³² AUW-SC, John Rosene Papers, box 3, file 27. Letter from Podkhorsky to Rosene 6 June 1904.

³³ Ibid. Letter from Podkhorsky to Rosene 25 June 1904.

³⁴ Swenson 1944, p. 67.

³⁵ Madsen, Douglas 1957, p. 143-144.

as for purchasing goods for exchange. According to the records of American, Martin Widding, who was trading with his two companions on the schooner “Kittiwake” in the district of the Kolyma river and the settlement Naukan in 1911, he purchased three tonnes of flour, sugar, cartridges and rifles for the total sum of \$3,500 in the shops of Nome, for the period of a month’s journey to Chukotka.³⁶

American traders exporting 5-10 tonnes of goods on schooners per journey were connected with firms in Nome and Seattle, which supplied them with these goods, and often had credit relationships with them. For example, the US Mercantile Company, which operated in Nome during first decades of the 20th century, specialised in the delivery and sale of goods to private traders for subsequent export and exchange, and was also a dealer in the sale of the aboriginal craft products which were imported from the Chukotski peninsular.³⁷ The purchase of goods for exchange could occur several times per year, depending on the number of journeys a trader planned to make to Chukotka. For example, trader Billy Tompson, who owned a schooner of Russian origin called the “Trader,”³⁸ made five journeys from Nome to Providence Bay in 1910, two journeys in 1911, five journeys in 1912, three journeys in 1913, and three journeys in 1914.³⁹ In 1912, the departure dates of his schooner from Nome were: 29 June, 15 July, 10 August, 25 September and 24 October.⁴⁰ Accordingly, the length of time required to equip the schooner, purchase goods, sell furs and complete one round trip to the Chukotski peninsular and back during the navigational period was between 17 and 45 days.

After concluding exchange operations and returning to Nome, traders had to sell the furs and craft products they had obtained, in order to purchase new goods and pay back their credit. According to Charlie Madsen’s recollections, on returning to Nome after one trip, the furs and mammoth bone that he brought from the Chukotka coast were bought by rich gold prospectors and their wives. The rest of the cargo he sold to local trade companies, including the US Mercantile Company.⁴¹ At a later date, furs purchased from traders went to Seattle for auction.⁴²

³⁶ NARA 3051, no. 2468/1913.

³⁷ <http://files.usgwarchives.net/ak/nome/directories/business/1902/nome192gms.txt>, accessed 10 July 2014.

³⁸ SACH, fund R-1, file 2, inventory 1, sheet 1.

³⁹ NARA 1425 RG-36-2(a) US Customs, Alaska, Nome, Vessels engaged in the coastwise trade-entered.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Madsen, Douglas 1957, p. 58.

⁴² Kalinnikov 1912, p. 178.

Industrial, mass-produced goods made in United States factories and delivered to Alaska had, as a rule, industrial packaging with the brand name. To transport goods and preserve them from spoiling and damage, and also to optimise weight and volume, items were packed into goods cases, boxes and sacks. For example, several types of smoking and chewing tobacco were brought to the Chukotski peninsular by American traders: the tobacco brand “Black Navy Tobacco” was packed into boxes of 5 and 10 pounds (a 10 pound box containing 50 small tobacco bars); “Chipper” and “West-Over” tobacco was packed in 8 bar boxes; chewing tobacco “Big Stump” was packed into boxes with the weight of 12 pounds, while chewing tobacco brands “Domino,” “Star” and “Spearhead” went into boxes of 12 bars. Regarding other products, “Sea Island” brand sugar was transported in boxes of 80 and 30 pounds, “Crescent” tea came in packages weighting 1 pound, “Centennial Best” flour was packed into bags weighting 50 pounds, etc.⁴³

In this marketing society, packaging was seen as a way to make and stimulate demand. American trader Olaf Swenson wrote about how he packed the goods in a special way, first wrapping them in waterproof paper, then in oilcloth and sackcloth, so that when the local population transported them they would not get wet.⁴⁴ It was his opinion that this strengthened the native inhabitants’ trust in him as a trader, and also helped him to develop friendly relationships with them.

When packing goods, experienced American traders took into account certain peculiarities of the native Chukotka inhabitants’ world view concerning numbers and counting. Chukchi and Asian Inuits used the so-called “quinary-vigesimal” system of counting, which is closely connected with images of the natural environmental. Chukotka aborigines believed that twenty represented “the whole man,” and undertook all numerical operations using the fingers and toes of both hands and both feet.⁴⁵ The numeral 20, in the world view of Chukchi and Inuits, thus represented integrity and completeness. The following incident, described by N. Galkin in 1930 years of the 20th century, is significant:

“[W]hile trading, it was suggested to one Chukcha that he take half a packet of cartridges for the rest of the money. He was offended ... dividing a

⁴³ AAEM, fund 36, inventory 1, file 123, sheet 16-17; Ashton 1928; p. 171; Madsen, Douglas 1957, p. 134.

⁴⁴ Swenson 1944, p. 67.

⁴⁵ SPBARAS, fund 250, inventory 5, file 114, sheet 23; Pervov 1903, p. 41; Madsen, Douglas 1957, p. 133.

package (of 20 pieces) is bad form. 'But I do not sell you half of the seal' - they say."⁴⁶

Native inhabitants, who were not acquainted with measures of weight, did not perceive the goods in a package as an amount, they perceived them as a piece, and this was used by dishonest traders who re-packed goods into smaller packages. Undamaged packaging and the grouping of items in fives and twenties was more trusted by native inhabitants.

Goods storage and trade agency

Maritime traffic between the Chukotka and American coasts was restricted by the short navigational period. Regularity of trade processes throughout the year was maintained through the opening of trade stores in the settlements of native inhabitants, and by the organisation of trade agency work on the Chukotski peninsular.

Originally, the Americans' trade agents were native inhabitants, who maintained small storage spaces. The number of such agents was not stable and was subject to a slight annual variation. In 1898, Hieromonk Venedict, who was travelling along the coast for missionary purposes, counted 13 shops.⁴⁷ In 1900, according to information provided by V. G. Bogoraz, there were 14 shops, and these were situated, he states, mainly on the eastern cape and Cape Chaplino where, due to strong currents, the sea is free of ice from the middle of April.⁴⁸ In 1902, the chief of Anadyr district, N. Sokol'nikov, wrote of 12 wooden stores, the owners of which were Inuits.⁴⁹ In 1905-1906 Dr Kirillov counted not less than 15 small houses/barns made of American wood which were used as trading stores.⁵⁰ In 1909, according to N. F. Kalinnikov's account, there were already several dozen stores.⁵¹

Trade storage-shops were small barns, about 33 m² in size, knocked together in the American style of beams and boards, with one or two windows.⁵² Inhabitants would receive such houses as a reward for successful work on the whalers, or purchase them on credit from the trader. The owner of such a building became a trade agent and accumulated industrial goods delivered by Americans and furs supplied by native inhabitants at his

⁴⁶ Galkin 1931, p. 55.

⁴⁷ RSHAFE, fund 702, inventory 1, file 313, sheet 3.

⁴⁸ Bogoraz 2011, p. 86.

⁴⁹ RSHAFE, fund 702, inventory 1, file 313, sheet 30.

⁵⁰ Ibid., inventory 2, file 206, sheet 46.

⁵¹ Kalinnikov 1912, p. 178-179.

⁵² Ibid., p. 178.

store. The task of the trade agent was to guarantee availability of resources such as furs, whalebones, walrus fangs and items of traditional craft, which he obtained through exchange for American goods during the winter months. This was necessary to secure credit for more American goods the following year. Native owners of wooden house-stores or their fellow villagers undertook journeys along the coast and within the peninsular in order to exchange American goods for furs.⁵³ K. I. Bogdanovich describes meeting a trade agent's broker, who was going back with furs he had collected - foxes, Arctic foxes and deer skins. The trade agent/store owner received credit from the American traders, and would then offer credit to travelling brokers⁵⁴.

The process of interaction between native agents and their suppliers was as follows: during the navigational period Americans unloaded industrial goods at the storage houses and took back with them the furs collected there during the winter months, along with other products prepared by the agent. N. Shnakenburg describes the relationship of native agents with American businessman Olaf Swenson:

“Swenson was giving the goods on credit at the agreed price. The following year, he received raw materials and furs. Without fur, Swenson refused to give credit. In due course, Swenson had arranged firm staff of trade agents, dealing exclusively with him.”⁵⁵

In 1906, P. F. Unterberger witnessed an American, Talentayer, deliver goods from Nome to a store owned by a Chukchi who was trading in Enmelen, on the three-masted schooner the “Martha Wilks.”⁵⁶ In 1922, the Phoenix Northern Trading Co. left a consignment of stock to a Chukchi called Inka to sell, which included 1,000 pounds of sugar, flour, dry biscuits, tobacco and gunpowder.⁵⁷

As trade developed and Americans became acquainted with Chukotka territory, the trade post system on the coast began to develop as well. Americans living permanently on the peninsular became agents at the trading posts. In the first quarter of the 20th century, there were two types of stationary traders living on the peninsular: traders who organised the whole trade cycle by themselves (starting with purchasing goods and finishing with selling them directly to native inhabitants), and traders who functioned as dealers connected, as a rule, through contractual relationships with trade

⁵³ Ibid., p. 179-180; Bogoraz 2011, p. 86.

⁵⁴ Bogdanovich 1901, p. 63.

⁵⁵ AAEM, fund 36, inventory 1, file 123, sheet 14.

⁵⁶ Unterberger 1912, p. 280-281.

⁵⁷ RSHAFE, fund 2422, inventory 1, file 1636, sheet 66.

companies or other traders. According to evidence from the man in charge of granting concessions, A. E. Minkin, Olaf Swenson's company alone had 16 trade agents living on the coast.⁵⁸ One of those agents was Bend Beshvenson Wall (1873-1944). Between 1902 and 1930 he acted as a dealer at the trade post close to Cape Serdtse-Kamen (Cape Heart-Stone) operating through Olaf Swenson's company; Swenson delivered goods to him annually from Seattle on his ships, which he would exchange for furs.

Independent traders had their own schooners. During the navigational period they would go to Nome to get goods themselves, supplying the trading post with the necessary items for exchange. American Billy Tompson organised his trading activity in this way. His trading post was situated in Providence Bay and his family lived there as well. He used his schooner, the "Trader," to transport goods to the trading post, and during the summer time he also used it for trade along the coast.⁵⁹

In the second decade of the 20th century, foreign trade companies such as the Phoenix Northern Trading Co. (USA) and Hudson's Bay Company (Canada) started expanding their activity. As a rule, these companies were hiring and taking their trade agents to the peninsular and building or renting placements for trading posts. Karl Johnson (1875-1939), for example, was a trade agent with the Phoenix Northern Trading Co. Company who arrived in Chukotka at the invitation of that company's manager. His goal was to organise trading posts in a row of settlements on the Chukotski peninsular and to carry out trade during the year with the native inhabitants. According to his wife's recollections and documents, Johnson worked at the trade post in Kolyuchinskaya Bay. In the summer of 1920, he left Cape Senyavin, where he had already organised trade and built a post, "with the aim to find a new locality to organise another post." He left G. Parsons as an agent in Cape Senyavin and organised a new trading post in Kolyuchinskaya Bay where, in the same year, a schooner of the Phoenix Northern Trading Co. Company called the "Iskum" delivered goods. The new trading post was a single room where K. Johnson lived with his wife; the same room was also used for storage, as well as being a shop. "Our trading post was awkward - customers were arriving during day and night times to get goods in exchange for furs." Later, a house made of driftwood and turf was built close to the post. For delivering American

⁵⁸ Yakovleva 2002, p. 333.

⁵⁹ SACH, fund R-1, inventory 1, file 2; Flerov 1964, p. 31; Smith, Worley 2007, p. 105-107; Starokadomskiy 1953, p. 44.

goods to settlements in the winter and collecting furs Johnson used dog-teams, and for this purpose he kept draught dogs.⁶⁰

The role of the trade agent at the trading post was to formally receive, sort and store craft products, and to issue goods. Moreover, agents often hunted animals for fur themselves, as well as dressing the skins; they would also undertake delivery and sale, going to neighbouring settlements and nomadic camps. Often they had dealers or agents from amongst the native inhabitants.

The organisation of work at the trading posts, as with all aspects of life on the Chukotski peninsular, was under the command of the seasons. N. F. Kalinnikov describes the trading post work in this regard:

“[A]s soon as the bays were covered with ice and the first snow way was opened, Chukchi from neighbouring settlements started arriving, taking their simple goods; but the main bargaining was happening in the second part of winter, starting with January, when sledges were arriving by dozens to every post sometimes ... By the spring time, usually, all of the main goods were sold and agents were packing exchanged raw materials. With the first water one or two schooners were arriving, taking bands of leathers, furs, whalebones, bones and carrying them to Nome.”⁶¹

In the summer time trade agents, as a rule, were occupied with storing newly-delivered supplies of goods for winter, and most were travelling around neighbouring settlements of native inhabitants on the arriving schooners with the intention of bartering goods.⁶²

The organisational system of trading posts on the Chukotski Peninsular worked successfully up until the establishment of the Soviet Government on that territory in the 1930s. After this, Soviet trading posts started to appear in Chukotka, although these actually operated according to the principles of the American trading posts.

Conclusions

Hudson's Bay Company - which had two centuries' experience of the fur trade in America and Canada,⁶³ was fully technically equipped, and had enough floating funds for successful trade - from the beginning of its

⁶⁰ SACH, fund R-191, inventory 1, file 4, sheets 8, 9; file 5, sheet 7-8; Smith, Worley 2007, p. 109, 111, 119.

⁶¹ Kalinnikov 1912, p. 178.

⁶² Smith, Worley 2007, p. 127; Tul'chinsky 1906, p. 25.

⁶³ <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca>, accessed 10 July 2014; Ray, Freeman 1978, p. 25.

activity in Chukotka in 1921 it did not once meet with failure,⁶⁴ but it did have to redefine its working practices, adopting them to local conditions. One of the main strategic objectives was to increase the attention paid to staff selection, seeking those who had the right abilities and individual qualities for trading on the Chukotka peninsular.⁶⁵ It was precisely these personal qualities that ensured success in the business of trading in such an inhospitable area. American traders gained colossal experience of survival in harsh conditions and of intercultural communication during their years working in Chukotka.

The study of the Americans' management practices shows that the trade-technological processes they created on the Chukotski peninsular were the most effective and appropriate within the specific conditions of the Arctic coast. Forming close relationships with the native inhabitants was an integral part of the Americans' trade management. Involvement in trade gradually became the way of life for these people, and the organisation of trade became more and more subordinate to economic cycle and trading culture of the native inhabitants of Chukotka, while its basis included friendship, sexual and emotional connections with exchange partners.

American traders were active in Chukotka during a period which saw some of the most important discoveries around the world, as well as the active development of trading techniques. The traders used the fruits of this progress to optimise and improve their work. Moreover, they were opening the door to technical and industrial innovations for native inhabitants.

Trade on the Icy Coasts: The Management of American Traders in the Settlements of Chukotka Native Inhabitants

(Abstract)

A trade business organisation cannot function according to pre-set rules: each businessman sets his own parameters. Studying numerous sources on trade on the Chukotski peninsular nevertheless allows us to make some generalisations. Management structures differed depending on the trading seasons.

Summer's trade workflow started with preparing or hiring a schooner and purchasing industrial goods for exchange, which were then prepared, packed, loaded and shipped to the Chukotski peninsular. On arrival, they were exchanged with natives or used to replenish supply stores, after which the schooners returned to Nome or Seattle with craft products to be sold. This process was repeated several times a year - working exclusively during the short period the Arctic was navigable - and was undertaken by

⁶⁴ RSEA, fund 413, inventory 5, file 1160; fund R-2422, inventory 1, file 1020, sheets 501-550.

⁶⁵ Ibid., fund R-2485, file 7, inventory1, sheets 21-22.

private traders, whalers and trade company representatives who maintained trading posts on the Chukotski peninsular. In summer, exchanges occurred directly from the schooner, which served as a floating trade store sailing between settlements.

Winter business was based on trade, hunting and commerce through trading posts. Schooners' crews turned their vessels into temporary trading posts, serving as home, trade point and fur storage. Over this eight-month winter period, furs, walrus bones and fur clothes were collected from the natives. An extra stock of furs came from hunting. Winter allowed the American traders to study the market needs of the native population to better supply them, establishing a friendly connection with locals and widening their territorial knowledge. Traders travelled between Chukchi and Inuit settlements with cargoes of goods, visiting reindeer breeders' nomadic camps, exchanging industrial goods and hunting. They assimilated themselves into native cultures, gradually adopting local ways of life. Many stationary traders married local women and, with their help, involved new relatives in the trading process.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- | | |
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| ARACSODCH | - Archive of Registration of Acts of Civil Status Office Department in Chukotka district of Chukotka autonomous area. |
| Ashton 1928 | - James M. Ashton, <i>Ice Bound: A Trader's Adventures in the Siberian Arctic</i> , New York, London, 1928. |
| AUW-SC | - Archives University of Washington Special Collections, Seattle. |
| Barr 1988 | - W. Barr, <i>The Soviet Career of the Schooner Polar Bear, 1925-1928</i> , in <i>Polar Record</i> , 24 (148), 1988, p. 21-29. |
| Belikovitch et al. 2006 | - A. V. Belikovitch, A. A. Galanin, A. N. Kotov, <i>Priroda i resursy Chukotki</i> , Magadan, 2006. |
| Bernard 1977 | - Joseph F. Bernard, <i>On the Bering Sea Frontier (1921-1922)</i> , in <i>Polar Record</i> , 18 (115), 1977, p. 341-349. |
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| Bogoraz 2011 | - Vladimir G. Bogoraz, <i>Chukchi. Sotsial'naya organizatsiya</i> , Moscow, 2011. |

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- RSHAFE - Russian State Historical Archive of the Far East.
- SACH - State Archive of Chukotka Autonomous Area.
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Keywords: ethnohistory, American traders, Chukotka native inhabitants, trade management, trade relationships, trading posts, the Arctic.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altai.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

THE DEFENSIVE CAPABILITIES OF THE KAZAN KREMLIN AT THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY

Dina Abdulbarovna MUSTAFINA*

Introduction

The current article examines the medieval city of Kazan and the military defensive capabilities of the Kazan citadel at the end of the 17th century.

The socio-political situation in the former Kazan Khanate after the fall of Kazan was difficult. Mass popular movements, known as the Kazan or Cheremiss Wars,¹ delayed the final pacification of the Middle Volga region and the final recognition of Moscow's political leadership for decades.² The international situation was tense as well. The danger of an attack on the border from the south-east and south remained quite real, as the rulers of the Nogai Horde and the Crimean Khanate, not without reason, considered themselves to have been deprived of their due share.³ Further, part of the Kazan nobility migrated to these regions.⁴ Ivan IV's agents regularly informed him about attempts to form anti-Moscow coalitions.⁵ Within this context, it is of particular interest to find out how long Kazan functioned as a military fortress, how long the government maintained the fortifications of the Kazan Kremlin in a good condition and

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¹ Kazan or Cheremiss Wars: uprisings of 1552-1557, 1571-1574, 1581-1585, 1591-1592 in the Middle Volga region.

² *Svod* 2011, p. 133-135, 137-141, 145-147, 165, 168-171, 177-181, 245-249, etc.; Kappeler 2001, p. 29; Bahtin 1998, p. 139-172; Ermolaev 1982, p. 16-37; Aiplatov 1990, p. 3-4; <http://www.vipstd.ru/nauteh/index.php/--gn12-06/555-a>, accessed 10 April 2013. Ivan IV and his retinue were probably reconciled to the likelihood of losing Kazan. Chronicler wrote: "... a tsarstvo oskudelo, a Kazani tsaryu i velikomu knyazyu ne zderzhati, uzhzho yeye pokinet" (and the kingdom is depleted, Tsar and Grand Duke will not hold power over Kazan, and he will leave it) (*PSRL* 1904, p. 237).

³ The Crimea Khanate: a medieval state in the Crimea, western Caucasus and Northern Black Sea region, emerging in the mid-15th century as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde. The Nogai Horde - a state of pastoral Turkic people, emerging as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde at the end of the 14th-beginning of the 15th century.

⁴ Mustafina, Trepavlov 2006, p. 193, 196, 200, 206, 237, 241, 255, 269, 288, 304, 311.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 187, 236-237, 331.

what these fortifications were like. This article aims to find answers to these interrelated issues. These aspects have never been studied by any domestic or foreign authors, and have only been alluded to in general studies.⁶

Chronologically, the earliest written records of the Kazan fortress are given in a number of Russian chronicles (the Nikon Chronicle, Lviv, the Royal Book, Kazan chronicles, excerpts from the Russian chronicles, etc.) and reflect events associated with military campaigns in the mid-16th century. However, the evidence is contradictory and poorly comparable.

Information about the Kazan fortress contained in the writings of A. Kurbsky, D. Fletcher, A. Oleariya and others confirms the existence of fortifications in Kazan. Hence, D. Fletcher, an Englishman who visited Russia in 1588 noted that

“in addition, the towns are very well protected by trenches, forts and guns, and there are garrisons of two to three thousand people in every town. In case of a siege they are supplied by a reserve of food for two or three years to come. Four fortresses: Smolensk, Pskov, Kazan and Astrakhan are very well built and can withstand any siege, and that is why they are revered as unassailable.”⁷

The descriptions of the city of Kazan are most valuable for our analysis of the subject under study.⁸ Two descriptions are preserved in the scholarship. The first was carried out in 1565-1568, though the description of the fortifications (walls, towers and gates) was lost, except for the two final phrases.⁹ The second description was made in 1675 and was carried out following the same principles as the one first.¹⁰ The government thus reviewed the fortress's defensive capabilities in the event of a burst of social unrest in this explosive region. The third description analysed here was found in the deposits of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RSAAA, Moscow) and is little-known to scholars.¹¹

⁶ Huttenbach 1988, p. 65-70; Meier 2003, p. 16-25; Kidirniyazov 1997, p. 52-53; Khairutdinov 2013, p. 199-202.

⁷ Fletcher 1906, p. 98.

⁸ There are also geodesic writings by K. Pestrikov 1739, a topographical description of Kazan county from 1785, and a panorama of the city created by A. I. Svrchin by camera obscura in 1763-1764. Different scholars referred to these to various extents: Husin, Sitdikov 2002, p. 3-151.

⁹ Mustafina 2006, p. 43-44.

¹⁰ *Opisanie* 1906, p. 3-11.

¹¹ RGADA, fund 396, opis 3, delo 53, list 1-44.

Study findings

In the latter 16th century the citadel occupied 42,470 sq. *sazhen* (or Russian fathoms, one *sazhen* equalling 2.1336 m). It had five gates: the Spassky, Voskresenskie, Nikolsky, Sergievskie (or Tyumenskie) and Dmitrievskie (Zboyliyve) gates. These gates, which were among the thirteen described in the last quarter of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the 18th century, were classified as passable and except for Sergievskie, later renamed to Preobrazhensky, all retained their former names. The walls of Kazan citadel were interspersed by so called blind and gate towers, these being wooden and stone structures. The total internal length of the Kazan citadel walls, including the length of the towers and gates, was 893 Russian fathoms (1,625.25 m). It is interesting to note that the citadel of Kazan was thus smaller than the wooden citadel of Sviyazhsk (1,200 Russian fathoms) and the predominantly stone citadel of Kolomensk (1,020 Russian fathoms). The length of wooden communications in the Kazan fortress (578 Russian fathoms or 1,051.96 m) is 1.8 times higher than the length of the stone communications (315 Russian fathoms or 573.3 metres).

By the beginning of the 18th century there were no wooden structures left in the Kazan Kremlin. The total length of the walls was reduced from 893 to 726 Russian fathoms. The difference of 167 Russian fathoms should not be seen as a result of displacement from the old ramparts. Rather the reason lay with the different standards of fathoms used over a period of 130-135 years. The state fathom approved by the Council Code of 1649 corresponded to 216 cm, while in the mid-16th century several varieties of Russian fathoms were used: the plain Russian fathom of 152 cm, the “swung” Russian fathom of 176 cm and the bigger Russian fathom of 248 cm.¹² Calculations show that the Russian fathom of 176 cm was probably used for this particular description. The first four gate-towers were located within the stone walls, and the fifth was under a wooden tower (*strelnya*). The remaining eight blind towers had probably been there since the khanate, as the scribes’ final inventory mentions *strelnyas* and towers, although the description was lost. The administration paid special attention to the gates, passage through which was carried out under guard; at night the mayor locked the gates, and the keys were given to the senior military governor.

The senior military governor carried out patrols and personally monitored the young Boyars who formed the guard. Unfortunately, the description of the placement and characteristics of cannon in the towers has been lost. However, in recent years there have been successful attempts to

¹² Mustafina 2006, p. 28.

restore a detailed picture of the protective structures, to locate particular units and elements in the citadel, and to find out the placement of firearms by analysing earlier and later descriptions, archaeological and cartographic data.¹³

According to the description of 1675, the fortifications of Kazan in the 17th century represented a “ring” of fortified stone walls with towers, belted (except for the part adjacent to the Kazanka river) by the second line of the *ostrog* (fortress) and wooden walls. The latter consisted of a parallel (double) range of walls; its stability was ensured by transverse ties in the wooden walls arranged chequerwise. The towers of this defensive line were log cabins. The wooden walls adjoined ditches, sometimes filled with sand.¹⁴ The protective properties of wooden walls have often been underestimated, due to the possibility that wood might catch fire and burn: but it should be borne in mind that non-combustible materials such as soil, sand, rocks, etc. were placed in between the two rows of walls and log cabins, which had perpendicular link beams. When a projectile hit such a wall, there was not enough time for the wood to catch fire, as only the edges of breach charred. The main striking force of the cannonball was “lost,” exploding inside the log, or got stuck inside and due to lack of oxygen did not explode at all. To cause a fire, the besieger had to strike repeatedly and accurately on the same spot, which was not so easy to achieve.

The length of the stone “city” walls in 1675 amounted to 830 Russian fathoms and 9 *vershok* or *top*, that is over 1,793 m.¹⁵ By the beginning of the 18th century it was a little more than 1,568 metres. The walls were 4.32 metres wide and rose 8.64 m above the ground. They were covered with thin sawn planks. On the stone ramparts were twelve towers, four of them - the Spasskaya, Demetrienskaya, Nicholskaya, Preobrazhenskaya - designated as “gate towers.” In addition there was another tower, transformed into the Voskresenskie gates, not included in the final inventory.¹⁶

The comparison of the lengths of the citadel walls recorded in 1565-1568, 1675 and 1702 seem to indicate a decrease from 1,902 m (893 Russian fathoms) to 1,793.2 m (830 Russian fathoms and 9 *vershok*), then down to 1,568 m. If the difference in calculations made in the sixteenth and 17th

¹³ On findings by A. Starkov, A. Sitdikov, S. Sanachin, F. Husin, etc.: Zagidullin 2004, p. 23-47, 62-70, 93-112, etc.

¹⁴ Sitdikov 2004, p 93-112.

¹⁵ *Opisanie* 1906, p. 6.

¹⁶ The list of the towers in the report of 1675 is the other way around, clock-wise: *Opisanie* 1906, p. 3-11.

centuries can be explained by the use of different approaches to the unit scale of *sazhen* or Russian fathoms, the mismatch in the data for the seventeenth and 18th centuries, 27 years apart, is due to the fact that the latter measurement was of the inside rather than the outside length. The outer lengths recorded for the citadel in 1675 and 1702 are practically identical. Therefore the layout of walls did not change in this period; if any changes took place, these were from 1568 to 1675. The number and style of towers remained unchanged (thirteen in all, comprising five rectangular gate towers, one rectangular blind and seven round towers). Hence it can be assumed that the placement of cannons on the fortress walls and towers referred to in the report of 1702 had not changed significantly, and indeed that it remained unchanged for 150 years.

The reference point for the 1702 report was the Spasskaya Tower, from which the remaining towers are consistently listed counter-clockwise. Out of the eight blind towers, seven towers are round and one is rectangular. Three towers (the Spasskaya tower and one on either side of it) are on the same relatively straight line.

The tallest tower stood opposite the Metropolitan stable yard (18 m), the lowest was the Spasskaya tower (7.38 m). However, comparison of heights should be made with strong reservations, because the towers were not built on a flat plane and their height was largely dictated by the nature of the terrain. Noteworthy is the uniformity of the walls and tower roofs (tent-type), indicating that the roofing was most likely carried out simultaneously.

The second circuit of fortifications ran from the Nikolskye gate (north-west), turned sharply and ran back to the fortress on the opposite side, passing the Pyatninskaya church, and approached the Kazanka river or the fortress wall (north-east). There were 24 towers on this circuit before the fire, twelve of which survived (nine octagonal, two hexagonal, one rectangular). Six towers were passable or gate towers - the Tainitskaya, Zmeeva, Elyinskaya, Yamskaya, Varlaamovskaya, Prolomnaya. A section of the wooden walls and towers from Prolomnaya up to the northeastern end (running west/south/east) burnt down, and the *ostrog* wall was erected on the former structure. In place of the twelve towers, three wooden gate towers were built, the Voznesenskaya, Arskaya and Pjatnitskaya, all about the same size and design. In addition, there was a gate tower, the Schelskie Vorota between Arskaya and Pjatnitskaya.¹⁷ Having noted the destroyed sections of the wall and described the ditches, the compilers of the catalogue specified the sizes, telling today's researchers the distance between

¹⁷ RGADA, fund 396, opis 3, delo 53, list 15.

the individual towers and helping define their precise localisation. From the Tainitskaya tower to an intermediate blind tower was 110.5 Russian fathoms (238.7 m), while from the intermediate blind tower between the Zmeevaya tower and Ilinskie gate was 70 Russian fathoms (151.2 m). From the Yamskie gate to the Ilyinskie gate was 200 Russian fathoms (432 m), from Varlamovskie to Yamskikie 75.6 m, and from Voskresenskie to Prolomnaya there 129.6 m. The depth of the moat varied from 1.44 to 4.32 m, the shallowest section being between the Zmeevaya tower and Ilyinskaya Church. The total length of the second line of fortifications was 5,071 m, the citadel accounted for more than 2,592 m and the *ostrog* wall was 2,479 m. The wooden town was 6.7 m high and 2.34 m wide. The Tainitskaya gate tower was the first tower in the circuit that ran from the Nikolskie gates of the fortress. The Zmeeva tower was built directly on the Bulak River, separated from the Tainitskaya tower by two blind towers, the first blind tower of which was passable (the Yaroslavskie gates); the second blind tower was called the Reshotochnaya tower.

On the Zabulachnaya side the fortifications presumably ran along the First Mokraya Street (Mokraya Sloboda) past the Ekinskaya Church towards Varlamovskaya street, turned towards the Bolshaya Varlamovskaya, along the boundary of Yamskaya Sloboda, crossed Sennaya Square and Sennaya Street and reached Evangelistovskaya street. They then presumably continued across the gated bridge over the Bulak and across Lyadskaya street, through Theatre Square to Popova Gora (today Tellman) towards Zasypkina Street and linked on to the Kremlin. Between the Ilinskie and Yamskie, and between the Yamskie and Varlamovskie gates, there was only one blind tower for each intersection. Two blind octagonal towers were built successively in this circuit on the right bank of the Bulak, with access to Epiphany Sloboda through a wicket gate in the second blind tower. The final point of the citadel was Prolomnaya gate tower, leading to the gaol (5.4 m high).

There is no precise indication of where the three unfinished gaol towers stood, though judging by their names they stood at the beginning of Voskresenskaya and Arskaya (later Pokrovskaya) streets and opposite the Pjatrinskaya church. Unfortunately, the manuscript does not specify the location of any towers except for those on the Bulak. It is also inconsistent in describing the fortress' artillery; however, it offers unparalleled information about the defensive capabilities of Kazan and its suburbs.

The inventory of 1702 was compiled during the Great Northern War, in an atmosphere of recent defeat and frantic inquiry into measures to turn the tide of the war. Thus the main focus here was on the quality and

quantity of weaponry available. The inventory report states that the upkeep of the fortifications left much to be desired: not only were the walls very old, but they also showed traces of the last fire in 1694.¹⁸ The stone walls were crumbling in places, the roof was dilapidated and partly burnt down.¹⁹ Parts of the wooden wall (the second, front line of fortifications) were also dilapidated by the spring floods and significantly damaged by fire. The outer circuit of fortifications was severely affected by fires, with twelve out of twenty-four towers burnt down and the walls in between also burnt. The fire of 1694 reduced the length of walls to 355 m (from 5,426 m and 84.5 cm to 5,071 m) by 1702. The inventory records repairs to the burnt fortifications, with rafters for the future wall installed, and some burnt sections from Prolomnaya Street to the Kremlin replaced by *ostrog* walls. In general, the condition of the second line of fortifications was very poor. In place of the twelve towers that were burnt, the garrison built three log cabins. Some towers that survived the fire had no roofs, and by 1702 no construction work had yet started on the walls.²⁰ Consequently, there still was considerable demand for protective structures and the administration of Kazan could not neglect such precautions. However, this part of the fortifications was not fit for purpose, and the enemy could easily launch an assault using passages through the unrestored sections of fortress and the walls of the trading quarter.

Both the Kremlin and the second line of wooden fences had an elaborate system of weapon emplacements. There were three tiers of loopholes in the fortress towers, and the town walls had two levels of loopholes, with significantly more loopholes in the upper tiers (76 and 787, respectively) than in the lower (47 and 89 respectively); the bulk of weapon emplacements were in the top tier (83.6%, or 863 out of 1,032). This suggests a strategy of long-range bombardment, aimed at defeating attacking cavalry.²¹ This particular placement of loopholes was certainly dictated by the presence of another, outer line of fortifications. In 1675, there were 494 loopholes in the towers of the wooden town and 5,134 in total in the town walls. While weapon emplacements in the tiers of the outer circuit towers were deployed almost evenly, the largest number - 175 - was observed in the middle tier (the lower tier had 152 loopholes, while the top tier had 167 loopholes). There are only 71 loopholes in the wall itself on the

¹⁸ N. A. Kudriavtsev oversaw the works personally; from 1706 he was special guardian of Kazan, and in 1709-1726 was the Vice-Mayor of Kazan.

¹⁹ RGADA, fund 396, opis 3, delo 53, list 5-7.

²⁰ Ibid., list 7-11.

²¹ *Opisanie* 1906, p. 3-11.

middle tier (2,652 in the upper and 2,411 in the lower). From this we can conclude that the outer circuit of gun placements was designed equally for long-range and short-range bombardment.

However, the existence of loopholes did not mean that the city of Kazan would have been able to meet the tactical challenge of holding off an attack. The outcome of battle depends on weapons and human resources. Judging by the report of 1702, there was a lack of artillery, arms and ammunition in Kazan. In total, there were 53 cannons of different calibres, 14 of which were copper (71.5% of all copper guns in Kazan and the county), 36 iron (74.3%) and 3 (42.8%) Zatin arquebuses (small-calibre guns). Cannons, shooting balls ranging from 819 g to 3.276 kg, were the major weapons of the citadel. The overwhelming majority of cannons in the outer circuit fired cannonballs weighing from 1.4 to 3.3 kg.²² The most rapid-firing and long-range guns were placed on the front line of defence, providing a dense line of fire that was most advantageous against the Nogai and Crimean cavalry or similar forces. But we find that not all cannons were engaged in defence operations. Out of the 27 towers on both lines of defence and the two gates, three loopholes would inevitably remain disarmed. The arsenal stored in the Armory and Zeleyniy cellar seemed to be impressive: there were 12,578 usable cannonballs, not including 25 damaged during the fire. But the use of ammunition was often problematic, because the calibre of cannons and cannonballs did not match. There were no cannons to fire 9, 10, 15, 30, 32, 45-pound round balls, although these were held in stock, while cannons designed to fire 0.25 to 3.5 pounds cannonballs had no ammunition. As a consequence, out of 53 cannons in Kazan, only 26 were ready to fire. However, there was abundant gunpowder for guns and cannons, as well as enough lead and wick. The incompatibility of cannons and ball calibres was due to the fact that Kazan continued to play a coordinating role in distribution of weapons, repair and maintenance throughout Ponizovie. Thus in 1697-1698, nine cannons of 5 to 28 pounds calibre were brought to Kazan from the Zakamye towns (Zainsk, Novosheshminsk and Starosheshminsk) to be transferred to Simbirsk, and two damaged cannons were brought from Tsarevokokshaisk and Kurmysh, to be transported to Astrakhan for recasting.²³ Nonetheless, out of the 27 towers of both lines of defence and the two gates, three loopholes would inevitably have no cannons.²⁴

²² RGADA, fund 396, opis 3, delo 53, list 39-44.

²³ Ibid., list 17.

²⁴ Ibid., list 14-15.

The situation with the amount of soldiers and their weapons was no better. This was caused by a number of factors: mobilisation of the adult male population for the Northern War and the construction of St Petersburg on the Neva River, the poverty, incompetence and youthful inexperience of serving soldiers, the increasing number of men evading military service, the need to react to violent social unrest in the Lower Volga and Ural regions which threatened to spread to Kazan and Simbirsk counties, building work on the fortifications in Sergievsk, etc.²⁵ All these factors resulted in increased demand for soldiers, and the government was forced to constantly move soldiers from one front to another. In the late 1690s there were two regiments of soldiers in Kazan. 34.3% of soldiers were armed with flintlocks, 16.1% with muskets, 15.5% with *samopals* (Russian arquebuses) and 11.8% with “Turkish” guns. In 1698-99 the soldiers were rearmed with flintlocks sent from Moscow, a total of 915 weapons including 196 barrels and parts. However, in 1704 Kazan’s soldiers had to give away 432 flintlocks to recruits sent to Voronezh, as the 300 flintlocks initially given to them from the treasury were not enough. This was a desperate measure, because the guns sent to Simbirsk were out of order.²⁶ By mid-February 1706 there were only 908 soldiers in Kazan instead of the projected 1,500, and instead of 1,379 Murzas and Tatars due to arrive from different towns, there were only 330.²⁷ However, two companies (260 men) of these 330 soldiers were sent under A. S. Sergeyev to Samara in April 1706. When rebels destroyed two villages of Kazan and Simbirsk counties, and news arrived of their intention to capture a series of forts, the garrison in Kazan was further reduced. By early May, 402 soldiers protected Kazan: but they apparently soon received new orders and left the city.

The defenders of Kazan could choose a matchlock or flintlock weapon requiring only minor repairs from among 278 guns, 16 gun locks and 1,399 gun barrels, only 2.4% of which were undamaged. There were not enough craftsmen to repair them. There were also 2,164 different guns and their elements delivered from 17 different cities or their suburbs awaiting repair.²⁸ Evidently there was no hope of providing all soldiers with guns.

²⁵ Golikova 2004, p. 3-7, 10-11, 13-15, 25-30, etc.

²⁶ It is worth mentioning the diversity of weaponry that gives a very descriptive and detailed picture of the armaments in use not only in the garrisons of regional fortifications but in the Russian army in general. There were firelock and match-lock muskets, arquebuses, granushkas, “Turkish” guns, fusils, shoulder arms, pistols, halberds, cannons and Zatin arquebuses.

²⁷ RGADA, fund 108, opis 1, delo 1, list 1, 4-5.

²⁸ Ibid., fund 396, opis 3, delo 53, list 40.

Nor were there enough skilled commanders. In July 1706, A. D. Mamonov requested that F. A. Golovin send eight officers to take charge of an infantry regiment in Kazan as “many of that regiment’s officers are good for nothing Truly ... a lot are unfit even for lower ranks, let alone to be an officer.”²⁹ At the beginning of the 18th century Kazan would not have been able to withstand even a weakly organised insurgency, let alone a determined aggressor.

Conclusions

In the 17th century Kazan still had two lines of defence: the actual citadel and the second, outer line of fortifications. The condition of the fortifications, especially of the wooden structures of the external defensive circuit was extremely poor, although repairs were undertaken after the fire of 1694. The city lacked soldiers, arms and ammunition. There was no permanent, experienced garrison and the officers in the regiments of incoming soldiers and dragoons were unskilled.³⁰ The government were absorbed by the problems of the Northern War and the uprising in Astrakhan and in Bashkiria, and hence had no special interest in maintaining Kazan.

Therefore it can be concluded that in the early 18th century Kazan would not have been able to withstand the onslaught of even a poorly organised force, let alone a prepared opponent. 72 years later during the Peasant Wars led by E. I. Pugachev, the rebels were able to breach the walls and on 12 July 1774 they captured the city, except for the Kremlin, where government forces took refuge. A fire broke out within the city and destroyed the “wooden town,” and troops led by Lieutenant Colonel I. I. Mihelson came to the aid of the forces inside the Kremlin.³¹ The citadel withstood the attack. The question of changes to the condition of the fortifications in the 18th century is beyond the scope of this article. However, the preservation and promotion of historical and cultural heritage of the Republic of Tatarstan and of the city of Kazan make it imperative to continue research into the history of the city of Kazan and the Kazan Kremlin, and to find and analyse new documentary sources.³²

²⁹ Ibid., fund 108, delo 1, list 1-12.

³⁰ The same issues were present in Astrakhan (Golikova 2004, p. 67).

³¹ Alishev 1973, p. 162-175.

³² Khairutdinov 2013, p. 199-202.

The Defensive Capabilities of the Kazan Kremlin at the End of the 17th Century

(Abstract)

The article studies the condition of the fortifications, artillery and small arms in the Kazan Kremlin, at the end of the 17th century. The socio-political situation in the former Kazan Khanate after the fall of Kazan was difficult. Mass movements lasting for decades delayed the final pacification of the Middle Volga region. Within this context, it is of particular interest to find out how long Kazan city functioned as a significant military fortress. The source base of the study comprised: 1. narrative sources, reflecting military campaigns in the mid-16th century; 2. descriptions of the city of Kazan by G. Sokovninym and A. Nikonovym in 1675, and by N. A. Kudryavtsev in 1702; 3. works by foreign travellers; 4) official letters by A. Dmitriev-Mamonov, a special government agent for military preparations in Kazan during the “Bashkir rebellion.” Analysis of the sources leads to the following conclusions. At the end of the 17th century Kazan still had two lines of defence: the citadel as such (the Kremlin) and the second, outer line of fortifications. The city lacked arms and ammunition. There was no permanent, experienced garrison. The government, absorbed by the problems of the Northern War and the uprising in Astrakhan and in Bashkiria, showed no special interest in maintaining Kazan. However, the militia forces derived from the regular army, commanded by Boyar Prince P. I. Khovanskii, and twelve infantry regiments that arrived with M. Schepotev were ready to put down unrest in the region. Further analysis of the Kazan fortifications requires identifying new period source material.

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Keywords: city of Kazan, the Kazan Kremlin, fortifications, fortress walls, defensive capabilities of the Kazan fortress.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerica. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskoye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archives. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskoy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskije i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

GERMANY AND ITS PLANS FOR “REVOLUTIONIZATION” OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD DURING WORLD WAR I

Iskander Ayazovich GILYAZOV*

Introduction

In the years of the First World War, when Germany was countering the forces of the Entente countries (namely, Russia, France and Britain), its military and political authorities looked for ways to cause the enemy camp to disintegrate. The factor of religion was chosen to play a key role in this endeavour.¹ Islam seemed to be the ideal political tool for propaganda that would impact the Muslim world.²

“Revolutionisation,” “jihad” and Max von Oppenheim

The foreign policy of the German Empire during Wilhelm II's rule was committed to sustaining an active rapprochement with the Ottoman Empire. Germany was interested in weakening possible enemies by means of aggravating mutual contradictions between them, as well as in “revolutionizing” their Eastern colonies by means of Pan-Islamic propaganda,³ interacting in this way primarily with the Ottoman Empire, which had assumed the role of Caliphate - the pan-Muslim spiritual centre with nominal domination over the whole Muslim world. During Wilhelm II's trips to Istanbul in 1889 and 1898 and to Syria and Palestine in 1898, a more effective framework was established for the future advance of German interests in the Muslim East and for German consolidation.⁴ The toast, given by Wilhelm II during a formal dinner in Damascus in 1898,⁵

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¹ Kröger 1994.

² Oberhaus 2012.

³ Pan-Islamism: religious-political ideology based on the idea of the spiritual unity of Muslims of the whole world regardless of social, national or state identity, and the necessity of their political association under the authority of the highest spiritual head - the Caliph.

⁴ Regarding German-Turkish relations up to 1914, see Mühlmann 1929; Kampen 1968; Schulte 1980.

⁵ When the Kaiser visited the grave of Salakh-ad-din (the Egyptian Sultan from 1175-1193 and head of the Muslims' struggle against the Crusaders) in Damascus, a formal dinner was

became the legend that, allegedly, the German Kaiser treated Islam and Muslims on friendly terms, that Germany had never held enmity towards Muslims and that it was their only friend among the European states, which were mostly hostile to Muslims.

The legend developed into gossip: with the efforts of German agents in many mosques and in the markets of Near Eastern countries, rumours were spread that Emperor Wilhelm had secretly adopted Islam, that he had made a pilgrimage to Mecca incognito and that he should be called Haji Wilhelm Muhammad. Some Muslim theologians managed to “discover” encrypted information and hints in the Koran that Emperor Wilhelm was selected by Allah to unyoke the faithful from the rule of the infidel. There were even rumours that the entire population of Germany had followed the lead of the Kaiser and adopted Islam on a mass scale.⁶

Respect was expressed and officially stated to the Sultan and all Islamic world by their “friend for all times,” Wilhelm, but in practice it turned out that Germany took no steps towards rapprochement with the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries. On the contrary, Berlin refused any requests for essential political support from Turkey. For example, Germany stood by in 1908 when Austro-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, hesitant to do anything that would have an impact on their ally in support of the interests of the Turks.

An almost identical situation arose in 1911 when Italy annexed the territory of Libya: Germany again distanced itself from this event, as though expecting Turkey to be weakened by this conflict.⁷

It is possible to believe that at the beginning of the 20th century Germany itself expected serious political initiatives from the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim world as a whole. At this time, politicians, scientists and military men were all considering the potential effects of Pan-Islamic ideology.

Pan-Islamism was established at the end of the 19th century, during the colonial enslavement of the countries of the East by Europeans, as an anti-colonialist movement calling for resistance against alien domination.

organised. During the visit one of the sheikhs assured Wilhelm II that it would bring him not only the gratitude of Ottomans, but also the love and inspiration of 300 million Muslims who held the Caliph in veneration as their spiritual leader. Inspired by these words, the Kaiser proposed a toast: “Let his Majesty, the Sultan and the 300 million Muslims scattered around the world and honouring the Caliph, be sure that the German Kaiser will be their friend for all times. All the best to the Caliph, his Majesty, Sultan Abdoul-Hamid” (Hopkirk 1996, p. 43).

⁶ Ibid., p. 20-21.

⁷ Kampen 1968, p. 70-77; Oberhaus 2012, p. 39.

Afghan theologian J. Al-Afghani, who put forward the idea of the “religious and political union of the Muslim people,”⁸ is considered its founder. This union was originally intended to be purely religious in character. However, it later gained political value and began to be interpreted as a religious-political movement, with the idea of the unity of the whole Muslims world and the need for the formation of a united Muslim state at its heart.⁹ In this regard, Pan-Islamism came to be seen as especially favourable by the Ottoman Sultan Abdoul-Hamid II, as it was a conservative ideology and an ideology of domination which legitimised the designation of the Ottoman Emperor by the title of Caliph¹⁰ - the nominal head of all Muslims of the world.¹¹ Kaiser Wilhelm II was primarily interested in supporting the anti-colonial direction of Pan-Islamic ideology, therefore he gave support to those activities of Sultan Abdoul-Hamid which weakened the position of England, France and Russia in those of their colonies that were occupied by Muslims. To the leadership of Germany, Islam seemed to represent the perfect ideological background for military, political and diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire. The general conceptions of Islam, its doctrines and its prospects in Germany in the late 19th-early 20th centuries were very primitive: for many people, it was seen as an exclusively aggressive religion characterised by “fanaticism, [with a] bloodlust for occupation and the spoils of war.”¹²

The use of the Ottoman Sultan’s authority to exert influence on multitudes of Muslim people became one of the priority directions in German policy in the East, but the German strategists obviously had little knowledge of the Muslim world. Before World War I, connections between Germany and Muslims in the sphere of military-political cooperation were rare and Germans had only a passing acquaintance with the Islamic world.

During World War I, the concept of the “revolutionization” of the colonial world was developed in Germany. To the German authorities it seemed that the colonised people, generally Muslims, were ready to rise against their oppressors, and that Germany could truly help them.

Basic conceptual issues were stated in the memorandum *Revolutionisation of Islamic Areas of Our Enemies*, which represented, in practical

⁸ Hagen 1988, p. 26.

⁹ Ref.: e.g., definition of Pan-Islamism by Landau: Landau 1990, p. 7.

¹⁰ Caliph: title of the Islamic ruler as the head of believers and successor to Mohammed, the Supreme head of the Islamic community who exercises spiritual and secular leadership in the Islamic world.

¹¹ Kampen 1968, p. 62; Hagen 1988, p. 26.

¹² Oberhaus 2012, p. 88.

terms, a project to organise German propaganda in the Islamic world. The famous diplomat Max von Oppenheim was the author of this project.¹³

Oppenheim was born on 15 July 1860 in Cologne, to the family of successful financier and banker, Albert Oppenheim. He studied law in Strasbourg and Berlin. From the early 1880s, his inherent lifelong passion for travel made him the supporter of the expansion of German colonial possessions. Most of all he was attracted by Eastern countries - Turkey, Africa, the Middle East - where more than once he took part in large-scale archaeological excavations. Though Oppenheim was not a qualified, fully-trained orientalist, he had a wide range of acquaintances among politicians, diplomats and scientists from Near Eastern countries. Despite the fact that he was Catholicised right after birth, Oppenheim's background at first meant that he was not allowed to enter the diplomatic service because of his Jewish origin on the paternal side; however, thanks his knowledge, commitment and natural persistence, he became one of the chief architects of the grandiose German propaganda campaign which covered the whole continent.

It was not until 1896 that he was officially engaged by the diplomatic service, having become an attaché in the German Consulate in Cairo. However, in 1910 he was relieved of his duties at his own request and left the diplomatic department, having received the honourable title of "Resident Minister" (one of the diplomatic ranks of that time) and concentrated on archaeological excavations in the Middle East. However, in 1913 he returned to Berlin, and by 1914 was again engaged in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Auswärtiges Amt - AA) where he became the author of the theory of the "revolutionization" of Eastern people. At that time, "he was the only expert on the East who had the required experience and demonstrated his skills and knowledge in numerous papers."¹⁴

In 1915 he was sent to the German Embassy in the Ottoman Empire, where he actively promoted the advance of German interests in the East.¹⁵ From the 1920s, Oppenheim concentrated only on scientific work: in 1922 he became the founder of the Institute for Oriental Studies (Institut für Orientforschung - IfO) in Berlin, after which he carried out archaeological excavations in different countries and published the results of his study. He died on 15 November 1946.¹⁶

¹³ See regarding Max von Oppenheim: Caskel 1951; Studt 1999; Kröger 2001; Schwanitz 2004c; Bragulla 2007, p. 20-23, 91-92; Kreutzer 2012, p. 35-50.

¹⁴ Kröger 1994, p. 368.

¹⁵ Bragulla 2007, p. 20-23.

¹⁶ Müller 1991, p. 193-200.

It should be noted that during his extensive travels to Eastern countries Oppenheim developed the persistent beliefs that Pan-Islamism as a unifying ideology possessed serious potential,¹⁷ that the Turkish Sultan as the nominal head of all Muslims had huge influence on them, and that Germany had considerable authority within the Islamic world.¹⁸ He came to these conclusions after considering the results of the analysis of the Muslim press (this was one of the main directions of his activity in General Consulate in Cairo), as well as through numerous meetings and conversations with various representatives of the Muslim world.

The memorandum *Revolutionisation of Islamic Areas of Our Enemies* was the result of his activity in Cairo and, later, his service in the political department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Germany. Oppenheimer submitted this detailed document in October 1914 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from where it was transferred up to the Supreme Headquarters for presentation to the Kaiser.¹⁹

The concept of revolutionization was based on the theory of “jihad,”²⁰ i.e. the struggle for the protection and dissemination of Islam, by means of which, Oppenheim considered, it was possible to raise the Muslim world against alien domination. It is worth mentioning the fact that Oppenheim cherished the idea of jihad in the interest of Germany and related it to the revolutionization of the Muslim world for quite a long time. Even in 1898 when he was on diplomatic service in Cairo, he had made an informative note, which was sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, entitled *Pan-Islamic Movement*. According to some historians, this document, which was full of fancies and conjectures, was the initial step in the German policy of the revolutionization of Muslims.²¹ I here take the liberty of offering a rather expansive quote, as it clearly illustrates what the German diplomats, politicians and military expected from “sacred war.” Regarding jihad, the diplomat wrote:

“Jihad, sacred war against the Unfaithful or the infidel, has changed its ideas and philosophy throughout time: instead of the purely aggressive character

¹⁷ Kon 2012, p. 211-252.

¹⁸ Schwanitz 2004b, p. 28-59.

¹⁹ The memorandum *Die Revolutionierung der islamischen Gebiete unserer Feinde* is stored in the Political Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany in Berlin (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes - Parch.AA), R 20937, Bl. 53-195. When cited below, separate references are not given. The text in full was published in 2001: Epkenhans 2001, p. 121-163.

²⁰ Jihad: a notion in Islam meaning diligence on Allah’s way. Commonly, jihad is associated with armed fighting, however the notion is much wider.

²¹ Hagen 1988, p. 31; McCale 1997, p. 201; Schwanitz 2004a, p. 29.

it had in earlier times, it now has more defensive character. Moreover, today it is difficult to predict in advance its consequences and aftereffects if a passionate appeal and exhortation to fight is made, for which Muslim people are adequately prepared. Even without declaring jihad at all, the Sultan of Constantinople in the last war against Russia received monetary donations and volunteers from all Muslim countries [...]. The Muslim world ceased to be a uniform state long ago, but the Pan-Islamic idea has remained and will always remain.... It is worth remarking that Germany has great authority with the Muslim people, as it proved to be a friend of the Sultan when he was in a distressing situation.”²²

Oppenheim considered influence on the Ottoman Empire to be the key element, having great impact upon Muslims; as he wrote in the opening passage of this voluminous document, “The main prerequisite for revolution in Islamic areas controlled by our enemies is intensive interaction with Turks under the banner of the Sultan-Caliph, namely the establishment of an organisation with clear aims.”

Oppenheim outlined the main directions for the implementation of this “campaign”:

“1. Propaganda: Overcoming all dubious military communications distributed by our enemies regarding the state of the war, correct explanation of the military situation, [encouragement of] sedition and appeals to revolts against our enemies as well as support of those.”

2. Military advance of Turkey without which it would be absolutely impossible to consider the ‘revolutionization’ of certain countries, such as Egypt or the Muslim regions of Russia.”

Oppenheim considered weakening England, as the largest colonial power, to be the primary mission objective. It was clear that the most important (according to him “even crucial”) focus of propaganda activity had to be Egypt and India. Subsequently, the “successful war of Turkey against Russia in the Caucasus” had to be the next step. The third most important undertaking was the revolutionization of French colonial areas in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

The main tool in preparing for military action, according to Oppenheim, was

“propaganda explaining the true martial situation and at the same time taking aim at other countries’ domination, to be distributed among all Muslims of the enemy countries, which will be more effective if it is systematic and purposeful.”

²² Oberhaus 2012, p. 95.

Such propaganda had to "bear the sign of the Sultan's glory and be carried out on his behalf and in his name." Oppenheim believed that the Sultan would call for a sacred war and for freedom from foreign domination as soon as Turkey entered the war. However, he warned that this call for jihad should not be turned against the "Kafir" (the Unfaithful) as a whole, but only against particular "rulers." "Turkish military engagement on the Black Sea or somewhere else," according to the author of the document, "will be the best tool for propaganda."

The text of the memorandum confirms that Oppenheim best understood the general political and military situation in those in Eastern countries that he had been to. Owing to this, he gave lengthy comments on what policy Germany ought to pursue concerning these states. At the same time, he had only a vague idea of the conditions in which the Muslim people of Russia lived and how they understood their mission in life. His idea of the position of the Caucasian people was slightly better, but his reasoning about people in Central Asia, and even more so those in Inner Russia, was specious. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that the memorandum was related to the revolutionization of all Muslim people who were under the domination of the Entente (which included the Russian Empire), so it is worth examining in detail Oppenheim's judgments and observations concerning the present and the future of the Muslim peoples of Russia as stated in the memorandum.

To the German diplomat, Russian Muslims represented quite a powerful force - according to his data, 19 million Muslims lived in the Russian Empire, i.e. 11% of the population of the whole country. As described in Oppenheim's project, a "campaign in the Caucasus" against Russia was of primary importance: he considered this the ideal place to carry out the functional propaganda of "revolutionization." In his opinion, it was possible to carry out propaganda in Caucasian countries only after the destruction of the Russian fleet, though it was necessary to work only where the local population would accept Turkish troops as liberators. Propaganda was primarily supposed to influence Muslims in the Caucasus, to support their insurrectionary movements by all means, since

"despite their small numbers, in certain areas in particular, Muslims represent the most effective, courageous and strong part of the population of the Caucasus, which even in times of peace have created major problems for Moscow."

To support Muslims in the Caucasus, Oppenheim suggested using former Caucasian refugees - the so-called "Muhajirun"²³ - who had moved to Turkey because of conflicts with Russians. To start with, he recommended estimating the number of combat-effective Muhajirun in Turkey, then to carry out propaganda work among them and to form military units for subsequent departure to the Caucasian front. He emphasised that many authoritative Muslim émigrés lived in the Ottoman Empire who could be useful in organising propaganda, placing special emphasis on newspaper and magazine publishers. It is curious to note that Oppenheim suggested seeking support among Russian citizens as well - specifically naming in the memorandum Zeynalabidin Tagiyev, an Azerbaijani millionaire businessman and patron of arts (who was also an "ardent enemy of Russia who has recently been seeking to organise cooperation of the Russian Muslims with Constantinople"). Allegedly, Tagiyev, who had visited Berlin after the beginning of war, promised upon return home "to secretly work on countrywide revolutionization." Probably in this case Oppenheim was indulging in wishful thinking, as by the start of the First World War Tagiyev was more than 90 years old and a genuine pragmatist not inclined to political adventures. The fact that during the war years his name is not mentioned in archival documents as a propagandist or revolutionary on the part of Germany proves this.

As for other Muslims of the Russian Empire, Oppenheim noted that "the population of Bukhara, Samarkand, etc. is mainly quiet" and that only the Muslims of Fergana would probably respond to a call for "jihad." Meanwhile, to raise the European Muslims, he considered, would hardly be possible, despite their being "in most cases highly spiritually developed and adherents of the Sultan-Caliph." This then, was the limit of everything Oppenheim knew about the Muslims of Russia. Practical steps concerning this part of the population of the Empire also followed from this "knowledge."

"The activity begun in Constantinople needs to be continued vigorously. It is also necessary to try and use the press and, first and foremost, the religious schools in the Muslim centres of European Russia, especially in Kazan, Orenburg and Ufa."

The general conclusion of the memorandum is stated in very optimistic tones for Germany, with a special emphasis that "Islam for us is the most effective weapon in the fight against England" and that in all parts

²³ Muhajirun: Originally designated Muslims who, in the time of Prophet Mohammed, moved from Mecca to Medina in 622. It is often used in the sense of immigrant or settler.

of the Muslim world the Kaiser "has outstanding authority and universal, deep and heartfelt respect."

Oppenheim's activity at the beginning of the jihad campaign has led some researchers to describe his role as the founder of the concept of revolutionization and even to call him "the father of jihad."²⁴ However, the origin of the idea of revolutionizing the Islamic world cannot be attributed to only one individual; as S. Oberhaus notes, "jihad didn't have one father, there were several among whom Max Oppenheim was the major birth attendant."²⁵ Oppenheim was not actually the author of the master plan of "revolutionization," he only systematised available information, supplementing it with ideas and documented processes that had already begun.

According to German historian Maren Bragulla, in the memorandum Oppenheim "made the strategy of destabilisation be conceived of as a liberating war of the Muslim people against western colonial domination."²⁶ German Islamic scholar H. L. Müller, evaluating the role of Oppenheim in the jihad campaign organisation, suggests that he was certainly the first supporter of the alliance of Germany with Turkey and the Pan-Islamic movement. However, his project, he noted, was only a comment upon all the offers and information that had been sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the Ottoman Empire previously.²⁷ The reason Oppenheim - who was not admitted to the diplomatic service despite trying three times - could gain the trust of ruling elite and take such a significant position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in late 1914 - early 1915, Oberhaus explains, is that he was in the right place at the right time. When military circles recognised the failure of the Schlieffen plan and stated the hopelessness of the situation, there was no alternative left to Oppenheim's project: it was beyond competition. This contributed to his social significance in the eyes of the governing body.²⁸ This was the pinnacle of his decisive role in the Eastern policy of Germany: in March, 1915 he left Berlin and went to Istanbul to organise the Representative Office of the Information Service for the East. There he continued his activities on propaganda as an auxiliary, indirect worker. Such a fast dispatch of the main inspiration and author of what was apparently a promising and successful military-political and

²⁴ Hagen 1988; Schwanitz 2004a, p. 9 (in this paper V. Schwanitz calls Max von Oppenheim "Abu Jihad").

²⁵ Oberhaus 2012, p. 118.

²⁶ Bragulla 2007, p. 3.

²⁷ Müller 1991, p. 201.

²⁸ Oberhaus 2012, p. 119.

propaganda project perhaps proves that it went wrong and left much to be desired; that the idea of revolutionization needed adjustment.

Generally speaking, in historical literature, opinions on Max von Oppenheim and his role in the history of World War I (primarily regarding the Eastern direction taken by German diplomacy and policy) are contradictory. For some, he was the main guiding force of German military policy in relation to colonised populations, its soul and key personality,²⁹ whereas for others his role in Germany's Eastern diplomacy before and during World War I was not particularly great.³⁰ In our opinion, there is no unambiguous assessment of this undoubtedly complex and questionable personality. It is enough to remember and consider that the concept of jihad (as the call of the Ottoman Empire to "sacred war against the Unfaithful" was referred to) was widely used in the vocabulary of the German military and diplomats in July-August, 1914, whereas Oppenheim's memorandum in its final form was submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs only in October 1914. Nevertheless, without doubt it is possible to consider that Max von Oppenheim was, if not the "father" of the idea of jihad, one of the initiators and leaders of "sacred war" propaganda.³¹ Having stirred the large-scale propaganda campaign into action, he was not, however, responsible for its consequences.

Still we agree with the opinion of Herbert Müller who noted:

"Oppenheim's 'achievement' lies in his attempt to put together a series of vague, complicated, uncoordinated, and partially fantastic projects which were sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the political section of the General Staff, to check whether they were true, and to collect them within one establishment. In this sense he really was the pivotal figure of the German military policy in the East."³²

Revolutionisation did not, in practice, work out as Oppenheim envisaged it - the Islamic world was too distinctive and diverse; the great collapse of the idea was noticed practically immediately, though Germany did make efforts to bring Muslims onto their side in their campaign against the Entente countries. Life made allowances: the plans made at the beginning of war,

²⁹ McCale 1997.

³⁰ Treue 1969.

³¹ It is interesting that Peter Hopkirk, in his very clearly and vividly-written book, calls Max von Oppenheim not only the "father of the idea of jihad," but also gives him a very extraordinary name, calling him one of the "hawks of Kaiser Wilhelm" (as he calls the Chief of General Staff, H. von Moltke, steel manufacturer A. Tissen, etc.) (Hopkirk 1996, p. 76-77).

³² Müller 1991, p. 203.

“were in consecutive communication with pursued policy in the East, but at the same time they could not be considered to follow the course of former concepts. On the contrary, they were aftereffects of the cliché foreign policy accepted by the public that had already gone down. In these conditions the strategy of revolutionization could never succeed.”³³

Conclusions

Max von Oppenheim’s memorandum is an extremely important document which provides an opportunity to discover what Germany expected from cooperation with Islam and the Islamic world in the years of war, as well as how it planned to bring about this cooperation. The document is certainly highly verbose, full of repetitions, nonsense and unreasonable expectations; however, its analysis is useful in understanding specific actions of Germany concerning the Muslim world as a whole, and Muslim prisoners of war in particular.³⁴ The memorandum has many weaknesses, as many of the author’s proposals were reduced to mere declarations; he paid scant attention to the difficulties which could emerge in the implementation of his plan of revolutionization and, therefore, could not supply any clues as to how these difficulties might be overcome. It is necessary to say that Oppenheim’s biggest mistake was his belief that the Muslim world, despite its variety and diversity, could be manipulated as a whole, and that a small push would be enough to raise it up against “the Unfaithful.” In other words, revolutionization in the years of World War I can be considered as a chimera, a myth. Nevertheless, a more profound and detailed study of the plans for revolutionization, as well as analysis of all attempts of the German Empire in the years of World War I to use the Islamic factor to achieve political goals, are relevant and timely. Now, in times of the growth of Islamophobic tendencies around the world, when the Islamic world is evaluated one-sidedly and often very superficially, re-evaluation of the experiences of collaborative engagement and interaction between Germany and Muslims in 1914-1918 would be very useful both for historical researchers and for politicians.

³³ Kröger 1994, p. 372.

³⁴ Interestingly, Oppenheim in 1940, under completely new conditions revived the idea of revolutionizing the Muslim world in German interests, although he had long been retired from politics. See: Schwanitz 2004b, p. 39-42.

Germany and Its Plans for “Revolutionisation” of the Islamic World During World War I

(Abstract)

The article dwells on the attempts of Germany to use the Islamic factor as a tool to apply pressure on the Entente countries during the First World War. Representing itself as “the friend of Islam,” Germany tried to oppose the so-called “colonial world” of England, France and Russia. Muslim prisoners of war were subjected to propaganda manipulation in “special” camps, in order that they might, according to the understanding of German strategists, become proponents of German influence in Muslim countries. The German diplomat and famous archaeologist, Max von Oppenheim, became the main theorist behind the idea of using “sacred war” and the author of the idea of the “revolutionization” of the Muslim world. The purpose of this article is to define the main characteristic features of the specified policy of revolutionization. The concept of revolutionization was based on the theory of “jihad” (i.e. struggle with the aim of defending and disseminating Islam) by means of which, Oppenheim believed, it would be possible to raise the Muslim world against alien rule and domination. The Ottoman Empire was to carry out a leading role in the revolutionizing of Muslims. It was thought that the declaration of jihad by the Sultan would create internal difficulties for the Entente military forces, whose colonial holdings were home to millions of Muslim citizens. Max von Oppenheim’s memorandum is an extremely important document, which provides an opportunity to observe what Germany expected from the collaboration with Islam and the Islamic world in the war years, as well the methods it planned to use to bring about this cooperation. It could be said that Max von Oppenheim’s biggest mistake was to believe that the Muslim world, despite its variety and diversity, could be controlled and manipulated as a whole, and that a small push would generally be enough to direct its energies against the “Unfaithful.”

Bibliographical Abbreviations

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| Caskel 1951 | - Werner Caskel, <i>Max Freiherr von Oppenheim</i> , in ZDMG, 101, 1951, p. 3-8. |
| Epkenhans 2001 | - Tim Epkenhans, <i>Geld darf keine Rolle spielen, II. Teil, das Dokument [Max von Oppenheims großer Djihad-Plan]</i> , in AO, 19, 2001, p. 121-163. |
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- Keywords:** World War I, Islam, foreign policy, Germany, Entente, revolutionization of the Islamic world.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

THE GERMAN QUESTION IN THE STATE DUMA OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE ON THE EVE OF AND DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR, OR HOW “RUSSIAN GERMANS TRANSFORMED FROM FIRST-CLASS CITIZENS OF RUSSIA INTO A SUBJECT OF HATRED”

Rustem Arkad'evich TSIUNCHUK*

Introduction

To study national policy in the late Russian Empire, and especially in the World War I, period through the medium of the dynamics of government attitudes towards the Germans living in Russia, as reflected in polemics in the first Russian parliament (the State Duma),¹ it is important to outline four circumstances of the modern historiographic situation. Firstly, World War I was the first event on a world scale where universal national identification and ethnic mobilisation occurred. The second feature is connected with the fact, noted by Austrian researcher Andreas Kappeler, that “historians often have a tendency to consider the history of their own nation as a single instance.”² For this reason separate national histories very often do not fit the general context, and in Russian history there is no place for comparison of various national components from the common past. The third circumstance is that any findings depend on how widely and objectively these national histories are comprehended and treated. In the last few decades, the range of methodological approaches and means of research has been considerably extended.³ Through one of these approaches - a methodological prism of categories: “ours-others-strangers” - it is possible to trace much more deeply and widely and to understand more adequately the contents and dynamics of various ethnic questions, in a context of not only the domestic, but also the foreign policy of Russia. The

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¹ State Duma of Russian Empire: the first all-Empire electoral legislative setting (1906-17) in Russian Empire. There were four convocations: the first from 27 April to 8 July 1906; the second from 20 February to 2 June 1907; the third from 1 November 1907 to 9 June 1912; the fourth from 15 November 1912 to 25 February 1917.

² Kappeler 1997, p. 125.

³ Anderson 1991; Neumann 1999; Tsiunchuk 2004; Hobsbawm 1987.

fourth feature is that the State Duma became a kind of a mirror in which not only sociopolitical, but also ethno-confessional processes of the late Russian Empire were quite clearly reflected. Due the fact that in the First World War the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires became opponents of the Russian Empire, the appreciably-sized German population of the Russian provinces and regions (*oblast'*) came to be seen as the “fifth column,” - a hidden internal enemy - by the ruling powers and in state propaganda. This situation is still insufficiently reflected in academic literature, even though interest in the problem of national representation in the Duma, including the German question, has been a feature not only of foreign,⁴ but also domestic⁵ literature in the last few decades.

Study Findings

To understand this problem it is important to ask: What was the nature of the “German question” in Russia? According to statistics from the First General All-Russian Census of 1897, with a population of almost 2 million, Germans formed the eighth-largest national group among the peoples of the Russian Empire. Catholics took third place among the religious confessions of the Empire, and Protestants the fifth. In the late Russian Empire (1860-1917) there appear, in the official discourse on ethnic-religious issues concerning the unity of Russia, constructs such as “we,” “not us,” “ours,” “others,” “strangers” and “aliens,” with regards to the Russian/Orthodox, Polish/Catholic, German/Protestant populations as well as other national and religious confessional communities. The concepts “we” and “ours” primarily embraced representatives of “the Russian tribe (*russskoe plemya*)” - the “large Russian nation (*bolshaya russkaya natsya*)”⁶ - consisting of Great Russians (*Velikorossy*), Little Russians (*Malorossy*) and Belarusians, but not the Slavic people of European Russia professing Orthodoxy (which included a considerable proportion of Russianised Germans). The majority of “non-Russians” at the western periphery - the “others,” “strangers,” “aliens” (which included Germans, Poles and Jews) - had relatives abroad and lived in the borderlands of the Empire. They had their own history and differed in their political and legal status.

⁴ Brzoza, Stepan 2001; Chmielewski 1970; Jurkowski 2009; *Kompromis* 2009; Lukawski 1967; Martin 1996; Dahlmann, Trees 2009; Wierzbowski 1966.

⁵ Tsiunchuk 1997; Baach 2002; Tsiunchuk 2004; Tsiunchuk 2007; Baach 2007.

⁶ “Large Russian nation (*bolshaya russkaya natsya*): a modern term, interpreting the policy idea dominant in the late empire of a unified Orthodox Russian nation including Great Russians (*Velikorossy*), Little Russians (*Malorossy*) and Belarusians.

Traditional regions of German habitation were the Baltic provinces (home to 9.2% of all Germans in the Russian Empire in 1897) and the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland (home to almost a quarter or 22.7%): both regions which had been incorporated into the Russian Empire in the 18th-beginning of 19th centuries. The privileges of the German aristocracy and the burghers long remained at the heart of the management of the Ostsee provinces;⁷ it was only in the last decades of the 19th century the unsuccessful policy was undertaken of replacing Germans in the region (mainly of noble family) with Russians, in order to address specifically the Ostsee German question. Provinces of European Russia (in which 66.3% of all Germans in the Empire lived) - including the Volga region and Southern Ural (home to 22.5%), New Russia⁸ and Tavrida (21.1%), Volhynia (11.7%) - were areas of compact habitation by German settlers, who had been arriving in the country in large numbers from the middle of the 18th century from the German states, Austro-Hungary and other countries.

In the system of relations “ours-others-strangers-aliens,” the common attitude towards Ostsee Germans (who were loyal to the monarchy) as well to the many hundred thousands of German immigrants in other provinces, was quite benevolent: they were more likely to be considered as belonging to the “ours-others” end of the spectrum. The German question in the Baltic provinces and Ukraine began to be raised at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, initially only in the context of agrarian matters. As for the rebellious Poles, neighbours to the Germans in the Kingdom of Poland and the western regions during this period, they remained firmly in the political plane of “others.” From the second half of the 18th century, German - mainly Ostsee - aristocrats, military men and officials were actively incorporated into the Empire’s elite; there was a significant German component amongst military and civil employees, intelligentsia, businessmen and craftsmen. Although in places of dense German habitation in the Baltic and Western regions,⁹ such as the Volga-Ural and South Siberian provinces, the German language and traditional (Protestant or Catholic) religions were retained, in the capital and large cities the

⁷ Ostsee/Baltic provinces: from Germany to the Eastern (Orient) Sea. The Baltic provinces included Kurland, Lifland, Eastland; presently parts of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

⁸ New Russia: Novorussia, the name of the territory at the south of Russian Empire, including the Kherson, Ekaterinoslav and Tavria provinces, sometimes also including Bessarabia province and the Kuban; presently in Ukraine, Russia, Moldova.

⁹ Western region (krai) - The Western region of Russian Empire, including nine provinces: Kovno, Vilna, Grodno, Minsk, Vitebsk, Mogilev, Kiev, Podolsk and Volhynia; presently parts of Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Latvia, Russia and Poland.

proportion of Germans accepting Orthodoxy and beginning to identify themselves as Russians, was substantial.

It is important to point out that the establishment of the Duma, and in particular its electoral system and consecutive election campaigns, considerably accelerated the formation of national identity amongst the peoples of the Empire. The rulers, being afraid of over-representation by the appreciable non-Russian/non-Orthodox populations in remote areas, decided to build an electoral system according to a “double standard”: normative for provinces and oblast of European Russia and down-sized in borderland regions (Poland, Caucasus, Turkestan, Siberia, etc.), thus creating a new ethno-political geography of the regions of the Empire. This grouping also concerned the German population. Standard rates of representation in the main Provision of Elections to the State Duma from 6 August 1905 were applied to 51 provinces and parts of European Russia (where not only Russian provinces, but also multi-national regions were found; among them the Baltic, Northwest and Southwest provinces, and the Middle Volga region where almost 1,400,000 “ours-others”-rated Germans lived). The down-sized rates of representation were fixed on the basis of additional Provisions for elections in remote areas in nine borderland national regions, including Poland (where 400,000 Germans lived), the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia (over 50,000 Germans), Central Asia and Siberia (over 12,000 Germans) and other remote areas, and extended to the German population in the Kingdom of Poland. In the areas where non-Russian curiae were created, Germans were counted as Russians. In the system of the first Duma, the rates of representation in Polish provinces appeared to approach that of the central ones, and in the Baltic provinces they were even lower. By our calculations, the average rate in provinces of European Russia appeared to be 228,000 thousand residents to one deputy, in the Baltic provinces it was as low as 207,000, and in provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, 254,000.¹⁰ This electoral system showed the determination of the authorities to manifest high degree of tolerance to Germans not as non-Russians, but as heterodox Christian peoples of the western part of the country, thus designating new features of their integration in the system of “ours-others-strangers.” This can be explained by the fact that after the revolutionary explosion of 1905, many in government believed that German barons, Ostsee burghers and German settlers loyal to the government were less dangerous enemies than the revolutionised worker or rebellious peasant. Germans in the Volga region recognised certain ethno-confessional shared interests and on the eve of

¹⁰ Tsiunchuk 1997, p. 407-409.

elections to the First Duma suggested establishing a special electoral German unit in the Saratov province (Kamyshinsky, Saratov and Atkarsky districts).¹¹ This petition was rejected.

The issue of political representation of the interests of the German population of the Ostsee provinces was tackled by the Baltic Constitutional Party, formed in October 1905, which united the Monarchy Constitutional Party in Mitava,¹² the Liberal Constitutional Party in Libava¹³ and the Constitutional Party in Estland.¹⁴ A deputy of the Third and Fourth Dumas, Baron Aleksandr Feliksovich Meiendorf (who in 1907 was a member of the Central Committee of the Union of October 17 and chairman of the Petersburg Committee of German Octobrists¹⁵ and an outstanding member of Octobrists factions in the Duma) was one of the most remarkable figures of the Baltic Constitutional Party.

The Baltic Constitutional Party was ideologically close to the centrist Union of October 17. In its political Program (1908) the future of Russia was represented in the form of a heritable constitutional monarchy with two legislative chambers. This party was against general suffrage, assuming that their proposed order of elections would provide

“whenever possible, to all the levels of population and, in particular, to the minority ... representation corresponding to their cultural, economic and social value.”¹⁶

Their manifesto promised the realisation of civil freedoms though cancellation of “various decisions constraining freedom of religion [and] giving equal rights to all citizens before the law through cancellation of all current distinctions of nations, religion and nationality, ... including those concerning Jews.” It also offered to provide “freedom of use of local languages, both in public life and before the court,” proposing a “requirement for ranks of judicial and administrative departments to know local languages in order to be recognised in the Baltic provinces,” as well as promoting the use of local languages in education.¹⁷ The party also came out in favour of the expansion of local authorities’ responsibilities and self-management. Much attention was given to the development of the local judicial system, with plans laid out for an increase in the number of local

¹¹ RGIA, fund 1544 *Osobogo soveschaniya, obrazovannogo pri Gosudarstvennom sovete dlya obsuzhdeniya voprosa o gosudarstvennykh preobrazovaniyakh* (1905-1906), opis 1, delo 10, list 277.

¹² Mitava: presently Jelgava, Latvia.

¹³ Libava: presently Liepāja, Latvia.

¹⁴ *Formy* 1910, p. 463.

¹⁵ Octobrists: members of the moderate Liberal Centrist Party “Union of October 17.”

¹⁶ *Programmy* 1996, p. 338.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 338-339.

district courts, the introduction of class representation and the establishment of a special appellate court in Riga for three Baltic provinces.¹⁸ According to a contemporary commentator, during the elections to the first two Dumas, German and Latvian national parties competed with each other, arguing over whether a German or a Latvian representative should be sent to the Duma, and in the third election campaign:

“on the grounds of experience of the previous elections, being convinced in the power represented by the workers’ party, they pre-emptively joined the union...; on the main national question [natsyonal’nom voprose] of language, a well-known agreement was reached.”¹⁹

In the elections to the First State Duma, German representatives lost to Latvian, Estonian and Jewish candidates, who formed a block with representatives of the Constitutional Democratic Party (the Party of “National Freedom”). Thanks to the new electoral law of 3 June 1907 and an agreement between the Baltic Constitutional Party (BCP) and the Latvian Conservatives, it was possible to seat two BCP candidates, who were aligned with the Octobrists in the Third Duma.

The Duma appears to be the first place in the history of the Russian Empire where the pressing issues of Russian, Polish, German, Baltic, Jewish, Catholic, Mennonite and other groupings were legally addressed and actively debated. All the people of Russia acquired the right to present their interests during the elections and in the Duma, to form nationally-based political elites and to master parliamentary political culture.

However, only four deputies of the First State Duma were registered as Germans. They all represented immigrant communities: Andreas Widmer, a Lutheran farmer, deputy of a district zemstvo (local government) assembly in Bessarabia province; Ivan Minkh, the Lutheran headman of a German colony in Kherson province; another Lutheran, Jacob Dietz, a lawyer and journalist from Saratov province; and Heinrich Schelhorn, a parish foreman, owner of a printing house and deputy of the provincial and district zemstvo assembly of Samara province. Minkh was an independent (non-party) deputy, A. Widmer a member the Octobrist faction, H. Schelhorn a constitutional democrat faction, and J. Dietz a member of the Labour (*Trudovik*) group. H. Schelhorn was a member of the agrarian commission, whilst J. Dietz, the most active of the German representatives, took part in three commissions: one administrative, one on civil equality and one on the Duma buildings.

¹⁸ *Programmye* 1996, p. 46.

¹⁹ *Formy* 1910, p. 465.

The activity of the First State Duma (27 April-8 July 1906) lasted for only 72 days. In connection with the opening of a debate on political and agrarian reform, it was dismissed by Nikolay II. All the German deputies signed the bill of civil equality, carried on 15 May 1906 with the signatures of 151 deputies.²⁰

In the Second State Duma (20 February-2 June 1907) there were also four Germans. Three of them joined the Union of October 17 faction: a landowner and Lutheran Johann Gerstenberger (from Bessarabia province); a Lutheran deputy public prosecutor of the Odessa district court and large landowner, Ludwig Lutz; and the Catholic landowner and bailiff, Thomas Zentner (the last two being from Kherson province). A Lutheran manager of a “Zinger” sewing-machine shop in Samara province, Alexander Kling, joined the Constitutional Democratic faction. The most active and authoritative amongst them in the Duma was L. Lutz, a member of three commissions: on budget implementation, on inquiries and on personal immunity. J. Gerstenberger worked in the agrarian commission, and T. Zentner took part in the commission on freedom of conscience. All the German deputies in the Duma defended the idea of equality of languages and creeds. The government brought to the Second Duma a number of creed-related bills, for example, one which abolished criminal punishment for converting from Orthodoxy to any other faith (these bills continued to be discussed up to the Fourth Duma). In fact, the only German issues raised in the First and Second Dumas had to do with the opposition of Latvians and Estonians to privileges enjoyed by German landowners. In this regard, the Latvian deputy of the First Duma, a lawyer from Kurland province called Janis Kreicberg, claimed:

“I speak here as a representative and as a mouthpiece of needs of Kurland peasantry ... a simple Latvian peasant freed by the Act of October 17 from the centuries-old and heavy governance by the feudal [i.e. German] aristocracy.”²¹

He noted the extreme injustice of the agrarian reforms of 1817 in Kurland province, when the local Latvian peasant

“was given only freedom, without any land - that is a bird’s freedom; ... landowners leasing or selling the rented sites ... kept for themselves almost all the rights, transferring only the burdens and duties with the rented land ..., they kept for themselves the hunting rights, the fishing rights, the

²⁰ *Duma* 1906, p. 379.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

distillation and brewing rights, the right to run an inn or tavern, the right to establish factories and plants.”²²

The director of the Mutual Loan Society, Estonian Oscar Rütli (Lifland province), speaking of the specific connection between agrarian and national questions in Baltic region - where 62% of all the land in Lifland was concentrated in the hands of 900 major landowners, while over one million peasants had access to only 38% - described necessity of redistribution of private property and land:

“Though our peasants were under a German yoke for 700 years without land and were not [treated as] people but things, nevertheless, in their consciousness the idea of the right to property and land remained.”²³

The Latvian deputies, disagreeing with the all-Russian program of the Kadet (Constitutional Democratic) Party, suggested implementing the agrarian directives of the Latvian Constitutional Democratic Party: “passing all the country’s lands over to the peasants, introducing a standardised rate for land acquisitions, and the abolition of privileges for noble families and restrictions on peasantry.”²⁴ The Second Duma also introduced an agrarian anti-feudal land management bill for Estland province. Discussion of political reforms and the agrarian question again brought about dissolution of the Second Duma.

After this, the government rejected the possibility of parliamentary dialogue with representatives of multinational community and so, on 3 June 1907, it changed the electoral law in order to reduce representation of national borderlands (Poland, Caucasus, etc.). In the Third and Fourth Dumas (elected under the changed law with privileges for the large real estate owners and under conditions of rigid administrative pressure) the number of Germans grew considerably, mainly at the expense of nominees who had been put forward by the curiae of large landowners in Kurland, Lifland and Estland provinces. The Third and Fourth Dumas had 13 and 10 Germans respectively,²⁵ and the number of Orthodox deputies of German origin was several times higher. In the Third State Duma (1 November 1907-9 June 1912) 13 deputies described themselves as Germans. Amongst the Lutherans were the secretary of the City of Revel (Tallinn) Mutual Loan Society in Estland province, Otto Beneke (Octobrist); the head of the city of Pernov (Pärnu), Lifland province - an actual state councillor - Oscar Brackman (Octobrist); a large landowner of Ufa province, Julius Blümenthal

²² Ibid., p. 497.

²³ Ibid., p. 496-497.

²⁴ *Formy* 1910, p. 462.

²⁵ Tsiunchuk 1997, p. 87-88, 412-413.

(Kadet²⁶); a landowner of Taurian province, Heinrich Gelvas (Octobrist); former deputy public prosecutor of Odessa district court and large landowner who served in the Kherson land-bank, Ludwig Lutz, (Octobrist); a lawyer from Riga, Ervin Moritz (Octobrist); Baron Hans von Rozen from Lifland province (Octobrist); a landowner from Samara province, Nikolay Rothermel (Octobrist); an adviser of the Kurland Mutual Loan Society, Baron Gamilkar von Felkerzam (Octobrist); a Chamberlain of the Court (*kamenger*), Baron Alfred von Schilling from Estland province (Octobrist); and a factory manager from Riga, who was also vice-president of the Baltic Constitutional Party, Robert Ergardt (Octobrist). Herman Bergman (Octobrist), a member of the district zemstvo executive board in Ekaterinoslav²⁷ province, director of the Ekaterinoslav children's orphanage and large landowner, was a Mennonite; and finally, Baron Alexander von Meiendorf from Lifland province was Orthodox.

Thus, in the Third State Duma, 12 Germans participated in the Union of October 17 faction, which occupied a leading position in the Duma and fluctuated in its policy from cooperation with Piotr Stolypin's cabinet to antagonism with the government. Baron Alexander von Meiendorf (Lifland province) was elected deputy to the chairman of the Duma; Baron Gans von Rosen (Lifland province) became the secretary of the confessional commission; Robert Erhardt (Riga) was the secretary of the commission on implementation of the state budget (from the third session Herman Bergman (Ekaterinoslav province) was a member of six commissions in the Duma.

Many figures in the Duma and Octobrist faction were Russified Germans, such as Emmanuel Benigssen (vice-president of the Octobrists faction), Vasily von Anrep (vice-president of the Octobrists faction and chairman of the commission on national education), Baron Evgeny Tissenhausen (chairman of the commission on labour), Baron Alexander Kruedener-Struve (a member of six commissions), Herman Lerche (treasurer of the Central Committee of Octobrists and the chairman of the financial commission) - the last two being Lutherans registered as Russians - and others. The German deputies were active proponents of the moderate-liberal course of Union of October 17 Party. On the whole, they showed loyalty to the Emperor's power and his intention to promote evolutionary transformation of all the political and socio-economic systems of the Russian Empire, and consistently supported the establishment of ethno-

²⁶ Kadet: member of the liberal Constitutional Democratic Party (The Party of "People's Freedom").

²⁷ Ekaterinoslav: presently Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine.

religious equality. Supporting agrarian reform and options for resettlement projects, the German deputies strictly adhered to the idea of the rights to private ownership of land and property. So, even in discussion on the agrarian program at the second All-Russia Congress of Octobrists in May 1907, Baron Rosenberg, on behalf of the German faction within the Union of October 17, declared:

“We Germans do not wish to be charlatans, selling false goods, and we say directly that right to own property should be sacred. Otherwise it is the same expropriation which we blame.”²⁸

The German issue as an independent question was not officially raised during the period of activity of the Third Duma, though some attempts were made. In 1908, in response to publications in the press, there was some official correspondence about the influence of the Pan-German Union²⁹ in the Baltic provinces. The chief of the Riga security department confidentially informed the temporary Governor General of the Baltic region, A. N. Meller-Zakomelsky, that:

“a clique of German noblemen in the Baltic region ... namely the first representatives Baron Pilar-von-Pilhau, His serene Highness Prince Liven and Count Delinshausen, are using their appointment for the Germanisation of the region, even changing their settlement for St. Petersburg. They will help the National Union [Alldeutscher Verband - Pan-German Union] with pleasure, and help Germany to openly Germanise the Baltic region by the peaceful establishment of education, hoping to see the black, white and red columns (die Schwarz-Weiß-Rot Flagge - Flag of German Empire) on the borders of Vitebsk and Pskov provinces.”³⁰

However, this correspondence, which reached even P. Stolypin and Nikolay II, led to no direct consequences. In 1910 Stolypin's government tried to give the problem of the peasant shortage of land in the southwest provinces (Volhynia, Podolsk, Kiev) not only an anti-Polish character (as was standard after the rebellion of 1863) but an anti-German character as well, by limiting the acquisition and use of real estate by colonists of “non-Russian” origin. In an explanatory note to the bill, it was observed that in 1910 German colonists possessed over 700,000 tithes (*desyatin*) of land, that is, over 10% of the suburban land in Volhynia province, and that these immigrants “persistently maintain their isolation and estrangement from

²⁸ *Partiia* 1996, p. 334.

²⁹ Pan German Union: Alldeutscher Verband, social and political association (1890-1930) whose main goals were the raising of German patriotic consciousness, the support of German interests abroad and the promotion of efficient German politics.

³⁰ *Diiakin* 1998, p. 251.

Russian people whom they, as the local authorities can bear witness to, treat with hostility, pride and contempt.” Thus, the German natives “according to their political convictions, language, customs and religion are entirely too close to their foreign relatives and to the centres of foreign cultures.”³¹ After a discussion held on 10 May 1911, the Union of October 17 faction agreed to reject this bill were it tabled for discussion in the general meeting of the Duma. Due to the counter-reaction of the Octobrists and also of influential Russian-German politicians (for example, Baron A. von Meiendorf was Stolypin’s cousin) the government withdrew the bill.³² And so the German question was raised by the government, but remained latent for the time being.

It should be noted that from the beginning of 1910, the escalating international crisis and rise of anti-Austrian and anti-German tendencies in the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs began to exert increasing influence on the national policies of the Russian Empire. Around this time, the Pan-Slavic movement³³ also developed. The German question began to be heard in the context of the Polish question. Leaders of the Polish movement suggested changing the inflection of discourse in the Russian system of “ours-others-strangers.” The head of the Polish kolo³⁴ in the Duma, Roman Dmowski, declared in the book *Germany, Russia and the Polish Question*³⁵ that Germany was the enemy of the Poles, being a more powerful, assimilatory force, and that in the increasingly likely case of world war, the Poles would support Russia, in order to achieve an association of Poles with uniform autonomy as a part of Russia. Hoping for dialogue with Stolypin’s government, Dmowski declared in the Third Duma that

“the growth of the state area and the heterogeneity of its structure in particular makes bureaucratic and centralist management impossible, especially when competition between the foreign policies of Russia, Japan, England and Germany is on the rise, and a healthy basis for the country [is required].”

Hence, in Dmowski’s opinion, it was necessary “to transfer the burden of many affairs which are solved ... centrally, in Petersburg, to the provinces.”³⁶

³¹ Baach 2002, p. 62.

³² *Partiia* 1996, p. 385.

³³ Pan-Slavic Movement (*Panslavism*): social and political movement (late 18th-20th centuries), underlying the idea of the need for Slavic national political unification on the basis of ethnic, cultural and linguistic kinship.

³⁴ Polish kolo (*Kolo Poskie*): Polish national faction in the parliaments of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian Empires.

³⁵ Dmowski 1908.

³⁶ *Duma* 1908, p. 341-343.

The government, however, remained rigid on this matter: a number of anti-Polish and anti-Finnish bills were brought to the Duma and raced through with the support of pro-government factions. Most of the German deputies, together with the majority of Octobrists, supported the main direction of these laws, which aimed to strengthen the unification of the Russian Empire.

The Ostsee German aristocracy were again rather successful in elections to the Fourth Duma. In the Fourth State Duma (15 November 1912 - 25 February 1917) 10 deputies registered themselves as Germans. Lutherans included the head of the city of Weissenstein (Peide) of Estland province, Oscar Brasche (Octobrist and, after the fourth session, non-party deputy); the district leader of the nobility in Estland province, Karl von Brevern (Octobrist, after the fourth session non-party chairman of the commission on the replacement of servitude in the Warsaw general governorship and Kholm province³⁷); the manager of Imperial porcelain factories, Master of the House (*Hoffmeister*) of Lifland district nobility Nikolay von Wolf (Octobrist, after the fourth session non-party deputy); the former deputy of public prosecutor of the Odessa district court and large landowner, Ludwig Lutz, from Kherson province (Octobrist, then a member of the progressive block, and the secretary of the commission on orders); advisor to the Kurland credit union, Baron Gamilkar von Felkersam (Octobrist, after the fourth session non-party deputy); a large landowner from the Don Cossack region, Joseph Zimmer (adjoined to the Progressists block); and head of the City of Fellin (Viljandi) Otto von Engelhardt (Octobrist, non-party deputy since the summer of 1915). The Fourth State Duma had two German Mennonites: a member of the district zemstvo executive board in Ekaterinoslav province, Herman Bergman (Octobrist, a member of the Progressists block) and a merchant from Tavrian province, Peter Schröder (supported the Progressists block). The Orthodox German and prominent Octobrist Baron Alexander von Meiendorf (Progressive block, chairman of the editorial commission in the Duma) was again elected as a deputy from Lifland province.

At the very start of the Fourth Duma's activities, the German question was put again, this time by the Vladimir Kokovtsov's government, which introduced a bill to restrict foreign land tenure not only in three Southwest provinces, but in Bessarabia as well. Several sessions of the Central committee of the Union of October 17 were held where this question was discussed; Deputy L. Lutz and Professor K. Lindeman, both

³⁷ Kholm province: this new province was established and isolated from the Kingdom of Poland on the eve of World War I; presently in Poland.

prominent Octobrists, as well as representatives of colonist communities delivered speeches. L. Lutz declared that “it is impossible to specify any fact on the basis of which it would be possible to deny the loyalty of German colonists,” demonstrating that they “have no spiritual communication with Western Europe” and even that they find it “easier to assimilate with Russians than Tatars or Poles do.”³⁸ During this period the Octobrists, led by the Party chairman Aleksandr Guchkov, shared the German representatives’ negative opinion of the new anti-German bill, which was again rejected by the State Duma.

The First World War of 1914-18 marked a watershed in the history of the Duma, and indeed in Russian history generally. After the declaration of war in a session of the Duma held on 26 July 1914, representatives of all the peoples of the Empire declared their support for the Russian army and the power of the Supreme Emperor. However, the former ethno-religious problems of the Empire were soon exacerbated by new national phobias and conflicts. Of all these fresh concerns, the German question was the sharpest. Ludwig Lutz declared to the Duma on behalf of German settlers:

“the hour has come ... when the Germans inhabiting Russia ... will endeavour to protect the dignity and honour of the great state and to put paid to the insulting assumption that Russian-Germans could possibly commit parricide.”³⁹

Baron Gamilkar von Felkerzam of Kurland spoke on behalf of

“the faithful German population of the Baltic region, always ready to rise to the protection of throne and fatherland and to sacrifice life and property for the unity and greatness of Russia.”⁴⁰

As though in response, the rector of Novorossia (Odessa) University, Sergei Levashov, declared that the history of “600 years of co-habitation” with Germans showed “their execrable national features: unreasonable, monstrous egoism, stupid arrogance, [and - R.T.] contemptuous estrangement from the host people.” He also stated that the German Joint Headquarters had made the decision “to organise Mazepism⁴¹ in primordially Russian lands to bring about the destruction of Russian power

³⁸ *Partiia* 2000, p. 391.

³⁹ *Duma* 1914, p. 26.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴¹ Mazepizm (*mazepinstvo*): from the name of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa, who came over to the side of King Karl XII from Peter I’s during the Russian-Swedish war; in Russian nationalistic discourse it has a negative meaning, in the modern Ukrainian one it has a positive meaning.

by German gold.”⁴² The leader of the Union of Russian peoples, Nikolay Markov (Kursk province) represented German colonists as the worst “internal enemies,” advising the government “to expel Germans and deprive them of the lands, ... goods and industrial property which they have grasped in their tenacious paws,” and also to forbid the sects of Shtundists, Mennonites and others, which “agitate against Russian religion and struggle against the spiritual forces of the Russian state.”⁴³ A threat was perceived both in the pacifism of the Mennonites, Baptists and Adventists, and in their communications with their “brothers in faith” in Germany, Austro-Hungary and other countries.

Already at the start of the war in September 1914, the Commander of a special unit of the Gendarmes, General V. Dzhunkovsky, was investigating reports of disloyalty on the part of the German population of the Ostsee provinces. He reported to the Minister of Internal Affairs that the Germans,

“maintaining their cold correctness, attract to themselves censure by aspiring to observe their own interests (concealment of the best horses, etc.) [and] by abstention from patriotic demonstrations;... some Baltic Germans have already left to join the German army.”⁴⁴

Pogroms and deportations from the frontline followed, along with the formation of a special Duma commission on the struggle against German domination⁴⁵ (established on 11 August 1915 on the basis of a proposal by 37 right-wing deputies)⁴⁶ consisting of four subcommittees: on German landed property, commercial and industrial holdings, banks, and Baltic affairs. These inquiries represented a peak of an anti-German sentiment in State policy. The new Prime Minister, Boris Sturmer, even convinced deputies that the struggle against German domination would halt the rise in prices and provide citizens with more food.⁴⁷

In 1915, in contravention of the Duma and justified on the basis of the 87th Article of the Fundamental Laws of the Russian Empire, laws on the restriction of landed property and land tenure by Austro-Hungarian and German “citizens and natives” were adopted. Discussions on the results and consequences of these confiscatory laws took place in 1916-1917. By

⁴² *Duma* 1915, p. 67.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 128-129.

⁴⁴ Diiakin 1998, p. 261.

⁴⁵ German domination (*Germanskoye zasiliye*): the slogan of excessive influence of Germans in Russia that became the basis of the state anti-German policy during World War I.

⁴⁶ *Duma* 1916, p. 237.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1223.

the beginning of 1917, plans were afoot to confiscate up to 6 million tithes (desyatin) of land, belonging at least to a half-million proprietors.⁴⁸ Unexpectedly, the waves of repressions also affected Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians and representatives of other nations. Deputy Janis Goldman (Kurland province), observing that “an overwhelming majority of Latvians had German surnames and practiced the Lutheran religion” appealed to the Duma:

“Let the Russian people and representatives of Russian power not treat them as enemies on the basis of these signs, for their heart beats as hot as heart of each Russian patriot; all of them have brought to the altar of the native land their sons and property; they may be poor, but they are with Russia.”⁴⁹

Thus, during the war Germans were transformed from “ours” into “strangers.” Kadet Fedor Rodichev (Saint Petersburg) specified this metamorphosis:

“Germans were [once considered] the best for reliability. What has changed is that Germany declared war against Russia and Russian-Germans have gone from being supreme, first-rate citizens of Russia, to a subject of hatred. The curse ‘Germans!’ can be heard from quarters where before now there had been praise, and where German power had been considered to support true Russian policy.”⁵⁰

Prominent Octobrist, Baron Gamilkar von Felkersam, participated in the Duma tribune against rising Germanophobia:

“We are collecting materials for refutation of all these gossips, untrue reports and rumours. ... [D]espite systematic and far-reaching cynicism and persecution, despite deeply offensive attitudes towards us, which are indefensible and lawless, we Baltic Germans ... unshakably and up to the bitter end will do our duty before the Tzar and Empire.”⁵¹

Being disappointed in the Octobrists, German deputies left the faction en masse.

Thus we see that on the eve of and at the start of World War I, practically all minorities in remote areas, whether formerly considered “ours” or “others,” were transformed by the policies of the Imperial powers - and not without the aid of the Duma right or the tacit consent of the Octobrist majority - into the category of “strangers,” which exacerbated the general conflict and contributed to the breakdown of the Empire.

⁴⁸ Lohr 2012, p. 128.

⁴⁹ *Duma* 1916, p. 181.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 417-418.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Conclusions

Considering from the perspective of the anti-German national policy enacted by Russia during the First World War, it becomes evident that the Imperial policy of dividing Russian citizens along religious and national lines could not, under any conditions, lead to unity amongst the citizens of the Russian Empire or consolidation around the idea of protection of the homeland. On the contrary, it served as a primary factor of national rejection.

The German Question in the State Duma of the Russian Empire on the Eve of and During the First World War, or How “Russian Germans Transformed from First-Class Citizens of Russia into a Subject of Hatred”

(Abstract)

This article examines the national policy of the late Russian Empire in the period leading up to and during World War I, based on the example of the “German question.” Attitudes towards Russian-Germans are considered through a prism of categories “ours-others-strangers,” examining how archival materials such as verbatim reports of the State Duma sessions (1906-1917), documents of political parties and other sources refer to this national group. It is shown that the German question, in comparison with more extreme ethno-religious issues regarding Polish, Jewish or Muslim communities, was on the periphery of the government national policy in the early days of the Duma.

With the beginning of World War I, however, the attitude towards Russian Germans changed drastically. The issues of “German domination” and treachery started to be sounded more pointedly in the Duma. It can be seen that during this period the national question was sharply aggravated, xenophobia and intolerance increased, and the German and Ukrainian questions were linked despite the comparative loyalty of the German community and the Duma’s substantial German elite.

Pogroms, deportations of Germans from the frontlines and the formation of a special commission on the struggle against “German domination” in the Fourth Duma represented a peak of anti-German policy. In 1915, in contravention of the Duma, laws on the restriction of land property and land tenure by Austro-Hungarian and German “citizens and natives” were passed. Repressive measures affected up to half a million “enemy citizens of Empire.” Thus, during the war Germans transformed from “ours” to “strangers.” German deputies, disappointed in the politics of Octobrists, shifted to other factions. The crisis of Imperial national policies, reflected in the Duma, manifested in a new anti-German course by the ruling powers, developed against the background of strengthening xenophobia and ethnic intolerance, which in fact aggravated the general conflict and hastened the subsequent disintegration of the Empire.

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Keywords: Russian Empire, ethno-confessional identity, Mennonites, Orthodox Germans, German question, refugees, anti-German repressions.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijskaja na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolyucii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

SOVIET-POLISH RELATIONS REGARDING THE VISIT OF GENERAL V. SIKORSKI TO THE USSR (30 NOVEMBER-16 DECEMBER 1941)

Yakov Yakovlevich GRISHIN*

After the defeat of Poland in September 1939, a government-in-exile was formed in France, headed by General V. Sikorski.¹ Shortly after this, the general also took the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Polish armed forces. Representatives of the Pilsudchiks, the Endeks, right-wing socialists and Lyudovtses joined his cabinet. In its first statements, the government in exile underlined that their main aim was “victory over Germany and the exclusion of Europe Bolshevization.” Its activities were based on the theory that there were “two enemies” of Poland (Germany and the USSR).²

But with the USSR's entrance into the war, the government-in-exile (which had moved in London in summer 1940 after the defeat of France) was obliged to change its tactics. On 23 June 1941, Sikorski gave a speech on the radio, directed to the Soviet Government, in which he offered to cooperate with them in order to fight against Hitlerite Germany.³

The Soviet leadership responded positively to Sikorski's words. Negotiations between the Prime Minister of the Polish government-in-exile and Supreme Commander-in-Chief, General V. Sikorski, and the USSR's Ambassador to England, I. M. Maysky, were initiated in London.⁴

These negotiations were difficult. Nevertheless they finished with the signing, on 30 July 1941, of an Agreement between the USSR government and the Polish Republic Government regarding the re-establishment of diplomatic relations and the creation of a Polish army in the territory of the USSR.

“1. The USSR government recognizes the Soviet-German treaties of the year 1939 concerning territorial changes in Poland as null and void. The

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¹ Kwiatkowski 1942, p. 12.

² Manusevich 1952, p. 334.

³ *Pravda*, 24 June 1941.

⁴ *VPSS* 1944, vol. 1, p. 132-138, 146, 191-192.

Polish Government declares Poland is not bound by any agreement with any third party which is directed against the Soviet Union.

2. Diplomatic relations will be re-established between both governments upon the signing of the present agreement and the immediate exchange of ambassadors will be executed.

3. Both governments are mutually obliged to provide each other with help and assistance in the war against Hitlerite Germany.

4. The USSR government expresses its consent to the creation in USSR territory of a Polish army under a commander appointed by the Polish government. The Polish army in USSR territory be operationally subordinate to the USSR High Command, which will include representatives of the Polish army. All details concerning command organization and the use of this force will be settled in a subsequent agreement.

5. The present agreement comes into effect immediately from the moment of its signing and is not applicable to ratification. The present agreement is drawn up in two copies, in the Polish and Russian languages, each carrying equal legal force.”

Minutes of the following content are attached to the Agreement:

“The Soviet government grants amnesty to all Polish citizens currently imprisoned in the Soviet territory as prisoners of war or on other sufficient grounds, effective from the reestablishment of diplomatic relations.”⁵

Let us direct our attention to the point concerning the army. It was precisely the creation of such an army - the only real force at the Polish government-in-exile's disposal whilst based in London - that was the main aim of General Sikorski's military policy. From his point of view, the presence of an army accords importance in the international arena, and if Poland was lucky, at the point the war came to an end, such an army would make it possible to return power to the hands of the Polish bourgeoisie and landlord class.

The Russian side also had its own vision. On the one hand, it was committed to the execution of Allied obligations. On the other hand, it was felt that a joint march against a mutual enemy would radically change the interrelationships between two states and lay the groundwork for friendship and post-war cooperation of states and nations.

The political aspect of the formation of the Polish army was also important, and even more so was its participation in battles on the Soviet-German front line. Besides this, in the first hard months of war, successes of the Russian command were due in no small part to the participation in operations of every new combat force, especially the army.

⁵ DMISPO 1973, doc. no. 133, p. 208; *Pravda*, 31 August 1941.

In order to implement the agreement of 30 July 1941, representatives of the Soviet and Polish commands signed a further military agreement on 14 August in Moscow, concerning details of the creation of a Polish army in USSR territory.⁶ General V. Anders was appointed as this army's commander.⁷

Despite many difficulties, this document began to take effect.

The Soviet government appointed Major General Zhukov Georgy Sergeevich to address the question of forming a Polish army in the USSR, and Colonel Volkovyssky was appointed as his permanent liaison officer at Polish army headquarters. General A. Panfilov was appointed as Commissioner of the General Headquarters of the Red Army, Marshal Shaposhnikov became Deputy Chief of the General Headquarters and Colonel Evstigneev was appointed to the role of permanent liaison officer of the Red Army in Polish army headquarters.

A mixed Polish-Soviet military commission was created which could address organizational issues such as the mobilization of interned soldiers and volunteers and provisions for the newly-formed army.

In one of its early meetings, the locations for stationing army troops (in Buzuluk, Tot'sk, Tatishchevo) were determined, and plans were made to have the Polish units ready for action by 1 October 1941. Participants agreed that these units would consist of career soldiers who already had experience of war.⁸

In these first weeks, General Anders spoke in favour of accelerating the pace at which these divisions were formed. As per his proposal, it "was recognized as expedient that at the termination of each division's combat training they should be sent immediately to the Soviet-German front line."⁹ Both these proposals corresponded to provisions in the military agreement of 14 August 1941.

The Soviet leadership did everything possible to support the formation of Polish units. As an article in *The Times* by U. Retinger (who acted as interim Polish Ambassador to Moscow until the arrival of S. Kot) noted:

"The Russian government gave practical evidence of its desire that a Polish army should be created as soon as possible, and provided the correspondent territory for training in the east of Volga. Having represented its own needs

⁶ Ibid., doc. no. 140, p. 217-218.

⁷ Anders 1950, p. 76.

⁸ Parsadanova 1982, p. 51.

⁹ Ibid., p. 52.

to the governments of Great Britain and United States, the Soviet Union took into consideration provision for a Polish army of several divisions.”¹⁰

A women’s auxiliary service was also formed. With regards to the position of the Poles, Dr Retinger said that they welcomed General Sikorski’s new policy direction with great enthusiasm and were ready to do everything in their power to provide a firm and reliable basis for future Russian-Polish relationships.¹¹

Discussions between Ambassador Kot and the USSR’s Deputy People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs, S. A. Lozovsky, indicate the Soviet leadership’s goodwill and their aspiration to help the Polish side.¹²

By the beginning of winter, several Polish military units had been formed. General Sikorski decided to visit the Soviet Union to negotiate with its leadership and visit the Polish army training grounds.¹³

The Soviet leadership agreed with Sikorski the best time for his arrival in Moscow, as is evidenced in a note from Molotov S. to Sikorski dealing with this specific matter.¹⁴ At that time, Sikorski was in Egypt, from where he issued an order in which he underlined the great importance of the Polish army in the USSR. In this order we read:

“As the Phoenix rises from the ashes, in spite of numerous difficulties, there is a new Polish army in Russia. Her divisions, together with Soviet troops, accept an indefatigable battle for the freedom, unity and independence of Poland.”¹⁵

As per the arrangement of 30 November 1941, Sikorski arrived in USSR from Tehran on an official visit. In Kuibyshev, he was met by the USSR’s Deputy Chairman of the Council of the People’s Commissars, A. Vysinsky.¹⁶

On the day of his arrival, Sikorski was received by the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, M. I. Kalinin. The first ever visit of the head of the Polish government to the USSR, according to Soviet government opinion, was of great significance “for strengthening the friendly relations between the two Governments, as well as for the further conduct of the war against our common enemy.”¹⁷ An official comment was published in which it was noted that “the arrival of the head of

¹⁰ DMISPO 1973, doc. no. 133, p. 229.

¹¹ Ibid., doc. no. 148, p. 229.

¹² Ibid., doc. no. 149, p. 230-233.

¹³ Anders 1950, p. 76.

¹⁴ Pobóg-Malinowski 1960, p. 196.

¹⁵ *Polskie siły zbrojne* 1975, p. 277.

¹⁶ Novikov 1989, p. 107.

¹⁷ *Pravda*, 30 November 1941.

government of a friendly Poland is undoubtedly a positive moment, as it strengthens the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Polish Republic.”¹⁸

On 2 December, Sikorski flew from Kuibyshev to Moscow. At the Central Airport, he was met by a group of Soviet representatives headed by V. Molotov. The Polish guests were accommodated at the Hotel Moscow.

The next day, as reported by the newspaper *Pravda*,

“in the evening, in the Kremlin, the Chairman of the Council of the People’s Commissars of the USSR and the People’s Commissar of Defence, Comrade I. V. Stalin, received in the presence of the People’s Commissar on Foreign Affairs, Comrade V. M. Molotov, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic, General V. Sikorski. General Sikorski was accompanied by the Ambassador of the Polish Republic, Mr. Kot, and the commander of the Polish Army in the USSR, General Anders. The talks lasted more than two hours.”¹⁹

In spite of a critical situation on the front line that day, Stalin found time for negotiations with the Polish head of state. The talks covered a wide range of issues, mainly military: the expansion of the Polish army contingent, its maintenance funding, its location for the period of its formation in Central Asia, and the resettlement of Polish citizens there.²⁰ The Soviet negotiators also raised the question of the principles regarding borders, but the Polish head of state avoided discussion of this. Negotiations between the Polish delegation and the leaders of the Soviet government continued the following day.²¹

As evidenced by the minutes of these talks, they were sometimes strained. According to Kot, “The Soviets hoped to discuss the outstanding problems of Soviet-Polish relations (borders, the conclusion of agreements of friendship).” However, Sikorski missed these opportunities, limiting the discussion to two issues: the Polish population in the USSR and the army. This was likely explained by the fact that Sikorski was assuming

“the possible defeat of the Soviet Union, without realising that it was only a matter of hours before the great attack under Moscow (would commence), and that during his visit he would have to congratulate the Soviet government with the defeat of the fascist German troops near Moscow.”²²

¹⁸ *Pravda*, 2 December 1941.

¹⁹ *Pravda*, 4 December 1941.

²⁰ Stanisławska 1965.

²¹ DPSR 1961, doc. no. 156-164, p. 231-243.

²² Kot 1955, p. 82-98.

Anders added fuel to the fire, representing the army's position in the darkest colours. Sikorski, without knowing all the intentions of his subordinate and his plans for the withdrawal of the Polish units from the Soviet Union, supported him based on what he had heard.

However, the Prime Minister knew better than Anders that the USSR was an important source of reserves who could swell the ranks of the Polish army, since attempts to recruit soldiers amongst Poles living in the USA, Canada and Latin America, had failed. That, incidentally, was a kind of reckoning for the improper treatment of American-Canadian Poles who had arrived in the newly-recreated Poland in 1918 in order to protect it. Having fulfilled their duty, these soldiers should have been sent home by the Polish leadership. However, the government treated the fate of their expatriate countrymen with disregard, leaving them to make their own way back - in other words, abandoning them to their fate. Given this, it is unsurprising that the appeals of the Polish government-in-exile in London were left unanswered by the Polish diaspora in the USA, Canada and Latin America.

It was no accident, then, that Sikorski questioned the withdrawal of the whole army from the Soviet Union, and furthermore put forward a proposal to increase its strength and to identify new training areas in the southern regions of the USSR. Stalin agreed to increase the ranks of the Polish Army and to the armament of one more division, the rest to be done at England and the United States' expense. In the end, Moscow took the following decisions on military questions: the army would consist of seven divisions (up to 96,000 people), who would be transferred to Central Asia. Their equipment, armament and food would be distributed according to the norms of the Red Army, and they would be sent to the front line only after receiving military training for combat readiness; all Polish citizens liable for call-up should be drafted to the Polish army, wherever they might be; and a new loan would be granted for the army's maintenance.²³

Besides this, the Soviets agreed to the evacuation of 25,000 soldiers to the Middle East and Great Britain, and to the discharge of Poles serving in labour battalions who would be transferred to the disposal of the Polish authorities.

Seeing the favourable attitude of the Soviet government towards increasing the ranks of the Polish Army, Sikorski, despite promises to Churchill, agreed that the army would remain in the Soviet Union and would take part in battles on the Soviet-German front line.

In his letter to Churchill, Sikorski explained his position as follows:

²³ DMISPO 1973, doc. no. 180, p. 271-272.

“If I had demanded the evacuation of the Polish army, I would never be able to recruit new soldiers and would not bring any benefit to the Polish civil population, which is currently in Russia.”²⁴

In addition to the above, the Soviet government adopted all the new proposals of the Polish side aimed at improving the situation of Poles in Soviet Union territory, agreeing to the organization of additional diplomatic missions on the ground, granting a loan of 100 million rubles to assist the civilian population, and permitting the further organization of embassy delegates in places with large concentrations of Poles.

In the end, as a result of two days of talks, the important practical issues were solved and the Declaration of Friendship and Mutual Aid between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the Polish Republic was signed, by Stalin on behalf of the Soviet Government, Sikorski on behalf of the Polish one. In the declaration, both governments, “filled with spirit of friendly agreement and combat cooperation,” proclaimed that the Soviet Union and Poland, together with Britain and other allies, and with the support of the United States, would “fight the war to complete victory and the final destruction of the German invaders,” that the Polish army in the USSR territory would “fight the war against the German robbers hand in hand with the Soviet troops” that after the war they would collaborate to ensure a “just and lasting peace.”²⁵

This program of military cooperation opened up the prospect of genuinely friendly relations between the two neighbouring countries and their governments.

While in Moscow, Sikorski spoke on the local radio,²⁶ and an interview with him was published in the *Red Star* (*Krasnaja zvezda*). In honour of his eminent Polish guest, Stalin gave a dinner party at the Kremlin. Sikorski’s meeting with Stalin was of great importance. A documentary “The Stay in Moscow of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic, General V. Sikorski”²⁷ regarding the visit of the Polish head of state was filmed and widely advertised.

On 5 December, Sikorski and those who accompanied him flew back to Kuibyshev. As is known, that day the Red Army began a counter-offensive near Moscow. On 7 December, General Sikorski arranged a great reception at the Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev, and on 10 December he

²⁴ Stanislawski 1965, p. 254.

²⁵ *Pravda*, 5 December 1941.

²⁶ *Izvestia*, 5 December 1941.

²⁷ *Pravda*, 5 December 1941.

went by train to Buzuluk in order to inspect the Polish army garrisoned there.²⁸

In Buzuluk, Sikorski mustered the Polish forces and signed a decree conferring new ranks to 130 officers. On that occasion, he gave a speech in which he stressed the importance of the Polish-Soviet treaty. He noted that he was accepted with joy by all the Polish people, and that no one gives Poland to the Poles: they must take it themselves. A new Poland, as Stalin said in the Kremlin, should be bigger and stronger than the pre-war Poland.²⁹

Also in Buzuluk, he organized a reception in honour of the army commanders at the Polish Army headquarters. At this reception he gave a speech, repeating the basic provisions of the Declaration of December 4th, and was met with thunderous applause from the guests and officers of the Polish Army. General Anders words elicited no less applause: "For me personally, it would be a cause of great happiness to receive the first operational order of the Soviet High Command to march to the front line."

From Buzuluk, General Sikorski went to Totskoe - a settlement in Chkalov area where the 6th and 7th Divisions of the Polish Army were garrisoned, and from there to Tatishevo, in the same area, where the 5th Division was accommodated. In both camps, Sikorski attended military parades and religious ceremonies, arranged receptions and delivered patriotic speeches.³⁰

In an order published on the occasion of his visit to Totskoe, he stressed that "in the joint struggle of Polish and the Soviet soldiers will be forged a happy social and political future for our two countries and the people living in them."³¹

In general, "Sikorski was satisfied with the inspections he conducted of military units in Totsk and Tatishevo."³² The troops looked very fine and Sikorski was welcomed everywhere enthusiastically. The 5th Division made the greatest impression on him. The Supreme Commander-in-Chief was pleased by what he saw, and forgot about the worries and doubts that oppressed him in the first days of his stay in the Soviet Union.

In Saratov, Sikorski and General Zhukov concluded an agreement regarding cooperation in the field of military intelligence and

²⁸ Klimkowski 1959, p. 165-166.

²⁹ Novikov 1989, p. 109.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ *Dziennik Polski*, 24 December 1941.

³² Żaroń 1988, p. 168.

communications between underground organizations in the country and the relevant Soviet military authorities.

On 15 December, Sikorski sent a telegram to Stalin, in which he wrote:

“Minister Vishinskiy informed me about the new victories achieved by the heroic Red Army on the front lines of the enemy offensive. I express to you, the Leader, the creator of this army, my admiration for these actions in the fight for a common goal, the goal of people’s freedom. I am deeply convinced that the current victories in the south of and near Moscow are harbingers of a decisive and final victory in the nearest future.”³³

On 16 December, according to N. Novikov:

“Saratov authorities gave a dinner party in honour of the General, then invited him and all his companions to see a play at the Moscow Art Theatre, *The Three Sisters*. On the morning of the 17th, solemnly escorted by a guard of honour from the Saratov garrison, Sikorski flew to Baku, (from where he would) travel to Tehran and Cairo. On the trip to Baku, he was accompanied by all his retinue, General Anders, Colonel Evstigneev and I. However, we did not fly to Baku in one day, but stayed the night in Astrakhan. On the morning of the 18th air travel resumed, and before noon our plane arrived in Baku. The next day Evstigneev, myself and representatives of the Azerbaijani authorities said goodbye at the airport with the outstanding guest, who left on the Soviet plane to Tehran.”³⁴

In connection with Sikorski’s departure, a question arises as to why he left the USSR advance of the date scheduled. The original plan was that during his visit Sikorski would visit Polish units in Central Asia, where many Poles lived, and then return to Moscow for further talks with Stalin.

However, while Sikorski was in Saratov, Britain’s Foreign Minister Anthony Eden³⁵ came to Moscow in order to discuss Anglo-Soviet relations. His trip was kept a strict secret. However, before leaving the Soviet Union, Sikorski was informed about the upcoming visit of the British Foreign Office head, although he did not know its terms and, apparently, did not anticipate that it would happen during his stay in the USSR.

Despite Eden’s arrival in Moscow, Vishinskiy assured Sikorski that “Stalin does not go back on his word, and is ready to receive General Sikorski regardless of how Eden and Sikorski decide the question of their simultaneous stay in Moscow.”³⁶ As V. S. Parsadanova writes:

³³ *Pravda*, 15 December 1941.

³⁴ Novikov 1989, p. 110.

³⁵ Kynin et al. 1983, p. 184-198.

³⁶ Kukiel 1981, p. 188.

“Sikorski did not want to be the poor cousin. Ambassador Kot told the Soviet leadership that Sikorski had come down with the flu. It would certainly have been conceivable to catch a cold during that trip, especially given that frosts in the Volga region could reach - 40 degrees, but it was characteristic for the General to feel ill in difficult situations. He had been so in the summer of 1940 while battling an attempt to overthrow him from his post as prime minister, and he would be so again in April 1943, when he heard from Goebbels about (the) Katyn (massacre).”³⁷

Analysis of documentary evidence shows that Sikorski cut short the time he spent in the USSR not because of illness, but for political reasons. Of course, his stay in the country required great physical and mental effort from him, but during the next two weeks in the Middle East, the General worked intensively, met with politicians and diplomats and wrote a great deal. Mitkevich testifies that that when Sikorski returned to London he was “well, looked great and was in a good mood.”³⁸ So his health was not the issue in this case. As Parsadanova observes:

“The international situation in December 1941 became quite different than it was when Sikorski left London. The Soviet victory near Moscow, the Japanese attack on the United States, a new balance of forces in the anti-Hitler coalition - all these had to be comprehended: at the ‘club’ of great empires with a contribution of at least 5 million soldiers, the position and weight of Poland were obviously much weakened.”³⁹

In addition, having agreed with Stalin all issues related to the formation of the Polish army and the civilian population, Sikorski was not ready for further negotiations on Polish-Soviet relations, including the eastern borders. He applied his motto: “If you say nothing, it is either because you can not or do not want to tell the truth.”

Nevertheless, Sikorski, arrived in Tehran and met with foreign correspondents and, in the course of his conversations with them, expressed a high opinion of the results of his USSR visit. In particular, the General said “that he was very pleased with the trip to the USSR, where he stayed for three weeks and had a meeting with Stalin, during which the issue of the Polish army’s participation in the war was solved.” A large Polish army, consisting of several divisions, would be formed to fight as an independent military unit. Together with Vyshinsky, Sikorski said that he had visited three Polish divisions, in which morale was high. As per Stalin’s order, all Polish citizens had been released and hundreds of thousands of

³⁷ Parsadanova, Sikorski 1994, p. 65.

³⁸ Mitkiewicz 1968, p. 104.

³⁹ Parsadanova, Sikorski 1994, p. 65.

Poles would be transferred to the southern regions of the USSR, where suitable conditions would be created for them. Sikorski also said that Soviet authorities had assured him that Polish soldiers would, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, be given full freedom of religion. He also stated that Stalin impressed him as great realist and a great statesman. The attitude of the Soviet people towards the Polish citizens was friendly and cordial, and the Polish-Soviet declaration had made a great impression on the Soviet people.

When asked what he thought of the success of the Red Army in the last days, Sikorski said:

“All that has been printed on that story conforms fully to reality. Soviet troops not only stopped the German advance, but threw them off. The most important direction was, I believe, the south, where Kleist’s army was completely destroyed, and the Moscow area where victories of great strategic importance were achieved. Leningrad, Moscow and the Caucasus are in complete safety. Stalin told me that German soldiers now resemble Napoleon’s soldiers during their retreat from Russia. The German position is all the more hopeless since they have no supplies nearby. But we must not think that the war will be over this winter. We must be prepared for new attacks by the Germans at the beginning of the next year. I believe that the Polish army will take an active part in this offensive by the Red Army.”⁴⁰

Unfortunately that did not happen. The Polish army was withdrawn to Iran at the moment the Battle of Stalingrad started. During the first and second evacuations to the Middle East from the USSR, more than 140,000 thousand Poles in total, of which 78,470 were soldiers, were evacuated. This was a huge force that could have fought shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army near Stalingrad.⁴¹

**Soviet-Polish Relations Regarding the Visit of General V. Sikorski to the USSR
(30 October-16 December 1941)**

(Abstract)

This article deals with Soviet-Polish relations during the Second World War, which have for many years, especially since the demise of the Soviet Union, been subject to revision and falsification. Particular emphasis is placed on the period during the Second World War, when these relations were of an ambiguous nature.

The Poles never forgave the fact that on 17 September 1939 the Red Army crossed the pre-war border and occupied the territory of Western Belarus and Western Ukraine, forgetting that, firstly, these territories had been forcibly annexed by the II Rzeczpospolita

⁴⁰ DMISPO 1973, doc. no. 177, p. 269; *Pravda*, 22 December 1941.

⁴¹ Żaroń 1988, p. 169.

(Second Polish Republic) from Soviet Russia during the Civil War, and secondly, that on that day the Polish government, including the Supreme Commander, abandoned the country, the people and the army to the whims of fate and fled to Romania, where they were interned.

To replace this imprisoned government, a new Polish cabinet headed by General V. Sikorski was formed in France. One of its first actions was to issue a decree in which it declared itself in a state of war with the Soviet Union. In addition, it stated the non-recognition of the reunion of the Ukrainian SSR and Belorussian SSR areas of Western Ukraine and Belarus, and declared its intention to fight for the return of these regions to Poland.

It was under these conditions of huge national tragedy that Sikorski's government took an anti-Soviet position. Naturally, for the Polish government-in-exile (which after the defeat of France had moved to London) to take such a position was not conducive to the establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Union.

In an effort to consolidate the forces of all the enemies of Nazi Germany, the Soviet leadership considered it appropriate to bring the governments-in-exile into the existing Soviet-Anglo-American coalition, and to push these governments to take an active role in the struggle for liberation.

Only after the Soviet Union's offensive defence had blocked Hitler's plan of Blitzkrieg, thus proving its strength and ability to defeat the enemy, did Sikorski withdraw from his divisive theory of "two enemies," the expression of which was the signing of the Polish-Soviet agreement of 30 July 1941.

Sikorski's official visit to Russia in 1941 was of great importance in the establishment of these bilateral relations, and an analysis of this visit forms the main content of this article.

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- Keywords:** V. Sikorski, A. Vyshinsky, I. Stalin, Buzuluk, Tatishchevo, Totskoye, Polish army.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evoluciajizni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheskij jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

“SECRECY” IN THE ASCETICISM OF ST RADEGUND ACCORDING TO VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS’ *VITA*

Natalia Yurievna BIKEEVA*

Sainthood has always been considered a major aspect of the complex cultural and spiritual values of the Early Middle Ages. The period chosen for this study (the second half of the 6th century CE) may be characterised by the dynamic nature of its culture during the transition from a pagan cultural paradigm to a Christian one.

Various aspects of the perception of “sainthood” in the Early Middle Ages made it appropriate to use different types of representative texts as source material. Analysis of early medieval texts contributes to the reconstruction of the spirituality, social parameters of religious life (in particular at the so-called grassroots level), and religious and cultural perceptions of society, as well as to understanding the general categories of early medieval culture. As a result, the semantic content of primary sources has come to play a leading role in this research. Investigation of various texts written in this period demonstrates the difference in descriptions of parallel events in the lives of saints, as well as the varying attention paid by different (or sometimes even the same) writers to those events. Therefore, the application of various techniques of linguistic analysis is likely to be appropriate for the historian.

It goes without saying that the phenomenon of holiness is an element of Christian religious culture. And one area in which religious views about sanctity (the ideal and mode of holiness) found expression in the Early Middle Ages was the sphere of hagiography. In our research we have focused our analysis on Merovingian¹ hagiographical sources, specifically

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¹ Merovingians - were a Frankish dynasty that ruled the Franks for nearly 300 years in a region known as Francia in Latin, beginning in the middle of the 5th century. Their territory largely corresponded to ancient Gaul.

the various versions of the Life of St Radegund,² which reflect the category of sainthood.

The Lives (*Vitae*) of early medieval male and female saints were intended to serve as inspirations as well as *exempla* for the faithful. They provided role models of proper behaviour which were to be admired and, in some cases, imitated. The intended purpose or expressed end of all saints' Lives was pastoral and didactic: to edify the faithful, to teach Christian virtues and to strengthen Christian resolve.

The Church hoped that through the use of models of sainthood the faithful might modify their behaviour or bring about "conversions" in their own spiritually deficient lives.

During the Merovingian period, those who received recognition of holiness were essentially local popular saints rather than candidates formally canonised by the papacy. In Frankish society the making of women saints was a rather loose and spontaneous procedure of designation by the *vox populi*. In this regard, the image of the holy person and his/her hagiography in this troubled period had not yet been strictly formalised.

The stereotypical imaginative and rhetorical language of hagiographic texts allows us to divide almost any Life into a number of separate quotations taken from already existing and respected Christian texts.³ However, the use of stereotype is only one aspect of the discursive structure of hagiographic texts. Another aspect lies in their predetermined function relating to the resolution of ideological problems. Often hagiographic works were used for the benefit of a certain social group: the authority of the saintly person was supposed to protect the interests of a particular community, and provide justification of their rights and claims.

In church circles the comprehension and articulation of the concept of "sainthood" was one of the central ideological and spiritual tasks. A "typical" *Vita* contains a catalogue of the saint's virtues, temptations or trials, miracles, visions, and prophecies. Every saint had the standard list of virtues, because the nature of sanctity lies in "Imitatio Christi."⁴ The hagiographer had to take into account the scheme of a hagiographic canon and the actual type of holiness. But the manifestation and ways of achieving sanctity were various, so hagiographers represented ascetic practices, and

² St Radegund - (also spelled *Rhadegund*, *Radegonde*, *Radigund*, *Radegunda*, *Radegundis*, *Saint Radegunda*) (ca. 518-587) was a 6th century Thuringian princess and Frankish queen, who founded the nunnery of the Holy Cross at Poitiers - the one of the biggest early medieval female cloisters. She was canonised and her memory is celebrated on 13 August.

³ See Delehay 1907, p. 12-39; Grous 1965, p. 61 sqq.

⁴ Heffernan 1988, p. 28-30.

thus sainthood itself, differently, especially in the Dark Ages. This is illustrated by two versions of the Life of St Radegund.

St Radegund was an ascetic Queen, the “spiritual mother of the Merovingians”⁵ and founder of one of the largest convents in the Frankish kingdom in the second half of the 6th century.⁶

The life of this queen-saint is one of the best documented in this early period, as we know about her life and sainthood from various texts. For example, Gregory of Tours,⁷ the comprehensive historian of the Merovingian period, documented her role in politics and church history in several texts, including the *History of the Franks*.⁸ For us, the most important texts are the two Lives of Radegund written by people who had known her personally. The first was written by Venantius Fortunatus,⁹ the most significant Latin poet of the 6th century, an intimate friend and spiritual adviser to St Radegund and later the bishop of Poitiers.¹⁰ His *Vita* of Radegund is one of the first biographies of a holy woman in the West, written probably around 595. About 15 years later, Baudonivia,¹¹ a nun in Radegund’s convent who had known her well, wrote another biography of the saint.¹²

⁵ Dumézil 2012, p. 231.

⁶ About Radegund: Aigrain 1918; Gäbe 1989, p. 1-30; McNamara 1992, p. 60-105; Bikeeva 2007, p. 7-17; Bikeeva 2011, p. 98-118.

⁷ Gregory of Tours (538-594) was a Gallo-Roman historian and Bishop of Tours, which made him a leading prelate of Gaul. He is the main contemporary source for Merovingian history. His most notable work was his *Decem Libri Historiarum* or *Ten Books of Histories*, better known as the *Historia Francorum* (“History of the Franks”), a title given to it by later chroniclers, but he is also known for his credulous accounts of the miracles of saints, especially four books of the miracles of St Martin of Tours. St Martin’s tomb was a major draw in the 6th century, and Gregory’s writings had the practical aspect of promoting this highly organised devotion.

⁸ Gregorii, X, 1951, III, 4-7; VI, 29; IX, 39, 42.

⁹ Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530-c. 600/609) was a Latin poet and hymnodist in the Merovingian Court, author of hagiographic texts and a Bishop of Poitiers. He was never canonised but was venerated as Saint Venantius Fortunatus during the Middle Ages. Fortunatus is best known for two poems that have become part of the liturgy of the Catholic Church.

¹⁰ Fortunatus, I, 1888, p. 364-376. For the translations I have made partial use of the translations of the two *vitae* in McNamara 1992, p. 70-105.

¹¹ Baudonivia was a Frankish nun and scholar at the convent of Poitiers who, between 600 and 610, was asked by the abbess to compose a memoir of their founder, Radegund. Relying on memory (Baudonivia knew Radegund as a child), an earlier biography written by the bishop and poet Venantius Fortunatus, and hagiographical sources, Baudonivia created a portrait of a deeply devout but politically shrewd woman who used her worldly power to sustain the monastery.

¹² Baudonivia 1888, p. 377-395.

In recent years, several historians have contrasted the Lives written by Fortunatus and Baudonivia, including Sabine Gäbe¹³ (1989), Jo Ann McNamara¹⁴ (1992), Susanne Wittern¹⁵ (1994), Giselle de Nie¹⁶ (1995), Simon Coates¹⁷ (1996), Linda Coon¹⁸ (1997), John Kitchen¹⁹ (1998), Dick Harrison²⁰ (1998), Gábor Klaniczay²¹ (2000), Ruth Wehlau²² (2002), Jason Glenn²³ (2012), etc. Most of them studied either the content of the hagiographical source itself with reference to its context or tried to identify the reasons the texts were written, in other words, to explain the politics of sainthood.

On the whole, each author comes to very similar conclusions after a systematic comparison of the two Lives. But these conclusions are based on a study of various aspects of Radegund's spiritual biographies. For example, Susanne Wittern shows especially well that Fortunatus stresses Radegund's admirable aspects while Baudonivia, writing for an audience of cloistered women, adds many imitable qualities.

Sabine Gäbe also notes that the two *Vitae* are tied to the specific historical context of their authors. Fortunatus' *Vita*, on the one hand, stresses the saintly virtues of Radegund, particularly her rigorous asceticism and humility. In his rather obvious omissions, Fortunatus defends the interests of the bishop of Poitiers and the Church as far as its management of the monastery was concerned. Baudonivia's "Klostervita," on the other hand, describes Radegund as a charismatic miracle-worker and royal founder of the convent, as well as an exemplary nun.

Simon Coates looks at what the two lives of Radegund reveal about the differing male and female perceptions of sanctity. A similar approach is used by John Kitchen, who studies the *Vitae* written by Fortunatus and Baudonivia, as well as Gregory of Tours' account of Radegund, in order to see how the saint was described by these two men and one woman.

Linda Coon points out that while both hagiographies - Fortunatus' and Baudonivia's - share a similar structure and the usual representations of

¹³ Gäbe 1989, p. 1-30.

¹⁴ McNamara 1992, p. 60-105.

¹⁵ Wittern 1994, p. 100-107.

¹⁶ Nie 1995, p. 101-105.

¹⁷ Coates 1998, p. 37-50.

¹⁸ Coon 1997, p. 120-141.

¹⁹ Kitchen 1998.

²⁰ Harrison 1998, p. 280-285.

²¹ Klaniczay 2002, p. 70-78.

²² Wehlau 2002, p. 75-89.

²³ Glenn 2011, p. 57-69.

female piety, differences occur when each author emphasises particular aspects of the *Vita* in order to create a different picture of the holy woman. In Coon’s opinion, the male author, although having the usual “radical gender inversions,” tempers them in order to present a more feminised, that is, domestic and cloistered, version; the female author, however, allows Radegund to have accomplishments within the pastoral and administrative spheres. Coon believes that Fortunatus depicts Radegund as a prophet and female Christ with some sacerdotal functions, but also emphasises that her charismatic asceticism is contained in a domestic and feminised environment; Baudonivia stresses her role as an astute politician and destroyer of pagan shrines, and highlights her administrative achievements. It is interesting that Linda Coon and Susanne Wittern (see above) have come to very similar conclusions after a systematic comparison of the two Lives.

According to Gábor Klaniczay, Fortunatus focuses on the queen’s activity as that of a Merovingian Martha, whereas Baudonivia recounts Radegund’s life within the context of the relic hunting, political arbitration and pastoral duty.

By comparing the differing aims of the two Lives of St Radegund, Jason Glenn offers a model of how to compare two these sources. His essay, *Two Lives of Saint Radegund*, provides a detailed comparison between these two *Vitae*. He concludes that Fortunatus emphasises how Radegund overcame the “inherent shortcomings of her sex,”²⁴ whilst Baudonivia offers the saint’s royal power and her abilities as an exemplar to her sisters.

For us in this case it is important that in contrast to the text by Baudonivia, Fortunatus emphasises, among other things, Radegund’s intention to hold her ascetic practices in secret.

As noted by Ruth Wehlau,²⁵ Fortunatus repeatedly depicts Radegund’s ascetic behaviour as hidden or private, using a variety of expressions: *subocculte*,²⁶ *occulte*,²⁷ *secretissime*,²⁸ *furtim*,²⁹ *in secreto*.³⁰ We can add the term *intima*³¹ to this list.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 59.

²⁵ Wehlau 2002, p. 79.

²⁶ Fortunatus, 4 (here and further indicated a chapter number of the text of the *Vita sanctae Radegundis*, written by Venantius Fortunatus).

²⁷ Ibid., 15, 33, 37.

²⁸ Ibid., 16.

²⁹ Ibid., 19.

³⁰ Ibid., 29.

³¹ Ibid., 26.

In Fortunatus' *Vita*, Radegund secretly feeds the poor and lepers, stealthily eats lean food during the feast, privately heals the sick, covertly mortifies her flesh and resurrects the dead. For instance, when Fortunatus describes the royal banquet, he notes that Radegund not eat festive foods but was satisfied with a simple meal. Importantly, she also did not demonstrate this to others people: "*In mensa vero subocculite, ne forte cogno sceretur ab aliquot, ante se posito cum legumine ferculo, inter epulas regum more trium puerorum fava vel lenticula delectabiliter vescebatur.*"³² The hagiographer points out that she hid her humble food under gourmet dishes: "*Quod in mensa sub fladone sigilatium panem absconsum vel ordeatium manducabat occulte, sic ut nemo perciperet.*"³³

During Lent, Radegund ground her own flour, but again hid this from other people: "*Tum more sancti Germani jubet sibi molam secretissime deferri, ad quamtotam quadragesimam, in quantum quatriddianna rafectio postularit, oblations etiam suis minibus faciens.*"³⁴ Fortunatus also emphasises that Radegund conceals the fact that she feeds the poor: "*Qua sibi renuntiante, parata mensa..., intromittebatur furtim, quo se nemo perciperet.*"³⁵

However, according to Fortunatus, these actions of Radegund deserved great praise and honour, so he tells us about them: "*Illud quod gessit in secreto proferatur in populum.*"³⁶ And also: "*Sed, quod occulte gessit, celare diu non potuit.*"³⁷

Fortunatus describes cases where Radegund healed the sick and those possessed by the devil. Yet, according to Fortunatus, Radegund's humility was so great that she secretly reproached herself for slowness in such cases: "*Dixit plane, sed fecit sanctam mulierem occulte reficiende tempore paenitentem.*"³⁸

Even where we do not find words indicating the secrecy of her actions, in the text of Fortunatus' *Vita*, one can see from the context that Radegund acted covertly. For example, Fortunatus describes a case when

³² "Secretly, lest anyone notice, at royal banquets, she fed most deliciously on beans or lentils from the dish of legumes placed before her, in the manner of the three boys" (ibid., 4).

³³ "At table she secretly chewed rye or barley bread which she had hidden under a cake to escape notice" (ibid., 15).

³⁴ "Then, emulating Saint Germanus' custom, she secretly had a millstone brought to her. Throughout the whole of Quadragesima, she ground fresh flour with her own hands. She continuously distributed each offering to local religious communities, in the amount needed for the meal taken every four days" (ibid., 16).

³⁵ "Having learned that, she had a table laid with dishes, spoons, little knives, cups and goblets, and wine and she went in herself secretly that none might see her" (ibid., 19).

³⁶ "What she did secretly was to become known to all people" (ibid., 29).

³⁷ "But what she did secretly could not be concealed for long" (ibid., 37).

³⁸ "She said this publicly but it made the holy woman secretly sorry that she had been so slow to heal the afflicted" (ibid., 33).

lepers came to the monastery and Radegund, as usual, washed, treated and fed them. After this she gave them new clothes or gold without witnesses: “*Recedentibus praebebat auri vel vestimenti, vix una teste, munuscula.*”³⁹ Then, to emphasise Radegund’s desire to hide her actions, Fortunatus indicates that nevertheless a maid still knew about it, “*Ministra tamen praesumebat.*”⁴⁰

Another example from Fortunatus’ *Vita* of Radegund regards how she not only ate rye or barley bread, but hid it under cake (*flado*) so that no one noticed what she was eating: “*Panis vero deliciarum sigilatum fuit aut ordeatum, quem absconsum sub fladone sumebat, ne quis percipere.*”⁴¹

When Fortunatus describes Radegund’s self-mortification, he also emphasises her commitment to performing such activities in secret: “*Tacens tegit foramina, sed computrescens sanguis manifestabat, quod vox non prodebat in poena.*” Discussing this, Fortunatus uses the term *intima*: “... *et intima, quo attingit ardour, fit fossa.*”⁴²

As for the miracles of healing achieved by Radegund, Fortunatus says that she ordered those involved not to tell anyone: “*Quod tamen ipsa imperabat, ne quis proferret in fabula.*”⁴³

Indeed, even the nuns of her convent did not know how the holy woman carried out her healing work because, as her hagiographer writes, she ordered everyone to leave her cell, so that no one could see her healing the sick: “*Hinc iubet omnes removeri, remanente tantum sola simul aegrota cum medica fere per horas duas.*”⁴⁴

However, from Fortunatus’ text we see that, unlike others, the author himself was well aware of the saint’s healing processes. He wrote that Radegund touched the nun’s sore limbs one after the other. And everywhere that Radegund’s hands passed, the pain disappeared. Thus, according to this account, the sick woman, who had previously required two nuns to help her into the bath, was able to leave on her own, restored to perfect health.

Radegund also performed miracles of resurrection alone, without witnesses: “*Sancta tunc imperat, ut cadaver ipsius suam deferret in cellulam. Quo sibi*

³⁹ “To this there was scarcely a single witness ...” (ibid., 19).

⁴⁰ “... but the attendant presumed to chide her softly” (ibid., 19).

⁴¹ “Her bread was made from rye or barley which she concealed under the pudding lest anyone notice what she ate” (ibid., 21).

⁴² “Silently, she concealed the holes, but the putrefying blood betrayed the pain that her voice did not reveal” (ibid., 26).

⁴³ “And she ordered these things herself lest anyone tell tales” (ibid., 20).

⁴⁴ “Then she ordered everyone to leave, remaining alone with the sick woman as a doctor for two hours” (ibid., 29).

deportato, excepit manu propria, reclausa post se mox janua, iubens longe discedere, ne quis sentiret, quid ageret."⁴⁵

Generally, according to Fortunatus, Radegund always acted in such a way that no one saw what she was doing. For instance, there are accounts of numerous activities associated with cleaning convent that she performed at night, when all the other nuns were asleep: "*Adhuc monachabus omnibus soporantibus, calciamenta tergens et unguens, retransmittebat per singulas.*"⁴⁶

Why do we find so many secrets in the text by Fortunatus? And why does he often use different terms which imply secrecy?

First of all, it may have been necessary to demonstrate the saint's humility. This virtue was especially important in the descriptions of the lives of holy women, allowing us to trace the influence of the gender stereotypes of this period. *Vitae* frequently provided cultural symbols of gendered images. For example, one of the most desirable behaviours for female saints was the intention not to manifest their virtue. Monastic rules vividly reveal differing expectations between the ways nuns and monks were to relate to the world beyond the monastery's walls. Primarily it was the degree to which these rules expected holy persons to be separate from the world that created this difference; for the most part, they required nuns to stay inside the cloister while monks, after taking a few necessary precautions, could leave their communities.

The dichotomy between the sexes, illustrated in their respective monastic rules, was most fully depicted by Caesarius of Arles, who prescribed that a nun must never, up to the time of her death, leave the monastery:

"If a girl, leaving her parents, desires to renounce the world and enter the holy fold to escape the jaws of the spiritual wolves through the help of God, she must never, up to the time of her death, go outside of the monastery, nor beyond the door of the basilica."⁴⁷

Monastic rules indicated that the nun's power, her virginity, could be placed in danger through the weakness of her womanly, and therefore sensual, nature coming into contact with the outside world. Therefore, the Rule of Caesarius of Arles strongly discouraged any notion of women's privacy. Such behaviour was required to ensure their reputations as virginal and chaste brides of Christ. Even earlier, Jerome noted that chastity cannot

⁴⁵ "There she took the corpse into her own hands, closing the door behind her and ordering the other to withdraw to a distance lest she sense what she was doing" (ibid., 37).

⁴⁶ "While all the nuns were deep in sleep, she would collect their shoes, restoring them cleaned and oiled to each" (ibid., 23).

⁴⁷ Caesarius Arelatensis 1933, II, 50.

be preserved otherwise. Caesarius’ advice continues the tradition of emphasising the individualistic nature of female spirituality. The enclosed nunnery became the ideal illustration of that.⁴⁸

That is not to say that female saints had to hide their actions from other nuns in their convent. However, in Fortunatus’ text Radegund conceals her actions even from her fellow nuns, for example, when she secretly heals the sick or mortifies her flesh. Probably Fortunatus deliberately inflated in his text the motive of “secrecy” in Radegund’s actions. Despite the fact that she carefully hides her pious deeds, they become known to other people, in particular thanks to the miracles. Her miracles - for example, the miracle of healing - made these secrets visible.⁴⁹ Therefore the secrets provide evidence of Radegund’s sanctity.

The ability to perform miracles was the most important quality that distinguished the saint, in the opinion of early medieval people.⁵⁰ Therefore, the phenomenon of the “miracle” as fundamental evidence of hero’s sainthood was reflected in practically every hagiographic work. Although holiness was thought to be a divine gift, predestined from the moment of a man or woman’s birth, from Christianity’s ethical viewpoint, holiness could be uncovered during a lifetime through the personal perfection of a man or woman.

Fortunatus’ own narrative echoes the miracles, making Radegund’s secrets known and allowing the reader to enter enclosed chambers and cells with the saint. At the same time, her miracles mean that what is done in private is also done publicly. Fortunatus’ text reveals the secrets of saintliness, and thus constructs not only Radegund’s holiness, but also the authority of the author, who possesses this secret knowledge. Unlike Fortunatus, Baudonivia in her *Life of Radegund* does not show that she knows what is hidden from others, although she was dwelling within the convent walls. For Baudonivia, Radegund’s sanctity is public, not secret.

Fortunatus notably writes nothing about the “public” events of Radegund’s cloistered life, such as the ceremony at which the Holy Cross

⁴⁸ Radegund, the foundress of convent at Poitiers, adopted Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns, in which Caesarius instituted a policy of strict protective enclosure. However, while the Rule was intended to limit the nuns’ contact with the outside world, the nuns actually had frequent interactions with outsiders. Daily life did not necessarily correspond to the Rule, and nuns could adapt their interpretation of the Rule to suit special circumstances or to serve their own personal motivations (see Gillette 1993, p. 381-387).

⁴⁹ Miracles of the saints were diverse, but the most numerous among them, and therefore the important to the public, were instances of healing from various diseases.

⁵⁰ Regarding the miracle as one of the most important attributes of the Holy and as the theme of hagiographic works, see Sigal 1985.

enters the convent or Radegund's funeral in 587, choosing not to include these in her *Vita*. Fortunatus's image of Radegund's seclusion, especially after her entrance into the cloister, would have jarred with the contrasting public nature of these events.

Moreover, Fortunatus probably believed that the divine sanction of her mission was not only symbolised by the strength and zeal with which Radegund overcame numerous physical obstacles to achieve a life of chastity and sanctity, but also by the hidden character of her ascetic actions.

The topos of secret ascetic activity in Fortunatus' *Vita* indicates a close relationship between him and Radegund, which would have been based on friendship. Indeed, Venantius Fortunatus, as Radegund's intimate friend and spiritual advisor, was in a position to know more than others about her life. Fortunatus really knew Radegund, having lived for about 30 years at her convent. In addition, Fortunatus sincerely grieved after her death, and almost immediately began to establish her cult.

Nonetheless, when he wrote Radegund's biography, he also had other motivations. Radegund's secrets allow the author to draw the readers' attention to himself. Probably, Fortunatus wanted to show that he could see what was hidden to others. He even, apparently, knew her thoughts: for instance, when he describes how a joke made by the abbess caused Radegund to be secretly sorry that she had not yet effected a cure for an afflicted woman. In this regard, the accumulation of secrets in Fortunatus' *Vita* of Radegund is more than a demonstration of the humility of the saint; it is also a way to attract the attention to the hagiographer's own "exceptional" knowledge, as he uncovers secrets which were unknown to anyone, even the nuns of Radegund's convent. The text of the *Lives* of Radegund, as written by Fortunatus, shows its author as an omniscient narrator. He is able to go where others cannot, and tell of the deeds of the Saint when she does not speak for herself.

The motive of secrecy distinguishes the *Life of St Radegund* written by Fortunatus not only from the text *Baudonivia*, but also from accounts of other holy women of this period. It should be noted that in the *Lives* of other sainted women of the 6th century - such as Monegund, Eustadiola, Rusticula and Glodezind - we find no mention of any secretive actions.

Despite this distinctive feature of Fortunatus' *Vita* of Radegund, more generally his work became a literary model for subsequent hagiographies. The obvious influence of his story can be found in a few *Lives* with different inflections, such as the *Lives* of Sts. Balthild, Mathilda and Margaret of Scotland.⁵¹ Of course, the authors of the *Lives* of other

⁵¹ See Schulenburg 1998, p. 20.

holy women describe them, as in Radegund’s *Vita*, eating simple and rough food, wearing a hair shirt or performing the most humiliating and dirty chores in the nunnery. But the motive of secrecy is not repeated except, perhaps, in the Life of St Mathilda written in the 10th century.⁵²

As Jason Glenn puts it, “even if the Lives tell us less than we might like about Radegund herself, these vitae teach us something about their authors and about the larger world in which they wrote.”⁵³ Fortunatus wanted to emphasise that he was the bearer of secret knowledge and thus power. It is only thanks to him and the miracles (as a manifestation of divine blessing) that we learn of the deeds demonstrating Radegund’s sanctity.

Thus by concentrating on the *Vita sanctae Radegundis* written by Fortunatus, we can attempt to reconstruct medieval perspectives and consider sacred biography in relation to the community for which it was written, identify the genre’s rhetorical practices and purposes, and demonstrate the syncretistic way in which the life of the medieval saint was transformed from oral tale to sacred text. Thereby the process of research based on hagiographical texts not only achieves a more contextually accurate understanding of the medieval saints’ lives, but details a new critical method that has important implications for the practice of textual criticism.

“Secrecy” in the Asceticism of St Radegund According to Venantius Fortunatus’ *Vita*

(Abstract)

The figure of the saint, as well as the concept of holiness, is one of the central elements in the complex of human values of the Early Middle Ages. The aim of this paper is to identify ways of establishing elements of the Christian cultural model based on the analysis of the ideals of holiness in the texts representing this historical period. To achieve this, the study focuses on the identification of features indicating the perception and understanding of holiness in the Early Middle Ages.

The article dwells on the *Vita* (Life) of a famous Frankish Saint, Radegund, written by a well-known poet and bishop, Venantius Fortunatus, in the late 6th century. Although this author draws upon a standard list of basic monastic virtues of that time, in the rhetoric and imagery he uses to describe the saint’s devotion, Fortunatus’ text differs from other works of this genre in the Early Middle Ages in many ways.

The main aim of this report is to determine how the author’s personality, his inner intentions and self-interest affected the creation of this hagiographic image of the saint. It is in this regard that attention is paid to the topos of “secrecy” in Fortunatus’ descriptions of Radegund’s ascetic practices. Similar motives for secrecy are not found, either in other

⁵² The sacred biography of the queen-saint Margaret of Scotland (1046-1093) was written by her contemporary and confidant, Turgot, prior of Durham and bishop of St Andrews.

⁵³ Glenn 2011, p. 58.

Vitae by Fortunatus, or in the spiritual biographies of other holy women of the period compiled by different authors.

In our opinion this is largely explained by Fortunatus' personal motives in creating the *Vita* of St Radegund. The author wanted to show that he knew something that was hidden from others. Thus, the motive of "secret" asceticism is used not only to demonstrate the humility and piety of the saint, but as a way to attract attention to the *Vita*'s author.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- | | |
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| Baudonivia 1888 | - Baudonivia, <i>De Vita Sanctae Radegundis</i> (edited by Bruno Krusch), <i>Liber II, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i> , vol. 2, 1888. |
| Bikeeva 2007 | - Natalia Y. Bikeeva, <i>Koroleva-monakhinya: monastyr' sv. Radegundy kak mesto vlasti</i> , in Lorina P. Repinoy (ed.), <i>Adam i Yeva. Almanakh gendernoy istorii</i> , Moscow, 2007. |
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| Dumézil 2012 | - Bruno Dumézil, <i>Koroleva Brungilda</i> , Saint Petersburg, 2012. |
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- Keywords:** Sainthood, holiness, Early Middle Ages, hagiography, Radegund, Fortunatus, Baudonivia, asceticism.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altansk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

THE MEDIEVAL CASTLE AS A SYMBOL OF MILITARY-POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND LEGAL POWER IN THE EUROPEAN REGIONS OF THE 10TH-17TH CENTURIES

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Lyudmila Petrovna KHOLODOVA**

The medieval feudal castle can be seen as a unique work of European culture, a kind of “mirror of the times,” embodying all manifestations of medieval reality and uniting the medieval regions of Europe and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania which otherwise differed in their environmental, historico-cultural, economic, technical, military and sociocultural level of development. The defensive feudal castle as a historical, architectural and artistic phenomenon of medieval culture was important for more than ten centuries (from the 8th century to the 1740s) as a symbol of the political, legal, economic and cultural power of secular and clerical feudal lords in the various regions of Europe.¹ This archetypical spiritual role of the castle within European culture unites castle complexes of different architecture, endowing each with properties that reflect the whole. While peculiarities of dimensional shape and decoration mainly depended on local historico-cultural and defensive traditions, the semantic basis for any castle lay in the ideas of supreme power, common feudal law, defence and submission, i.e. the values of the political and legal culture, reflecting the world of medieval Europe.²

Studying a variety of sources (including history, literature, law, poetry and fine arts) allows us not only to comprehend the historico-cultural background of the epoch of feudal castles, but to imagine the complex system of sociocultural relations in the Middle Ages (political, legal, economic and religious) which were made manifest in the defensive castle.

Based on analysis of the relevant environmental, historico-cultural,

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¹ Kilimnik 2011a, p. 322.

² Ibid., p. 123.

military and sociocultural frameworks, this study aims to define the typical dimensional shapes that were born with the genesis of the feudal castle and describe further transformations in shape between the 8th and 17th centuries across the European regions. From this, it is possible to build an architectural and historical typology which relates the medieval castles of western and south-western Russia to the architectural structures of European castles,³ codifying the historical variety of regional dimensional shapes between the 10th and 17th centuries, and classifying feudal castle complexes based on the study of their “genetic code” and dimensional properties. This architectural and historical typology will demonstrate visually and dimensionally the spatial and temporal dynamics, as well as cultural and historical ties from the origins of castle building to its final days and from the dominant typical European styles to minute local modifications.

The author’s architectural and historical typology takes as its basis the triple deduction principle (type>genus>species),⁴ in which historical and architectural types, genera and species of defensive feudal castles are characterised according to their temporal development and spatial distribution. During the period under study, in the territories of European medieval principalities and states, all the main architectural and historical types of castles and their derivatives, genera and species were identified and the regions of their greatest concentration defined.

According to analysis of cultural, historical, dimensional and planning-related factors, as well as historico-comparative analysis, the most widespread (geographically and chronologically) type of castle in each region of medieval Europe and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was identified. This revealed the typical local historical architectural and artistic characteristics manifested in the construction of feudal castles.

France

Castles tend to be characterised by hipped roofing, protruding considerably over the parapet; castrum-type castles with round corner towers (**fig. 1-2**) are common. According to German researcher H. J. Mruseka, the castrum form of feudal castle was developed in France in the 13th century and its origins can be traced to the design of Roman military camps.⁵

³ Kilimnik 2010b, p. 850.

⁴ Ibid., p. 851.

⁵ Mrusek, Roch-Lemmer 1975, p. 156.

Italy

Northern Italian castles are characterised by square positioning of corner towers (**fig. 3**). Nebbia Ugo, an Italian researcher of medieval castles, believes it is also possible to characterize these as castrum. A special form of castrum castles is characterised by towers set in a rectangular layout, following Roman traditions.⁶

Iberian Peninsula countries

Castles here are characterised by stepped and keel-shaped battlements, corner towers and towers with oriels (bay windows) (**fig. 4**). Spanish castle architecture is distinguished by the form of the top of the donjon (keep): traditionally mounted turrets were installed in the corners of the tower parapets, which marked out the fortified residence of feudal lords.⁷

Lands of the Holy Roman Empire; also Czech, Austrian, Hungarian, Silesian and Polish cultural and historical areas

Palatial/German-type feudal castles with round or rectangular towers dominated the North German Saxon and South German Trans-Danube architectural style (**fig. 5-6**). The structure of the palatial/German-type courtyard castle generally involved a basic defensive perimeter around a closed main building of two-or three stories, typically irregular in shape, reflecting the ruggedness of the surrounding landscape, as well as a courtyard.

A number of architecturally and historically derivative castle complex styles were created based on these, for example:

- having two, one or no towers;
- with a curtain wall (a defensive wall between two towers);
- with a barbican (long, fortified gateway, often built onto a cape or isthmus and forming the way into the castle);
- concentric castles (series of terraced fortifications based on the landscape, with the lower castle at the foot, a middle castle further up and an upper castle on the summit);
- with built features projecting from the walls in a horizontal position;
- with exterior D-shaped towers (a tower protected in the most at-risk area by additional strengthening);
- with the main tower in a dynamic position (located near the entrance of the castle, serving as its primary defense) or a static position (located far from the castle entrance and serving a lesser defensive function);

⁶ Nebbia 1955, p. 236.

⁷ Washburn 1957, p. 320.

- with a regular or irregular-shaped bailey (an annex with an enclosed, fortified courtyard, adjoining the main castle);
- semi-rock castles (human-made defensive-residential constructions which incorporate natural rocky outcrops, with buildings on top of or next to the natural formation);
- rock-hewn castles (castles which are actually cut into the rock itself).

Poland

Polish castles tend to be regular-shaped constructions with round corner towers; less often, irregular-shaped castles making use of characteristics of the natural relief can be seen. In northern and central parts of Poland, convents derived from the generic dimensional shape of this type of castle are found. The original generic convent castle sprang from the lands of the Teutonic and Livonian Orders (end of the 13th century-beginning of the 14th century) and combines the structure of a military castle and a cloister in its design (**fig. 7**).

Medieval western and south-western Russia (Belorussia, Ukraine)

Here we see generic castles based on the northern Italian tradition, with polygonal towers which acquired a distinctive five-sided (keel) shape (**fig. 8**).



Fig. 1. Château d'Anjony, 15th century, France
(source: <http://www.hebus.com/image-98895.html>)



Fig. 2. Lassay Castle, 15th century, France
(source: <http://www.chateauxmedievaux.com/lassay.php>)



Fig. 3. Castello di Soncino, 15th century, Italy
(source: <http://www.cremonaoggi.it/2014/12/11/a-soncino-la-giunta-intitola-piazza-e-strada-al-pittore-enea-ferrari>)



Fig. 4. Castle Coca, 15th century, Spain
(source: <http://www.zumain.es>)



Fig. 5. Maus Castle, 14th century, Germany-Saxon direction
(source: http://sunmee.com/html/Rhine_Valley_&_Loreley.htm)



Fig. 6. Castle Prunn, 11th century, Germany-Danubian direction
(source: <http://chateau.moy.su>)



Fig. 7. Castle-Convent Lidzbark-Warmiński, 14th century, Poland
(source: <http://www.szlak.zamkigotyckie.org.pl/lidzbark-ros.htm>)

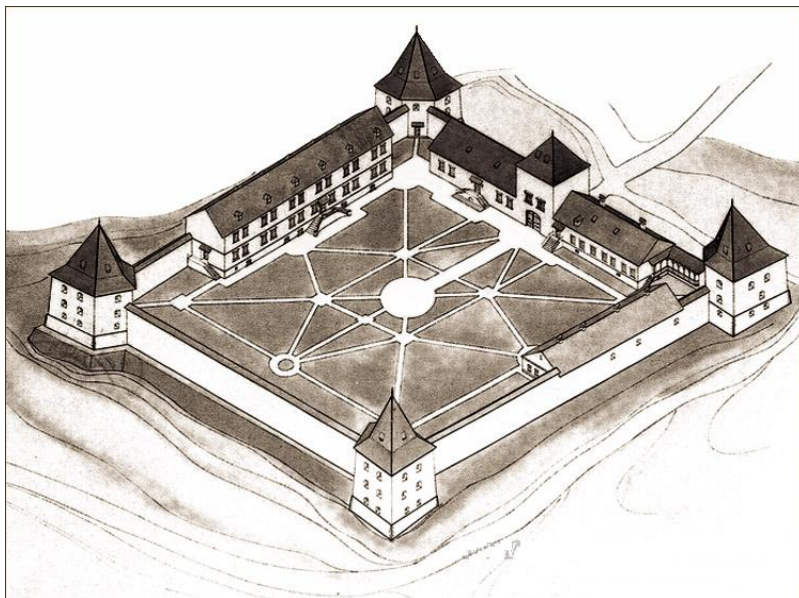


Fig. 8. Gold Flow Castle, 17th century, Ukraine
(source: www.zamki-kreposti.com.ua)



Fig. 9. Malbork castle, 14th century, Poland
(source: www.ownplanet.ru)



Fig. 10. Transitional-type castle, Hunaudaye, 13th century, France
(photo: Olivier Durand)

When considering the evolution of shapes in tower/donjon-type castles, a gradual decline in the construction and promotion of this type of castle can be observed from the west to the east of Europe.⁸ At the same time, there was a wide area (France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, southern Italy and Tirol [in present-day Austria]) in which tower castles dominated the construction of fortified dwellings. In Central Europe (Czech, Poland, Hungary), tower-type castles became less widespread compared to other types of castle (**fig. 9**). To the north and west of Europe, tower castles ceased to be built by the end of the 16th century.

The *combined/transitional* type of castle, combining the structures of tower/donjons and castrum castles, emerged in the second part of the 12th century and continued to be built until the end of the 14th century. Transitional castles represent an intermediate historic form between the historic tower/donjon castle and the castrum, retaining certain archaic features typical to the former, but incorporating new ideas from the latter.⁹ This type of castle developed in France, England, Scotland, Spain, Portugal and Italy, but in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire (not including Switzerland and western Belorussia) and further east, it was less common, and in a number of regions of central and eastern Europe (Austria, Czechia, Poland and Hungary) examples occur only in isolation (**fig. 10**).

⁸ Coulson 1979, p. 73-90.

⁹ Finó 1967, p. 290.

Castrum castles - square or rectangular in layout with four corner towers and a big courtyard - have historical roots dating back to Roman fortified camps. They first appeared in France in the late 12th-early 13th centuries, influenced by cultural and historical traditions introduced by militant pilgrims to the Middle East. Buildings of similarly great strength and size were created in the Latin kingdoms in the first third of the 12th century. These new castrum-style feudal castles included a spacious courtyard surrounded by residential wings directly adjacent to the wall.

Between the second half of the 13th century and the 17th century, this architectural type became widespread across Hungary, Greater Poland, Lithuania, western and south-western Russia (Belorussia, Ukraine) and the Moldavian Principality, developing under the influence of the French and Northern Italian traditions of castle building. *The Generic Castel Castle-Convent* type dominated in the culture of the Teutonic and Livonian orders, influencing the architectural and artistic characteristics of Polish castles (especially in central and northern parts of Poland). *The Generic Irregular Castel Castle* became an established feature of the Halicz, Volyn, Podole and Lithuanian principalities and the medieval districts of Belorussia. It was only in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire (excluding those in the North) that this derivative castle genre did not spread, due to the dominance of the palace/German type of feudal castle.

The structure of the palatial/German-type castle, as described above, involved a basic defensive perimeter surrounding a building two or three stories high, with a courtyard inside the inner curtain. These structures tend to be irregular in shape, based upon the surrounding landscape. In contrast to donjons, where the main architectural element is the fortified keep, in palatial/German castles, the main architectural kernel is an irregular-shaped palace and courtyard. In the late Middle Ages, the Holy Roman Empire spread from the North Sea to upper Italy. The historical variety of dimensional shapes in castles of this type was caused by the growing disunity of the region (which included the Netherlands, Switzerland, Burgundy, Elsa, Lorraine, German and Austrian lands, Czechia, Moravia and Silesia) and the variety of landscapes. All these factors influenced the architectural and artistic design of castle complexes and town fortifications. In each cultural and historical zone of the German Empire, local styles of castle architecture gradually formed, varying according to specific defensive elements, but generally keeping close to the German school of castle-building.

The palatial/German castle - the most significant type in Central Europe - was widespread in the majority of principalities of the Holy

Roman Empire (excepting the northern territories) from as early as the beginning of the 12th century. It greatly influenced the art of castle building in Czechia and Moravia (early 13th to late 15th centuries), southern Poland and Silesia (mid-13th to 14th centuries), the lands of Hungarian Crown (mid-13th to 14th centuries), and, to a lesser extent, the territories of the Teutonic and Livonian Orders (1320s to the end of the 14th century), and Halicz and Podole (Russia, second half of the 14th to 16th centuries) where local cultural and historical traditions dominated.¹⁰

Due to changes in siege techniques and the development of new weapons, strategies and tactics in military science, earlier dimensional characteristics of castles were transformed in order to increase their defensive power, or were forced out by the emergence and dominance of a new type of castle better-suited to defending the region. In other words, previously dominant architectural and historical castle types were succeeded by new designs with better military and defensive properties.

Based on field, cultural and historical studies, it is fair to state that each of the historical and cultural zones of medieval Europe had clearly-defined local artistic traditions which left their mark on the architectural styles of feudal castles (be they donjon/tower, combined/transitional, castrum or palatial/German-type castles), and on other types of castle derived from these.¹¹ Such architectural and typological expressions of regional identity in feudal castles can be seen as a manifestation of the cultural distinctiveness of the various European regions.

The huge range of dimensions and shapes of castles - dictated by local environmental, historical and socio-cultural features (including local artistic styles) - offers quite a varied picture of Europe's Roman and Gothic periods.¹² Despite these regional tendencies, it is possible to distinguish certain aspects of castle architecture in medieval Europe which reflect more generally the synthesis of the arts that was taking place in religious architecture.

When exploring the synthesis of artistic, functional and constructive aspects in the architecture of castles, it should be noted that during the development of the art of defensive castle building, these principles varied, altering in their significance and distinctiveness. At the dawn of the castle era, master-builders were only concerned with the usefulness and strength of the construction: its beauty did not matter. By virtue of the utilitarian and functional purpose of the defensive castle, the masters' task was to make

¹⁰ Kilimnik 2011a, p. 296.

¹¹ Kilimnik 2010a, p. 219.

¹² Ulmer 1999, p. 303.

best use of the terrain and the latest developments in architecture to endow the construction with a “multi-level security system,” making it as safe and inaccessible as possible, equipping it to defend the surrounding lands and population and, most importantly, demonstrating the power of the ruler over the region.¹³

Medieval builders undertook this daunting task at huge financial, energetic and material expense; nevertheless, the scale of the task reflected the intrinsic value of the idea on which it was based. The result of these efforts - the castle - impressed contemporary observers: its stern look commanded their respect, aroused fear and inspired awe before the grandeur of power. At the same time, for the dependent population, it symbolised the hope of salvation from the enemy and was, on the whole, the centre of their lives and world order.

Today, we still experience this energetic impact, though in a different way. Even the earliest, undecorated castles evoke a sense of aesthetic perfection, thanks to the elegance of their design. It can be stated that the beauty of the castle, originally inherent in the design but not realised by medieval man, gradually became manifest with the change of axiological system and is today firmly established in people’s minds as one of the greatest achievements of human skill.

As society developed and castles became subject to new tasks set by the rulers of the time, castle architecture evolved. During this transitional stage, the noblest and wealthiest castle owners borrowed certain elements of Gothic church architecture, blending them with Roman-style interior decoration. These gothic elements did not actually perform any structural function, but produced an illusion of authenticity. See, for example the vaulted ceiling of the Knight’s Hall of Malbork Castle (**fig. 9**).

This process of borrowing was more intensive in relation to the reconstruction of castle chapels - especially those that were inside the castle court, defended by fortress walls - which were re-configured using new stylistic principles of construction, making them look Gothic.

It is from here that the tendency to synthesise artistic, functional and constructive principles in castle architecture originates. Born as an attempt to achieve a balanced combination of heterogeneous details while retaining traditional defensive features, this process eventually culminated in the emergence of multifunctional palace complexes that eventually lost any fortification purposes completely between the 16th and 18th centuries.¹⁴ During this period, the development of religious and secular architecture

¹³ Kilimnik 2013, p. 237.

¹⁴ Ibid.

was accentuated, increasing the value of the aesthetic synthesis of both constituent elements and related elements of other arts. This process was greatly encouraged by feudal lords allocating funds which in the past would have been used to support the optimal fortification and armament of castles. As Europe stabilised and the relevance of defensive functions waned, the owners instead funded artistic reconstruction of former feudal strongholds.

Thus, having arisen as an aspect of early medieval Roman culture, defensive architecture was long characterised by a severe appearance which almost completely avoided Gothic influence. With the beginning of the Renaissance, the centralisation of states led to the loss of castles' former utilitarian and functional purposes, at which point Gothic and Renaissance properties began to creep into the architecture of feudal fortifications, synchronising the development of the art of defensive construction with the aesthetic creative tendencies of the epoch. As a result, by the Baroque period, the functional and artistic representation of castle construction completely corresponded to the spirit of the age.¹⁵

Castles were an important factor in stabilising territorial borders and stimulated the development of power relations. Their creation contributed to the development of science and technology, since they posed a number of specific requirements for builders to solve. The stabilisation of territorial relations led to greater attention being paid to the comforts of everyday life. The art of castle building contributed to the maintenance of cultural values (through frescos, tapestries, etc.). The construction, transformation and decoration of castles and palaces contributed to artistic development in adjacent fields such as fine arts and crafts.

Developments in the art of castle building generated new compositional techniques and geometric shapes, often borrowed from other types of civil and religious building design (bays, battlements, *avant-corps* (porch or pavilion jutting out from the main wall) and solutions for widening the visual range of wall apertures). This was most prominent in the Roman and Gothic period-architecture and in replicas built in subsequent epochs (for example, in the eclectic period). In no other area of construction was the problem of the relationship between artificial constructions and the natural landscape solved at such a high level.

The specific character of castle-building - the use of available environmental features, cultural and historical traditions and socio-cultural conditions - is directly reflected in advantages and disadvantages of regional

¹⁵ Ibid.

castle shapes, from the point of view of solving defensive tasks. These conditions, according to field research, played a decisive role in choosing the shape of each individual castle complex.

Based on this, it is possible to see two ways in which compositional decisions were dictated by nature itself. In the first case, natural elevations were often used when building castles, such that the construction became a kind of continuation of the relief, a natural development of it, such that it is often quite difficult to differentiate between natural and artificial forms. As a result, these castles give a sense of blending with nature, where the constituent elements are inseparable. In the second case, where construction took place on flat land, horizontal lines have a dominant role in the landscape, while the castle offers vertical divisions in opposition. In this case, the flat landscape accentuates the shape of the castle, emphasising its power, whilst such castles themselves enrich the plains through a contrast as pleasing to the eye as the blending of castles on promontories.¹⁶

It is in the art of castle building that the specific features of these compositional techniques were used to the breaking point of their expressive possibilities.¹⁷ At the same time, the need to create a perfect defensive feudal residence eventually brought castle design to the highest aesthetic level, proving the highly organised character of the evolving system, analogous to the processes of evolution and growth in nature.

The castle, born in depths of medieval history, was the centre from which European and western Russian civilization formed. The feudal castle symbolised military, political, economic and legal power. It was the centre of knightly culture and feudal traditions, it presented a fortified base for further conquest of new lands, defended the inner state and trade routes, protected against attack from neighbouring territories and served as a factor of political stability, while at the same time contributing to an increase in feudal disunity.¹⁸ The defensive castle, as a phenomenon of medieval culture, unites the various regions of Europe and the lands of west and south-western Russia - lands which were otherwise divided by differing levels of political, economic, military, social and cultural development.

¹⁶ Kilimnik 2011a, p. 326.

¹⁷ Ulmer 1999, p. 303.

¹⁸ Kilimnik 2011b, p. 98.

The Medieval Castle as a Symbol of Military-Political, Economic and Legal Power in the European Regions of the 10th-17th Centuries

(Abstract)

This article is based on a cultural-historical approach to the analysis of the medieval feudal castle as a phenomenon of European culture. The synthesis of artistic, functional and constructive elements in castle architecture is analysed, illustrating the historical essence of feudal castles.

The feudal castle symbolised military, political, economic and legal power. It was the centre of knightly culture and feudal traditions, it presented a fortified base for further conquest of new lands, defended the inner state and trade routes, protected against attack from neighbouring territories and served as a factor of political stability, while at the same time contributing to an increase in feudal disunity.

Through field research, architectural and historical analysis, and the study of the geographical location of European castles, the author offers a new classification of European castle complexes based on the typical, generic and specific features, from a genetic core with historical roots in antiquity to subsequent defensive constructions with characteristic regional differences in shape and design.

The feudal castle, with its unique cultural values, represents cultural and historical integrity. Every individual castle can be seen as an example of historical regional architecture, in conjunction with other common European architectural and artistic traditions of medieval civic culture. This article summarises the diversity found within the architectural and artistic characteristics of medieval Europe's feudal castles, showing that they represented an integral space, synthesising the natural environment, social order and psychology of the Middle Ages.

The study of the historical and cultural heritage of the Middle Ages - in particular of monuments of chivalric culture - bears a special significance today in reminding people of these striking manifestations of the unique culture of medieval Europe.

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- | | |
|----------------|--|
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- Keywords:** castle, phenomenon, culture, synthesis, functions, feudalism, Middle Ages.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijskij na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolyucii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

TYPOLOGICAL FEATURES OF CHINESE CULTURE IN THE MING DYNASTY (1398-1644)

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Introduction

The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was the final stage of traditional Chinese cultural development. Spiritual and artistic synthesis, cultivated through a symbolic world view, reached perfection during this period, but also began show features of stagnation, which became determinative in the following centuries. The obliteration of symbolic reality and the replacement of a symbolic world view by a naturalistic one characterises the development of Chinese cultural processes in the Modern age.¹

Methodology

The main difficulty in the study of symbolism is the incomparability of conceptual language and symbolic reality. Symbolism is in reality inseparable from consciousness, from a functional perspective. Works of contemporary researchers of symbolism - P. Berger, D. Sperber, P. Bourdieu - show that the roots of symbolism can be found in the premises of human activity, which correspond to the history of sociality as a set of moments of experience. In this sense, symbolism corresponds to Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" - non-fixed aspirations of people reproducing the objective structures of society.²

Modern Sinology has formulated conclusions regarding total artistry as a specific feature of Chinese culture. Art runs through Chinese life "from

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¹ Malyavin 2003, p. 11.

² Bourdieu 1990, p. 9.

the highest theoretical spheres to the most ordinary manifestations and such universal presence is probably its most characteristic feature.”³ Artistic creativity, aesthetics and ethics, ritual and music, calligraphy, painting, poetry and dance imbue not only spiritual, but also everyday life. In terms of universalism, a configuration of artistic experiences accumulated by Chinese masters can be distinguished by the dominance of several components. In course of the general evolution of the artistic experience, the cosmism and synaesthesia conventional to Indian culture was adapted by Chinese masters, who introduced new categories and strategies that reached the level of specific universals not only of the culture, but also of actual artistry. It seems that a very characteristic dynamic of the Chinese variant of artistry is a mechanism for the conservation of traditional creative principles whilst sharpening the form and content in a direction of increasing sophistication. It should also be noted that Chinese philosophical and aesthetic traditions are characterised by the absence of creationism: the world, in the view of these traditions, arises from some hidden foundation, like a flower emerging from a bud. The world is not perceived as being divided into spirit and matter, rather reality is interpreted as a process or a state of flow of the vital force, qi. The world does not consist of the material and the spiritual, it is “energetic.”⁴

The universe, in Chinese traditional thought, has organic integrity; a man is equal to the cosmic forces of heaven and earth and occupies a central place among them. This, however, does not imply recognition of the absolute freedom of will. Chinese behavioural norms operate according to specific limitations: every deed and action of the individual is evaluated in terms of etiquette and morality. Thus, naturalism, vitalism, holism, humanism and ethical imperative are the philosophical and cultural foundations of the Chinese world view.⁵

In understanding the essence of Chinese artistry, the idea of the interpenetrability of matter and spirit is of great importance. Between spirit and substance, matter and consciousness there is no insurmountable boundary. They are no more than different modi of a single entity. All that exists in the universe is qi, endlessly passing from one form to another. That is why reality, in Chinese thought, is determined through the identification of change; reality is a subjectless medium of transformations in which all things mutually embrace each other, and so form merges with being. The most reliable evidence of the Dao (Way) is considered to be the element of

³ Titarenko 2010, p. 13.

⁴ Jullien 1996, p. 18-19.

⁵ Torchinov 2005, p. 14.

dreams. According to Chinese concepts, the sage is immersed in the contemplation of the missing. This was noted by the writer-monk Dong Yue,⁶ who compared dreams with clouds, constantly changing their appearance, and stated that the creative imagination allows penetration into the dynamic prototypes of life.⁷

From this it follows that the principle of correlation, of interconnectedness - rather than cause-and-effect - is typical of Chinese culture, capturing the relations between phenomena, revealing their likeness or kinship. The similar interacts with similar, answers and sympathises with it. One of the characteristics of correlative thinking is the construction of sets of interrelated phenomena. Attribution of something to a particular type means that it is in a state of belonging to the positive or negative sphere of being (yang-yin), to one or another archetype. The idea of transformation, vividly and originally presented in Chinese culture, provides the basis for further specialisation and complexity within the artistic experience.⁸

The cosmos, in this world view, is a unified resonant system formed by a reboant conjugate on the basis of universal sympathy with other phenomena and forms. In the world-organism it is not causation that prevails, but the process of impact-response. Man, through the force of his sincerity (zhong), is capable of influencing the universe, which responds in accordance with the nature of the impact. For the Chinese consciousness, an intention towards cognition and reflection on universal metamorphoses and transformations is typical. The Chinese cosmos is subordinate to the principle of beauty. The cosmos is decorated, "patterned" (wen), and in humans this intricacy is manifested in culture expressed through hieroglyphic writing. In the Axial Age, the term "wen" meant the sacred tattoo of shamans and priests. Then it came to be understood as any ornament, and later it came to mean "writing" or "culture expressed in graphic signs."⁹ Thus, the cosmos is revealed in a person through writing. Any pattern, written symbol or hieroglyph represents an element of cosmic ornamentation, hence the reverent attitude people hold towards the written text and culture, which continuously "weaves" its various patterns and designs.

⁶ Dong Yue (1620-1686): late Ming Dynasty writer-monk who wrote the novel *A Supplement to the Journey to the West* (1640).

⁷ Brandauer 1978, p. 96.

⁸ Schwartz 1985, p. 350-382.

⁹ Golygina 1971.

This world view was developed in the ancient Chinese tradition;¹⁰ later, Buddhism brought new ideas and images. In Zen Buddhism (Chan),¹¹ for example, the principle is demonstrated in the famous story of the “Flower Sermon.” Once, the Buddha held up a flower in front of his disciples and smiled. Only one student, named Mahakasyapa, understood the teacher’s gesture and also smiled. At that moment he attained a moment of enlightenment. His smile signified the direct transmission of wisdom by the Buddha without instruction or writing.¹² As per the doctrine of Chan, wisdom is passed in a special way from heart to heart without relying on written signs. Monastic practices, such as caning monks who are immersed in a meditative state, illogical “questions and answers,” paradoxical statements and discussions between teacher and student are all ways of concentrating the consciousness and bringing about the spontaneous momentary awakening of the true “self,” the realisation of one’s Buddha nature.

The essence of Chan teaching consists of calming the heart, cleansing the mind and engaging in discussion with a wise mentor: then wisdom and insight will follow. But a shift is required, so the master must give the student a push towards consciousness. A Chan philosopher would call these pushes “cuffs” or “shoves to indolent pupils.” In the West, as in Japan, these mental shoves are called “koans” and interpreted as “paradoxical dialogues of the Zen masters.” In Chinese, the genre is called “gongan” or “jifengyu,” literally “speech like a sharpened sword.”¹³ Gongan is a component of Eastern correlative thinking, where the unusual becomes the norm and when the ordinary turns into a paradox. The opportunity to play with the world, turning it upside down, and thus to return to the cause of adopted evaluations, represents a specific method of educating the consciousness.

Alexander Maslov sees the origin of paradoxical dialogues in legal practices of 5th-8th century China. Judicial decisions were often made not as a result of investigation, but as a consequence of hearing the responses of the defendant. The ability of the defendant to offer exactly the right description of reality (at least right for himself) correlated directly with whether he would be found guilty or not. The Zen master, as if presiding over a judicial court, punishes followers’ weak abilities and metes out

¹⁰ Malyavin 2003, p. 275-276.

¹¹ In the West, this is best-known by its Japanese pronunciation - Zen.

¹² Maslov, Loginova 2009, p. 26.

¹³ Ibid., p. 6.

“sentences” by thrashing slow-witted students.¹⁴ Hence, the mystique and illogic of such dialogues is followed by realisation of their simplicity. The only complexity in Gongan duality is that it represents ambiguity both for the master and the disciple. There is no such thing as a correct answer: it is only correct in that particular situation and for those interlocutors. The criteria for truth and the reflection of purity of consciousness involve a deep personal sense of reality, the manifestation of personality and inner experience. For example, consider two answers to the question: “What is the Dao, expressed in one word?” The answer of Master Yunmen was “Annihilation!” but the answer of Wenzhou was different: “This is I, an old monk, hidden at the bottom of a alms bowl.”¹⁵ Both answers are equal and mean the annihilation of illusions and delusions, as well as the possibility of the most modest man to symbolise the whole fullness of reality. But mere repetition of these famous answers in response to that same question would entail a negative assessment of any disciple.

The masters and thinkers of China drew attention to the conditions on which mastery depends, primarily to such components as qi, that is, the fullness of life and energy. Qi, in their interpretation, is the source of all movement both in nature and in the human body. Chinese doctors emphasise the pulse, on the beating of which the flow of blood depends; it is the cause of movement in the body. Taoist alchemists saw in the world body-crucible three modi: the life-giving force, jing; qi energy; and Shen spirituality - the incarnation of the dynamism of Dao.¹⁶

The paradigm of the Chinese plastic arts is based on certain requirements of form. It is understood by Chinese artists not as a closed volume, but as a channel visualised through the circulation of qi energy; perceived not as a mass, but as a dynamic configuration of a unified space-time continuum. Representation of movement in visual art was developed by increasing the detail in a picture, by creating series of images, and through the use of “sliding perspectives” in paintings which allow the viewer to consider the subject from different angles simultaneously. Through such transformations, Chinese artists expressed both the energy of natural, material existence and their own creative will, the activity of their spirit, as if merging these opposites into a single unit.

This aspiration to saturate the senses and integrate multiple elements is expressed especially vividly in the art of garden design. The philosopher and writer, Master Ji Cheng, author of the first treatise in Chinese tradition

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 30-31.

¹⁶ Malyavin 2003, p. 248.

on landscape architecture, *Yuanye* (garden arrangement), written in the sunset years of the Ming Dynasty (mid-17th century) gave instruction on the creation of a special object of pleasure: the garden. He describes one of his works to a wealthy provincial official:

“I looked at the highest places, examined the depths of springs. Trees were reaching to heaven, curved branches swept the ground. I said: to arrange a garden here, you need not only to raise the hills, but also to deepen the lowlands. Let the flank of the hill peep from behind tall trees; let stones cut into the twisted roots; let there be pavilions and terraces scattered on the surface of water; let soaring galleries be thrown over channels, twisting like figures on antique stamps - here’s a picture to strike the imagination! When construction was completed, the owner was overjoyed. He said: if you measure the distance between the entrance and exit, it is just 400 steps, but within is gathered all the beauty of Jiangnan.”¹⁷

The intention towards multiplicity in the culture of China was refined to unthinkable perfection and framed in a set of special aesthetic and artistic techniques. Plurality was intensified and undermined simultaneously by means of the “one feature” technique. In professional arts, this represented the synthesis of the single and multiple, unifying single, separate and invisible elements. Chinese calligraphers were particularly committed to that technique. Chan mentors used extreme methods of education, causing moments of “sudden realisation” in students through the strike of a cane or a loud cry. Following this lead, martial artists and lawyers talked about the rule of “one law,” military strategists of “one motion.” According to the rules of the “one feature” technique, a single source is scattered and concentrated in a multitude of actions: there are not many techniques, but only one, movement, and here the impulse of life, the dynamism of life, is always actualised.

Chinese masters worried about the maximisation of pure expression, about reaching the limit of expressiveness where substantial and formal elements become indistinguishable from the decorative. Vladimir Malyavin notes that they realised such expression in the “spontaneous non-duality of secret-internal and external-decorative components.”¹⁸ It developed in various ways, namely: where the boundary between the background and the image of the whole continuum is relative and changeable; where form is harmonised by the balancing of polar qualities and opposing vectors of motion; and when the energy of elements in a composition is dominated by

¹⁷ Ji Cheng 2012, p. 228-229.

¹⁸ Malyavin 2003, p. 172.

central and centripetal vectors. These plastic principles are maintained at the macro and micro levels of the whole.

Chinese artists are known for their special love of curved, wavy lines, which allow the energy of motion to be translated visually. Hidden channels through which internal life impulses can pass, trajectories formed by interactions between the rhythms of space and matter, these lines were called “dragon veins.”

“The system of dragon veins, lost in the infinitely complex geometry of the space-time continuum, in every moment of deployment appears a grasp of form and shape, extended and intermittent. We can see signs of this grasp in those lines favoured by Chinese painters of the curve of branches and swirls of clouds, in winding paths and streams, the broken contours of mountains and the lacy outline of stones, reached by emptiness - in all that gives the impression of a cliff, the transition to otherness, the convergence of the dissimilar.”¹⁹

China masters began to give their attention to the concept of energy quite early in the days of the ancient kingdoms and empires, when the first state associations formed in the Bronze Age (second millennium BC). Much as in India, art at this time was a part of complex magic rituals, which accounts for the special suggestive qualities of ancient Shan artefacts.²⁰

“Shan Dynasty art represented the sacred power of the state. ... The purpose of ritual was to maintain cosmic balance and the continuing dominance of the Shan government, in connection with which in the casting of ‘green bronze’ received an unprecedented concentration of energy, producing significantly superior artefacts compared both to those of neighbouring states and the products of later ages.”²¹

The development of culture in during the Zhou Dynasty (7th-3rd century BC), the Qin Dynasty (221-207 BC) and the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) was marked by the dominance of the political sphere. The Qin Dynasty, through military progress, created the conditions for many innovations in the field of art, which moved in the direction of the cultural synthesis and aesthetic pluralism which was fully realised in the ideology of the Han era (Confucianism-Legalism-Taoism). Particularly noteworthy is the heritage of three famous military writers Sunzi, Wuzi and Wei Liaozi. Ancient treatises describing martial arts techniques indicated the concentration of artistic efforts not only within the arts, but also in military strategy. An essay by Sunzi, *The Art of War*, describes 13 stratagems, among

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 268.

²⁰ Kozhin 2009, p. 15-22.

²¹ Titarenko 2010, p. 32-33.

which a special place is occupied by tactical subterfuge. Sunzi describes the necessity in military activities of exploiting the enemy's weaknesses, using camouflage, feints and other misleading tactics, such as misrepresenting one's defences as weak. He emphasises that strategy does not mean planning in the sense of making a list of tasks, but action on the basis of rapid and appropriate response to constantly changing conditions.

Much of the text is given over to the discussion of how to make war without actual military engagement and how to outwit the enemy without physical effort, i.e. without a fight. Warfare, according to the author, is based on deception. Military campaigns which achieve rapid success are preferable to a protracted war, which is costly, so the actions of a successful commander must be characterised by speed, efficiency and flexibility. The treatise has a curious passage describing a mysterious method called "a treasure for the governor." Dealing with intrigue and subterfuge, it describes obtaining advance knowledge through the use of five types of spies: local, domestic, converted, doomed and retrievable. Advance knowledge, it states, does not come from heavenly signs, spirits, demons, but from the people. This knowledge is of the "true state of the enemy." In addition he proposes that the conduct of a military leader should be calm and inspirational to others, direct, disciplined, and able to "deaden the hearing and sight" of soldiers and commanders, i.e. to keep them in ignorance. He makes changes to strategy and plans that those around him do not know about; he hides his position and acts in a roundabout way such that others can not foresee his actions.²²

Although these principles of military ingenuity lie far from the sphere of artistic activity, in the latter field it is also impossible not to see manifestations of rationalism and pragmatism, combined with camouflage and a spontaneous approach. Also clear is the penetration into artistic working practices of new ideas about the nature of particular skills associated with the phenomenon of gradation (variations in shade, tone and colour) and the nuances of its formal features.

This quality is most vividly revealed in masterpieces of calligraphy from this period. Black ink, with its silver-grey nuances, gave a sense of the unity and integrity of the world. Here two styles of writing were singled out: one thorough, with precise representation of every detail, known as "diligent brush" (gongbi) and the other free-style, careless and spontaneous, referred to as "painting ideas" (seyi). Nadezhda Vinogradova emphasises that:

²² <http://lib.ru/POECHIN/suntzur.txt>, accessed 20 June 2014.

“A mastery of nuance, combined with the sharpness and power of the brushstroke, helped to create the impression of airiness, fine details, the distance or proximity of objects, movement and repose. The matt white surface of the scroll was an important component of the creative image.”²³

A focus on spontaneity, on actions which respond to the situation, reached its pinnacle during the period of the Six Dynasties age (3rd-6th centuries AD) in both the field of art and the culture of everyday life, having developed into a complete aesthetic paradigm as a mode of thought, behaviour and creativity. During this period, the transition from anonymity to individual creativity was completed. One symbol of this process was the rise of a new creative direction, which in fact signified the formation of aesthetics as an independent branch of knowledge. This direction was fengliu (“wind and stream”), which represented specifically “shocking” culture.

The hieroglyph feng (wind, blowing, nature) implies the natural movement of the energy-matter substance, qi, as revealed in almost all spheres of life: in the manners of man, the morals of society, and even the morals of nature. The second hieroglyph, liu (stream, current), refers to the movement of water. In Chinese culture it is associated both figuratively and naturally with qi and the Dao. The unity in duality of Feng Liu is, in a certain way, connected with the term Feng Shui (“wind and water”), which indicates both natural forces and the traditional art of understanding their relations and human adaptation to them.

The development of Feng Liu as a style reflected the increasing attention being paid to the problem of creative self-expression. The features of Feng Liu are considered to be a relaxed attitude, and sometimes even eccentric behaviour and appearance on the part of the artist. In terms of intellectual practice, the proponent of Feng Liu held cultural values which conformed to the tradition of “pure conversations” (qingtan - witty philosophical and metaphysical discussions), whilst in the sphere of individual action and creativity he preserved his inner freedom and intuitive sensitivity to the movements of the Dao in the mystical depths of the human spirit.²⁴

If we compare archetypal aspects of Indian and China cultures, Indian culture is characterised by the phenomenon of personal representation of artistry in ancient myths, narratives of beings with extraordinary powers. Chinese myths, by contrast, are very “earthy,” closely connected with real

²³ Vinogradova 1988, p. 9.

²⁴ Bezhin 1982.

historical personae such as emperors, officials and philosophers, and the accounts are generally less poetic.

The most generous in their recognition of the dignity of artistic talents were Taoist stories about the xian. Xian are mortal beings who acquire supernatural powers, bringing them closer to the gods. They can transform their own and other people's appearances, fly through the air, and possess magical talismans. Among the xian, some of the most vivid characters are endowed with artistic qualities. For example, there is Royal Uncle Cao (Cao Guojiu), a real person thought to be a relative of the Emperor Ren Zong (1023-1064). Disappointed with the ruling house, he learned the art of "gold and cinnabar" - alchemy - and then took refuge in the mountains. In popular legend, Uncle Cao transformed into the patron saint of musicians and actors, and is often portrayed as an official in ceremonial dress, but with castanets in his hands.²⁵ Another character, Han Xiangzi,²⁶ a preacher of Taoism, won debates through performing miracles, and was a lover of music and colour. When he played the flute, flowers grew everywhere.

In the age of the Han (206 BC-220 AD) and the Six Dynasties, the Jade Maiden (Yu Nu) - a lover of cheerful feasts, hostess to immortal peers and divine singer - was particularly popular among the elite. Yu Nu was believed to be an inspirer of orgiastic mysteries, and was depicted as a beautiful woman in gorgeous clothing and jewellery.²⁷ Also in the pantheon of Taoist xian was patron of crafts and craftsmen, Lu Ban,²⁸ the great inventor and architect. According to legend he sculpted from rock a bird that looked completely alive.²⁹ Finally, a very popular figure among scientists and officials with exams to pass was the astral character associated with the constellation of Wenchang, the God of Literature. He was responsible for all areas of education and intellectual occupations and was the protector of all cultured people.

By way of comparison, it can be noted that the gods of the Hindu pantheon were quite indifferent to artistic manifestations of talent, and were

²⁵ Kravtsova 2004, p. 496.

²⁶ Han Xiangzi (768-824): said to be the nephew or grandnephew of Han Yu (768-824 AD), he was a prominent Tang Dynasty Confucian philosopher. Because his flute gave life, Han became the protector of flautists.

²⁷ Kravtsova 2004, p. 487.

²⁸ Lu Ban (c. 507-440 BC): ancient Chinese carpenter, engineer, philosopher, inventor, military thinker and statesman. He was a contemporary of Mozi, and is the patron saint of Chinese builders and contractors.

²⁹ Kravtsova 2004, p. 538.

themselves able to demonstrate, like Shiva Nataraja,³⁰ the highest art. Chinese gods are somewhat modest against this background. But this “gap” is compensated for completely by the presence of a very special figure that emerged in China as a result of the unprecedented growth of the cult of literacy and written knowledge in the time of the Ming Dynasty. This was the “person of culture” (wenren, also known collectively as the literati), one who embodied the cultural element.

In Chinese tradition, the cultured man embodied the image of the Keeper of heritage.

“This was a personal ideal, which had no overall specific embodiment, and no one had exclusive rights to it. A cultured man did not have any predetermined social, educational, material or professional identity. The only thing uniting this varied cohort of people was education. In the context of the celebration of bureaucracy and merchantry, where it was not talent and hard work, but relationships and money which opened doors, it was necessary to preserve the public face [of the cultured man]. In this regard, it was all the more important to separate sincerity from hypocrisy, genuine spirituality from snobbery, [and to avoid] slavery to routine and unscrupulousness.”³¹

One particular feature of wenren was that they made a clear gesture of detachment, removing themselves from everyday life, demonstrating their estrangement from the vanities of the world; their lives were seen as solitary, secretive, closed to outsiders. The man of culture adhered externally to an ascetic lifestyle without any obvious posturing, swirling passions or great achievements. He busied himself with prosaic, unsophisticated and minor pleasures: reading, talking with a friend, walking, fishing or playing checkers. However, the aim of his “idleness in solitude” was the search for novelty, personal experience and, ultimately, self-expression and the cultivation of spirituality. Often the man of culture would amaze his neighbours by his eccentric actions. A master of Chinese calligraphy, Zhang Xu³² (whose works date from 713-755 AD) was famous

³⁰ The god Shiva is often depicted as the cosmic dancer who performs his divine dance to destroy a weary universe and make preparations to begin a new process of creation.

³¹ Malyavin 2003, p. 85.

³² Zhang Xu became an official during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty (713-756 AD). Zhang was known as one of the Eight Immortals of the Wine Cup in Taoist mythology. Legend has it that whenever he was drunk, he would use his hair as brush to perform his art, and upon his waking up, he would be amazed by the quality of those works but failed to produce them again whilst sober. One of Zhang Xu's poems was included in the poetry anthology *Three Hundred Tang Poems* (1763).

for his wild cursive script.³³ He belonged to a large number of famous eccentric poets, scientists, artists and calligraphers from the 7th-8th centuries who were known for drinking copious amounts of wine in order to find freedom and develop their own original creative style. The direct impact of this aesthetic can be found in the calligraphy of Zhang Xu, whose style is distinguished by a grotesque ungovernability, and also by soaring, joyful ecstasy, spontaneity and improvisation.³⁴

In terms of form, the artistic output of the man of culture was imbued with the aesthetic of the personal, sincere, spontaneous and impromptu; rough, perhaps, but never falsely smooth. The content of the works of art created by these scholars, of course, was connected to their reflection upon the Dao, made manifest through transitions of opposites, through fluidity, and through depiction of the Great Void, which absorbs the whole world. In these artworks, mythological heroes can appear more like historical persons and one can detect the sublime in everyday, unpretentious, curious and banal subjects. In a sudden insight into everyday life, these Chinese masters discovered the infinite creative power of being. In their poetic solitude and unpretentious contemplation of the fluid world, they updated and brought to maturity new artistic practices, illuminating the boundaries of an art that was not fantastical but represented the artistic experience of everyday existence. Chinese literati brought to world culture a conscious and all-encompassing idea of grace, of the mundane raised to the rank of elegance in everyday life.

Conclusions

In summary, we can draw the following conclusions. In course of the general evolution of the artistic experience, the cosmism and synaesthesia conventional to Indian culture was adapted by Chinese masters, who introduced new categories and strategies that reached the level of specific universals not only of the culture, but also of the actual artistry. Chinese artistic consciousness operates according to the categories of space and time, and was personified by the literati, “men of culture,” recognised as an official order, who celebrate the importance of creativity and pure leisure, cultural memory and advanced education.

Thus, in late medieval China three main cultural types can be singled out:

1. Folk-culture at this time was characterised by the survival of archaic features and was the product of the popularisation of classical tradition. The

³³ Sokolov-Remizov 1991, p. 168.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 177-178.

stylistics of this cultural type correlated traditional symbols with everyday objects. Symbolic values were alien to the folk artist; archaic character was expressed in the practice of human sacrifice, which existed until the 17th century.³⁵

2. Classical culture, which gave paramount importance to the act of stylisation, produced standard forms in which such cultural practices were manifested. The main values of the ancient Chinese literary tradition were related to this approach, including Confucianism and ancestral cults.³⁶ Paradoxically, the element of game in Chinese art also refers to this cultural type as a sign of symbolic existence.

3. Esoteric tradition brought about a merging of symbolic and naturalistic aspects of the artistic image, which often found expression in calligraphy and painting. In social terms, this cultural type was the foundation of the development of the literati (wenren).³⁷

The unity of the cultural tradition of China during the Ming Dynasty was based on the premise of the symbolic nature of cultural forms. Correlative thinking allowed the coexistence of classical culture and archaic forms of popular culture, such that Confucian scholar-officials did not descend into intolerance, instead perceiving folk customs as being an inescapable and socially necessary illusion.³⁸ Art, in this context, was considered to be of profound value, because it allowed the individual to break through from the world of illusions to the fundamental principles of being. The application of functional methodology to this situation allows us, on the one hand, to describe the theoretical achievements of Far Eastern art and philosophical reflection through the basic structures of Western philosophical language and, on the other, to use these achievements in contemporary artistic practices.

Typological Features of Chinese Culture in the Ming Dynasty (1398-1644)

(Abstract)

The article deals with the typology of Chinese culture during the Ming Dynasty (1398-1644). Study of the cultural complex of this period is important because Chinese tradition, characterised by cultivation of a symbolic world view, had entered its final stage, but still had not yet been subject to conscious "conservation" by the authorities. In the Ming

³⁵ <http://cul.sohu.com/20061023/n245950878.shtml>, accessed 30 March 2014.

³⁶ Chang 2007, p. 318-319.

³⁷ Huang 1995, p. 29.

³⁸ Wang 2012, p. XXVIII-XXIX.

Dynasty, spiritual and artistic synthesis, cultivated by a symbolic world view, reached perfection but also showed signs of stagnation, which became determinative in the following centuries. The obliteration of symbolic reality and the replacement of a symbolic world view by a naturalistic one characterises the development of Chinese cultural process in the Modern age. This study of symbolic reality is based on functionalistic methodology, which proposes that the roots of symbolism can be found in the premises of human activity, which correspond to the history of sociality as a set of moments of experience.

The Universe in the Chinese tradition has organic integrity; a man is equal to the cosmic forces of heaven and earth and occupies a central place among them. Chinese behavioural norms operate according to specific limitations: every deed and action of the individual is evaluated in terms of etiquette and morality. Thus naturalism, vitalism, holism, humanism and ethical imperative form the philosophical and cultural foundations of the Chinese world view. From this it follows that a correlated - rather than a cause-and-effect - principle is typical of Chinese culture, capturing the relationship between phenomena, revealing their likeness or kinship. A condition of attribution to a particular type means belonging to the positive or negative sphere of being (yang-yin), to one or another archetype. From this follows the idea of transformation, providing a basis for further specialisation and complexity within the artistic experience.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

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| Brandauer 1978 | - Frederick Brandauer, <i>Tung Yueh</i> , Boston, 1978. |
| Chang 2007 | - Michael G. Chang, <i>A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring & the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680-1785</i> , Cambridge, 2007. |
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Keywords: cultural art, symbolism, the Ming dynasty, Dong Yue, correlativism, artistry.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskoye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archives. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskoy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evoliicii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaiisk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

PRESERVATION AND PROSPECTS FOR THE MUSEIFICATION OF THE NATURAL HERITAGE SITE “GUSSINYI PERELET”

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The protection of cultural and natural heritage is one of today's most pressing concerns. It is a global problem, as evidenced by international documents tackling the subject, and is inseparable from the study of the use of heritage objects and areas in modern society. In accordance with the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (adopted at the 17th session of the General Conference of the United Nations in Paris, November 1972) cultural heritage is considered to include monuments, groups of buildings and noteworthy sites (works of man or the combined works of man and nature), including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from a historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological viewpoint. Natural heritage is considered to include natural features, geological and physiographical formations, and natural sites of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty. In the United Nations Charter *In Support of Culture* (adopted in Thessaloniki in June 1997) heritage is defined as the totality of natural and cultural elements, tangible and intangible.¹

The importance of cultural and natural heritage necessitates careful analysis of the threats and challenges posed to it by the modern world. The most effective ways to make use of heritage also require further study. There are several provisions based on the concept of use of heritage:

- Cultural and natural heritage is fragile, defies renewal and is an irreplaceable source of culture;

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¹ <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-ru.pdf>, accessed 30 June 2014.

- The protection of this heritage should not be based on the application of only one method, such as excavations. This can lead to the destruction of cultural and natural heritage.

Current trends in the field of cultural heritage conservation are for preservation, restoration, reconstruction and museification (also written as museumification).

Museification allows the preservation and use of heritage for cognitive tourism, and is a typical model in many countries. With sites situated far enough from areas with high technogenic load, conservation and museification can be designed in such a way that the site or monument is preserved in its natural environment. Designs for the preservation of sites and monuments within the boundaries of industrial centres require a careful selection of appropriate solutions for conservation and use.

In this article, the authors propose a strategy for the conservation of natural heritage using the example of a palaeontological site of national importance known as “Gussinyi Perelet” (the “Goose Passage”). This site is located in the city of Pavlodar, a large industrial centre in Kazakhstan. Urban construction has already encroached upon the boundaries of the site, and progresses without consultation of academic experts. Due to shoreline development on the banks of the Irtysh River, anthropogenic influences have greatly affected its condition.²

Gussinyi Perelet is one of the largest and best-known localities in Eurasia for the assemblage of fossils known as the hipparion fauna. The site was discovered in 1928 by Y. A. Orlov, a novice academic researcher who went on to become director of the Palaeontological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The location, in the riverside district of Pavlodar city, is a cliff spanning 800 meters of the right bank of the Irtysh River, upstream of the railway bridge.

The most typical representative of this collection of fossilised fauna is the animal after which it was named, the three-toed horse Hipparion. However, the range of large mammal remains found in this fauna is very diverse and includes predators, rhinoceroses, hipparions, antelopes, gazelles and deer. Among the small mammals, numerous endemic forms of gerbils dominate. Remains of ancient birds are also found amongst the Gussinyi Perelet fauna; thus far nine species from six different genera have been identified and presented. All these types of birds were ground-dwelling and lived in open landscapes. The collection of fossils indicates a significant drying climate due to desertification and a diversity of landscapes

² Aliyassova et al. 2005, p. 85-86.

characterised by open spaces, wetland thickets and small woodland areas. These natural conditions were similar to the modern African savannah.³

To date more than 70 species of animals have been found on the site, and still more are being discovered. The Hipparion fauna comprises giraffes (*Palaeotragus* sp. and *Samotherium* sp.), rhinoceroses (*Chilotherium orlovi*), sabre-toothed cats (*Machairodus Irtyschensis*), hyenas (*Crocota*), ancient mastodons (*Proboscidea*), ancient deer (*Gazella deperdita*), antelope (*Tragocerus*), ostriches (*Struthio asiaticus*), turtles (*Trionychidae*) and many other animal species.⁴ Hipparions - three-toed horses of the family Equidae - are not thought to be the direct ancestors of the later monodactylus horses, which include domestic horse (*Equus caballus* L.) but a distinct line. During the second half of the Neogene Period, several types of hipparion were spread across Kazakhstan. This gregarious species was separate from the smaller Central Asian donkey. It is believed that unlike modern horses Hipparion were longer-eared and may have had zebra-like colouration. Some Hipparion, according to the bone structure of their limbs, mainly kept to damp marshy meadows, but easily moved to other spaces with more solid ground, as shown by the patterning on the surface of their teeth which suggests they ate tough prairie grasses from drier plains. It is assumed that Hipparion, like many modern ungulates, as well as associated large mammals and some birds (ostriches), migrated seasonally from south to north and back again, according to dry seasons and the growth of vegetation. It is likely that in summer the northern part of Kazakhstan provided ideal conditions for the growth of mast and pastures, while grazing land to the south was scorched by drought.

The giraffes discovered amongst the hipparion fauna were did not have such long necks and legs as those now living in Africa: most were more similar to the okapi still found in the Congo Basin. Their favoured habitat was mixed woodland and savannah.

The antelopes were generally little different from modern representatives of this group of artiodactyls today, and were mainly found in the steppe zone. They included both large species - *Tragocerus* - and smaller gazelles.

One of the most impressive representatives of predators amongst the Hipparion fauna was the sabre-toothed cat, *Machairodus*, more commonly known as the sabre-toothed tiger, which likely hunted all the ungulates of that period, including mastodons. Another predator was the hyena: a strong and active animal, to which sabre-toothed cats were indispensable

³ Shpanskiy 2005, p. 314-317.

⁴ Ibid.

companions. Sabre-toothed cats, having underdeveloped molar teeth, could not chew meat and thus could only eat the soft innards of their prey, so a significant proportion of the meat they left behind went to the hyenas. Fossilised hyenas found at Gussinyi Perelet were similar in type to modern African spotted hyenas.

No less interesting a representative of this ancient fauna was the rhinoceros, *Chilotherium*. There are currently two hypotheses regarding their ecological niche. The first is based on the structure of the chewing surfaces of their teeth, which is characteristic of animals grazing on the tough grass of the steppe. Further support for this hypothesis is provided by the middle toe of their feet, which suggests adaption to life in open plains. The second hypothesis suggests that based on their short legs these rhinoceroses dwelt in low wetland areas, and only later forms of this species were able to adapt to the open steppe. It is believed that these rhinos lived mainly in waterside areas and spent a major part of their existence close to or in water, much like modern hippopotamuses.

The evolution of the landscape and geography of the Priirtyshja region (in which Pavlovdar is located) had to be revaluated in 1958 after V. V. Kuznetsov discovered a fragment of another continental plate typical of the coastal area containing a rather large turtle carapace in the Gussinyi Perelet sediments.⁵ Further research of this coastal plate identified the carapace as belonging to a type of sea turtle. This made a very interesting find: Gussinyi Perelet is a long way inland, yet the remains of sea turtles were discovered amongst the mammalian bones of the *Hipparion* fauna.

The discovery of marine fauna in a continental area is an unusual phenomenon, requiring explanation. There is reason to believe that in the era the *Hipparion* fauna roamed, the territory now known as Kazakhstan had a climate similar to modern subtropical regions such as India. It is possible that during seasonal floods or periods of torrential rainfall, small lakes situated in low areas of dry land may have spread and connected with each other, perhaps even connecting down to the sea, which was a considerable distance to the west of modern Priirtyshja. Under such circumstances, individual marine animals may have been able to penetrate beyond their usual habitat through these connected reservoirs or, under certain conditions, they may have been passively carried to such places. After the waters receded, their return passage would have been cut off. Some palaeontologists suggest that floods after heavy rains could have been so powerful that they engendered turbulent flows that washed slow and weak animals into lowlands and temporary pools. There could also have

⁵ Kuznetsov 1958, p. 69-71.

been other natural flows of turbulent water that carried these animals into the main course of the ancient river.

A special place amongst the Hipparion fauna is reserved for a type of pinniped (seal) - the semantor - which has only ever been found amongst the fauna of Gussinyi Perelet. The find again begs the question of how this animal penetrated such a long way inland. Most likely, it originated where the delta system flowed into the sea, and it is possible that it migrated in the same way as the sea turtles.

Some scholars have naturally questioned whether the remains of sea turtles and semantora might have been redeposited as a result of destructive Neogene floods and other natural processes, causing the bones of marine animals to become mixed with terrestrial ones. This, however, is not supported by the evidence, as it is known that in the process of redeposition, older sediments tend to undergo significant processing, becoming rolled-up as a result of displacement, which has not been observed in this case. Thus, the presence of marine animals such as pinniped semantora and sea turtles can only be due to the fact that the river was at some point linked to the sea.

In general, however, the hipparion fauna are typically creatures that dwelt in lake and river areas in a savannah landscape.

There are thousands of items of skeletal material buried in the Neogene sand-clay depths of Pavlodar, and most are from ungulates that may have been victims of a natural disaster. The mass death could have resulted from a sudden flood caused by rains accompanied by a hurricane; a wildfire from a lightning strike in the dry summer, which spread across the steppe; or a long catastrophic drought in which animals died not only from lack of moisture and food, but attacked each other whilst crowding around the watering hole. Animals could also have been killed *en masse* by the flooding of the ancient river. Skeletal remains of fauna that lived along its shores were periodically washed away from meadows and rivers banks, and accumulated in depressions that later formed lens-shaped deposits of bone.⁶

The banks of small ponds in the Pavlodar region became burial places where half-decayed remains of dead animals were periodically covered in mud. It is interesting to note that about 80% of the hiloteriya rhinoceros bones discovered there belong to young animals. This is a possible consequence of temporary droughts which killed off younger animals that were less able to tolerate lack of water. Flooding could have caused further burial, but would not have been the cause of death: animals are killed by floods tend to be buried with their skeletons more-or-less intact, and

⁶ Orlov 1989, p. 43-44.

excavations have revealed no such finds: skeletal remains of individual bones are the most common.

In the geological time period in which the Hipparion fauna lived, their Siberian habitat is known to have contained many plants and a variety of mammals. From this it can be inferred that the vast territory of Western Siberia and Kazakhstan had a fairly mild climate and a wide variety of terrain.

Opinions amongst authors differ as to the age of the site, based on the palaeomagnetic data. Some consider it to be of the Gilbert chron (5.4-5.5 Ma), i.e. Upper Miocene (end of the Meotian stage), a view held by P. A. Tleuberdina. However, according to V. S. Zazhigina, three samples of clay taken from the Gussinyi Perelet site correspond to the sixth palaeomagnetic age (5.8-6.8 Ma).

The first major research was conducted at Gussinyi Perelet by the Institute of the Academy of Science of the USSR from 1929 and throughout the 1930s. Discovery of the Gussinyi Perelet palaeontological site, with its wealth of animal fauna of Neogene period (estimated to date from 25 to 2 million years ago) drew palaeozoologists from across the Soviet Union to the Irtysh Pavlodar region, but unfortunately all the palaeontological material they unearthed was removed from Pavlodar. At that time, the city had no scientific organisation which could have handled the research or preservation of palaeontological remains. Many palaeontological findings of that time were therefore incorporated into the collection of the Zoological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

The 1930s were the main period of active palaeontological research in the Pavlodar region. On the basis of materials collected during this period, a room was created in the Museum of Palaeontology of the USSR dedicated Pavlodar excavations, displaying skeletons of rhinoceroses and other animals taken from Gussinyi Perelet. Since 1946, Kazakh scientists have been studying the area of "Gussinyi Perelet" in detail.

In the early 1950s, the media began to speak of the great scientific and historical value of palaeontological burial grounds and the importance of their preservation, an issue that remains relevant to the present day. The question of the need to protect the site has been raised repeatedly by the scientific community. In 1956, the *Bulletin of the Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR* and the *Kazakhstan Pravda* newspaper published articles by V. S. Bazhanov about the need to protect palaeontological monuments, and in particular Gussinyi Perelet.⁷ The Commission for the Conservation of

⁷ Bazhanov 1956, p. 15.

Nature, under the President of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR, wrote to the director of the Pavlodar regional museum stating: “It is clear that Gussinyi Perelet must be declared a nature reserve and protected from despoliation.”

Excavations at Gussinyi Perelet have been conducted on numerous occasions and the results highlighted in the writings of palaeontologists A. A. Borisyak, Y. A. Orlov, V. S. Bazhanova, L. K. Gabunia, E. M. Belyaeva, V. I. Gromova, B. U. Bayshashova, P. A. Tleuberdina, L. A. Gaiduchenko, and many others.

In terms of the diversity of species found and the excellent condition of their bones, Gussinyi Perelet is considered to be among the top twenty palaeontological sites of the world. The unique set of fauna found in the Pavlodar complex is considered an international benchmark. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the Gussinyi Perelet finds as a reference for and model of the Hipparion fauna of Siberia and Kazakhstan. The huge variety of vertebrate species allows for a broad comparison with Asian and European sites of Hipparion fauna.

The incision at the site reveals the following basic sediments:⁸

1. Light-green, massive plastic clay with interbed of white lumpy limestone and dark humus lenses, lying below the water line.
2. Ocher-yellow, medium-size granular sands with foreland, undulate-horizontal cleavage; lenses of loam 8-10 m.
3. Faltering lenses of small- and medium-sized granular, clayey sands with pinkish-grey marlaceous concretions, sometimes reaching up to 1 m (cave deposits with the bones of small animals).
4. Red-brown clay with layers of greenish-brown dense sandy clays, sometimes turning into dense sandy loam. The lower part of the interval, where the main bone-bearing horizon lies (containing bones of large animals) is more saturated with calcium carbonate. Up to 9 m.
5. Anthropogenic sands of medium brown-yellow colour 1-3 m.

(Analysis of the geological composition of the incision is based on data published by P. F. Savinova⁹ and L. L. Gaiduchenko¹⁰.)

On 7 December 1971, Gussinyi Perelet was declared a scientific site of national importance and was taken under state protection.¹¹ Excavations of the burial site could subsequently be carried out only with the permission of the Institute of Zoology of the Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR.

⁸ Baishashov 1993, p. 21.

⁹ Savinov 1970, p. 91-134.

¹⁰ Gaduchenko 1976, p. 150.

¹¹ SAPO 1971, p. 118.

In 1979, this institution, along with the Central Council of the Kazakh Society for Nature Conservation, launched an initiative to create an “open-air museum” at Gussinyi Perelet, with the aim of saving this ‘monument of nature,’ as part of the national heritage of Kazakhstan and home to a fauna archetype resembling the African savannah, with a variety of representatives of the land’s ancient animal kingdom. The project proposed recreating the landscape of that era in the area surrounding the site, including the erection of life-sized sculptures of these ancient animals.¹²

In 2002, on the initiative of scientists of the Pavlodar Pedagogical Institute, the issue of preservation of this unique natural site was again raised. A scientific group was established involving experts from the Pavlodar Pedagogical Institute and the Institute of Zoology of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The group began to develop a work plan for the creation of an excavation pavilion to cover the palaeontological site, and a park area adjacent to the site. The pavilion would have to ensure the safety of the main outcrops of the bone layer, preserving it in its natural form, and also include auxiliary facilities, a museum gallery and a research centre for the study of Late Cenozoic vertebrates.

Around the world, there are many and varied examples of the museification of natural heritage sites of natural interest - museum-parks, museum-reserves and museum-territories. It is naive to think that all national heritage sites must be made into museums. They must be treated individually, taking into consideration their uniqueness, accessibility, entertainment potential and much more.

So before the idea of turning a natural heritage site such as Gussinyi Perelet into a museum is made a reality, a number of issues must be considered:

1. Condition of the monument or site. In most cases, the main determining factor in the state of the site is the influence of the geological environment, which has a role in both maintaining and destroying various elements of the site. Thus it is necessary to seek options for competent reconstruction, conservation and museification, especially since during excavations the established conditions may be changed for a long period, which can sometimes trigger unprecedented and rapid destruction.

In over eight decades since the first excavations, Gussinyi Perelet has undergone great changes. Major riverbank collapses have occurred repeatedly under the pressure of meltwaters, floods and sewage.

¹² Issabekov 2008, p. 24.

Furthermore, the grounds of the monument, due to the proximity of residential buildings, are constantly clogged with household debris.

2. Composition, conditions and properties of soils. When undertaking musefication, it is necessary to consider the composition, condition and properties of soils. Due to natural variation, not all soils meet the requirements for a site with a long and trouble-free existence. Any decisions on the design of a heritage site must be based on a geo-engineering study of geological conditions that may affect the way it functions.

3. Selection of optimal solutions. Construction of an open-air museum should take into account the scientific value of the site. In recent years, the bone-bearing layers in the pits have not been studied. In order to preserve the palaeo-osteological material, it is necessary to investigate the location in detail, especially to determine the location of bone-lenses. If this is not done, there is a serious risk that the sinking of piles for the foundations of any building will destroy undiscovered bone-lenses, causing many osteological materials to be forever lost to science. Thus before construction of the pavilion and park begins, it is necessary to carry out excavations and research the site thoroughly.

Along with this, the question of the expediency of a closed excavation pavilion must be decided. Creating such pavilion would involve annual excavation works after a few years. After all, it is not possible estimate the vast wealth of palaeontological material the site holds if the location of bone lenses are unknown. Furthermore, it would be better not to create excavation and exhibition hall for showing excavated material to the public because it risks destroying bones and other materials from the natural heritage site.

The process of turning a natural heritage site such as Gussinyi Perelet into a museum should be based on the following criteria: its historical and scientific significance, the safety and accessibility of the site for visitors, and the need for long-term preservation of the site in a state fit to be exhibited, from both an engineering and an aesthetic standpoint.

A further aspect of the conservation of cultural and natural heritage is reconstruction. This method is relevant to the creation of parkland adjacent to the monument area, as it is important for the discovery and understanding of the environmental conditions of past geological epochs, and for emotional transmission of Neogene period existence to visitors. Such a park would become a place of learning and leisure, facilitating in-depth cognitive tourism.

One option for the protection of cultural and natural heritage is conservation. This option would involve the complete closure of the site in order to protect the integrity of the palaeontological materials stored in the layers of earth and permit further scientific study. All the material contained in the Gussinyi Perelet site would be excavated and studied. The banks of the Irtysh River would have to be strengthened with concrete. An information block would be set alongside the site. This option may not solve the problem of preserving the heritage site for some decades, but it has great prospects as an option in the process of turning the site into a museum.

Nowadays, in addition to the detailed study of any heritage site, it is necessary to consider its protection. Palaeontological sites simply cannot be protected without solid systems in place. Museification, and its associated systems, is one way to preserve heritage. To adequately protect the site, not only the two hectares of territory which constitutes Gussinyi Perelet, but the land nearby would be required. Thus far, conservation efforts around the site have been restricted to once-off actions, such as cleaning the area of household waste. Such activities are not only insufficient, they fail to change the precarious situation the site faces.

There is a clear need for a national program to implement measures to preserve the site, which is of national significance and great scientific value. In particular, several issues must be addressed relating to the problem of creating an open-air museum: defining the responsibilities of management; legislative implementation of the inventory; research, conservation, preservation, reconstruction and organisation of information; creating facilities for visitors; and training specialists involved in the protection of natural monuments.¹³

These measures will require large investment, but protection of this palaeontological site is very complex from a number of perspectives. Firstly, Gussinyi Perelet is located in a city - a rarity for such a site. Secondly, is the proposed development would be the first such facility in the country, and will provide a unique attraction not only for the city of Pavlodar, but also for Kazakhstan as a whole, embodying the idea of a science museum in the open air where visitors can experience a science-based recreation of the unique palaeolandscape of the era of the Hipparion fauna. Thirdly, through exposure to materials excavated from the site and sculptures of Neogene period animals in the park, new opportunities will be opened up in the field of tourism and leisure, relevant even at the international level.

¹³ Patrusheva 2004, p. 121.

There are many examples of the preservation of monuments through museification, such as Tomsk Pisanytsa, where Siberia’s earliest examples of rock art are located;¹⁴ the Archaeological Museum of Tunlyuyshanya, a museum on the site of a disused copper mine and smeltery in China¹⁵ (1700 m² in size and visited by thousands of tourists every day); Ashfall Fossil Beds State Historical Park in North America (where excavations attract thousands of tourists); and many other equally famous museum-reserves.

Palaeomaterial from Gussinyi Perelet can be seen in the collections of various institutions and museums not only in Pavlodar but Moscow, Almaty, Georgia and in private collections. The range of species found in the palaeofauna of Gussinyi Perelet is well known, but the scientific evidence presented thus far only gives a generalised description: the opening of new parts of the site to modern research may yet lead to the discovery of new species in this location. The historical and scientific significance of this site is still profound and a new approach is required to the problem of its study and conservation. It is essential to integrate and coordinate the efforts of scientists, palaeontologists and the public in conserving this unique palaeontological heritage site.

Museums of this type contribute greatly to the preservation and evaluation of local natural and cultural heritage, and also involve local residents and visitors in the conservation of heritage, contributing to a clearer awareness of their relationship with nature. The creation of this kind of natural heritage site opens up discussion about the development of a new system - the ecological museum - in the form of a specially protected area.

In the modern era of globalisation, economic crisis and social change occurring in the world at the beginning of the 21st century, it is necessary to change society’s attitude towards heritage. Cultural heritage should be seen as a national asset, and be guaranteed sustainable development. In today’s world, heritage is a fundamental concept in determining the viability of many aspects of modern society.

Preservation and Prospects for the Museification of the Natural Heritage Site “Gussinyi Perelet”

(Abstract)

In this article, the authors propose a strategy for the conservation of cultural heritage using the example of a palaeontological site of national importance, Gussinyi Perelet (the “Goose

¹⁴ Martynova 2003, p. 11.

¹⁵ Khu 1986, p. 55.

Passage”) in Kazakhstan. In terms of the diversity of species found and the excellent condition in which the bones have been preserved, Gussinyi Perelet is among the top twenty famous palaeontological sites of the world.

The location, in the riverside district of Pavlodar city, is a cliff spanning 800 meters of the right bank of the Irtysh River, upstream of the railway bridge. The most typical representative of the fauna discovered there was the Hipparion, a three-toed horse. Other fauna found at the site include ancient giraffes, rhinoceroses, sabre-toothed cats, hyenas, mastodons, deer, antelopes, ostriches, turtles and many other animals.

Opinions differ amongst authors as to the age of the site, based on the palaeomagnetic data. Some consider it to be of the Gilbert chron (5.4-5.5 Ma), i.e. Upper Miocene (end of the Meotian stage). However, according to others, three samples of clay taken from the site correspond to the sixth palaeomagnetic age (5.8-6.8 Ma).

This article first presents background information about Gussinyi Perelet, a world-famous palaeontological site of great historical and scientific importance. The pressing issues of its conservation, study and protection are covered and various options for its preservation through conservation and museification are proposed. The problems of the museification of Gussinyi Perelet - especially the complexity of creating an open-air museum - are considered. Finally, the need for further study and careful preservation of this unique site of natural heritage is emphasised. Museums of this type are important sanctuaries, contributing to the preservation and evaluation of local natural and cultural heritage.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of Gussinyi Perelet as a reference for and model of the Hipparion fauna of Siberia and Kazakhstan. The variety of vertebrate species allows for a broad comparisons with Asian and European sites of similar Hipparion fauna.

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Keywords: museification, natural heritage, palaeontology, Hipparion fauna, museum.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestiya Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JIISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotekhnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolyucii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazakhstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

NOTIONS OF TIME AMONGST INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE RUSSIAN NORTH: THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

Yulia G. KHAZANKOVICH*

The study of the vocabulary of indigenous peoples of northern Russia shows that the majority of indigenous peoples have mastered the category of time to a significantly lesser degree than the category of space. The purpose of this study is to identify and analyse the semantic features of the temporal vocabulary in the context of the ethnic culture and mentality of the Palaeoasiatic peoples, specifically the Yukagirs and Alyutors, as well as the Tungus-Manchurians (particularly Evens). The linguistic material used in this article primarily consists of conversations with native Even and Yukagir speakers, natives of Allaikhovskiy and Nizhekolymskiy districts of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), as well as corresponding samples from root vocabulary dictionaries and authoritative research on folklore and language.

Within the framework of this study, methods such as interviews and analyses of the meaning of representative words in national idiomatic expressions have been used, allowing some very interesting observations on notions of time amongst the minor nations of the North. "Small" folklore genres - riddles, proverbs and sayings - were also of a particular interest in this study. Previously published field data obtained by earlier researchers from informants in the field proved extremely relevant to this topic, as they reflected mental notions of time and space amongst the populations under consideration.

Analysis of the vocabulary of Evens, Yukagirs and Alyutors indicated that vocabulary with spatial values prevails. At the same time, these spatial terms of the minor peoples of the Russian North are maximally objective.¹ Analysis conducted on significant lexical formations led to the conclusion that the majority of indigenous peoples of the North, whose culture is very

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¹ Denoting a case where a noun or pronoun serves as the object of a transitive verb or preposition.

archaic, have mastered the category of time to a considerably lesser degree than the category of space. This is typical of almost all primary culture nations who retain traditional activities - herding, fishing, etc. - and adhere to traditional ways of life and pagan (including shamanistic) beliefs.

Specialised research methods, including statistical ones, used to analyse the national lexicon revealed that in the Yukagir and Alyutor cultures the experience of time in frames habitual to modern man and the technological world (a second, a moment, a minute) is almost entirely absent. The ethno-semantic difference that exists between the temporal lexemes “period” and “time” is due to the fact that archetypal representatives of indigenous peoples of northern Russia were and are bearers of a cyclic consciousness. In the daily life of the indigenous peoples of the North, the corresponding archetypal orientation of the consciousness does not exclude the presence of the linear perception of time usual to modern man. But modern life itself posits the idea of memory of the past, generational change and a deep awareness of the linearity of human life from birth to death, and from this associates progressive movement with the natural solar and vegetative cycles of the earth. In the cultural paradigm of modern northerners, the idea of natural cycles, the infinite recurrence and repetition of events is combined with such characteristics of linear time as repeatability, uniqueness and the individuality of a life itself.

There is a need for further research into the eclectic nature of notions of time amongst the indigenous peoples of the Russian North. This is of great importance because ethnic concepts of time are a component of the “language” of the ethnic culture, its code. The study of the ethno-semantics of the temporal and spatial vocabulary of Palaeoasiatic and Tungusic peoples, as well as other indigenous peoples of Russia, offers the prospect of understanding the mechanisms of adaptation of these cultures to the modern world.

Introduction

In our daily life, temporal factors play a significant role. The pace of life in a metropolis differs substantially from the regularity of provincial existence. Representatives of different cultures perceive the flow of time differently. But for minor indigenous peoples of the North, it is qualitatively different than for Europeans.² The philosopher and cultural expert A. Y. Gurevich accurately stated: “Man is not born with a sense of time. His time concepts are always defined by the culture to which he belongs.”³ Yet time

² Abulkhanova-Slavskaya 1983, p. 20-31.

³ Gurevich 1972. *Apud* Andreev 1997, p. 39.

perception amongst indigenous peoples, particularly in the context of their perceptions of the environment, has been insufficiently studied in the ethnographic literature.⁴

Consider the following illustrative example. In industrial society, “time equals money” while, for example, the Sami people have a so-called Sami hour, a regulated mandatory delay of one hour before the start of any meeting. Such tardiness is not dictated by a lack of respect for others; most likely, it is one of the stable ethno-cultural features of the Sami, once again confirming the regularity of existence and slow pace of life of the representatives of this nation. But how did this kind of regular, “legalised” lateness come about? A solution was found - to meet one hour after the stipulated time - and thus the “Sami hour” unofficially settled into local consciousness and “temporal” conflict was avoided. This is one of the clearest examples of real accounting of the mental time perception of representatives of minority ethnic groups.⁵

It is well known that through use of language an ethnic group captures and broadcasts the mental stereotypes of its perception of the world and, along with this, hidden subconscious attitudes (including time-related ones).⁶ In order to understand the cultural chronotope of peoples of northern Russia, it is necessary to study the phenomenon of time and space from an ethnocultural and cultural philosophy perspective. To this end, the spatiotemporal vocabulary of certain northern peoples, in particular Evens, Yukagirs and Alyutors, have been analysed in this study.

Methodology

The linguistic material used in this article is the result of conversations with native Even and Yukaghir speakers, in particular, representatives of Allaikhovsky and Nizhnekolymskiy districts of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), as well as samples of corresponding vocabulary from dictionaries and from research on folklore and language.⁷ Interviews and analyses of the meaning of words and what they represent in national idiomatic expressions were also used.

⁴ Ingold 2000, p. 465; Forsyth 1992, p. 455; Sirina 2004, p. 89-101; Vakhtin 1992, p. 38; Vansina 1973, p. 165-195.

⁵ Yershova 1996, p. 56.

⁶ Guirenko 1991, p. 135; Iarskaya 1989, p. 106; Kurilov 2001, p. 586.

⁷ Kibrik et al. 2000, p. 345; Yershova 2002, p. 392.

Study results

“Small” genres of folklore such as riddles, proverbs and sayings are of particular interest to this study since they reflect ethnic concepts of space-time and their correlation with that society’s code of conduct. For example, the regulation of the category of time is reflected in Even idiomatic expressions. In particular, Evens have prohibition against shouting in the *evening* because, as explained by respondents, “the spirit-master will hear” (“hisechin edilre irkagrakilra - muran dolchidik”). It is also forbidden to shout at *night* because “the dead may hear” (“dolba edilre irkagrakilra - bul dolchidikal”); also, “to sew at night is a sin.” Evens’ particular attitude towards the past should be noted. In particular, in the Even idiom “you cannot respond to an old man rudely - it is very bad” there is a temporal tag: the old man is the past that must be respected.

In the lexicon of these nations, spatial values are well-represented. For example, the vocabulary listed in *Language and Folklore of the Alyutors*⁸ includes specific terms to describe generic spaces that are not usually named in other languages, such as the word “kapta” which specifically defines the farthest place in the tent. Descriptions of concepts often have a spatial tag (e.g. “Yern”) such as “eavesdrop,” “Yit. Yern” in Alyutor, which literally means “the place where water flows down,” or a joint, “Yetne. Yern” - “the place where bones are connected.”

However, collected language materials show that the majority of the indigenous peoples of the North have mastered concepts of time to a significantly lesser degree than the category of space. This is common to almost all primary cultures. Temporal lexemes also often include a spatial tag, such as “Yivi. Yern” (“anniversary”) literally translated as “the space of the year.” This may be due to the fact that the concept of time, due to certain neuropsychological characteristics of minor nations, was inaccessible to specific sensory perception for a long time and was instead mastered through spatial perceptions.⁹ There are no such concepts of day (24 hours), calendar year, minute or hour in the languages of indigenous peoples of northern Russia, as illustrated by the time-related vocabulary in the Alyutor and Yukagir languages.

Using the method of continuous sampling, the words “time” and “space” were identified and processed using the quantitative calculations specified by this method. From this it was seen that amongst 3100 Alyutor lexemes presented in Kibrik et al.’s root Alyutor-Russian dictionary,¹⁰ 33

⁸ Kibrik et al. 2000.

⁹ Melnikova 2003, p. 132.

¹⁰ Kibrik et al. 2000.

had a temporal content and 24 a spatial one. In the Alyutor language there is a lack of clear division of time within the weekly cycle - temporal concepts common to Europeans such as "Monday," "Tuesday," etc. were not found. The future tense is designated with the lexeme "avagga," which means "later" or "then" and indicates that Alyutors perceive the foreseeable future, but at the same time there are no specifics (unlike the Russian language which has specific temporal lexemes such as "tomorrow" "in a week," "next year," etc.). It should be mentioned that in the Alyutor language, future tense verbs are not present, and the vast majority of time-related lexemes are those of the past tense, for example:

Joti-guli = tyivi - the year before;
 emeeeg - earlier, before;
 wutin = eju - last year;
 eju-wet - long time ago, but in the past (historical);
 Yet ejo - long time ago, very long time ago (in fictional times);
 titakin - timeworn.

Consulting Kurilov's Yukagir-Russian dictionary¹¹ permitted observations on the characteristics of temporal vocabulary in the Yukagir language. It was noted that temporal vocabulary indicating the past was represented most often. There are several different types of semantic content:

- a) The common, familiar past, for example:
 titanpalye - last year;
 yigirukun - the year before last;
 layane - recently.
- b) The distant past, not tied to any large-scale, existential event in the life of the people:
 time - a certain past time a while ago, but not associated with anything;
 tapnigi - then, at that time, not now;
 tadaatkumun - since then, since.
- c) The absolute past:
 hallerukkun - long sunk into oblivion;
 indaa - before, in the old days, a long time ago.
- d) Vocabulary reflecting the connection of the past to the present:
 numunep - before and now, constantly since ancient times.

The word tidaa denotes time (long ago), but is not specific in its meaning: it is a very loose concept which simultaneously denotes yesterday, the day before yesterday, a year ago, etc.

¹¹ Kurilov 2001.

The future and present tenses are represented only by a few lexemes; they do not have the semantic diversity as past tense lexemes. Future tense lexemes include:

keygude - in the future;

eguy - tomorrow;

The present tense is represented as follows:

ide - nowadays, currently, now;

tileme - indication of the time of the year, hour, day at the time of speaking;

tileetkumur - until now.

Analysis

The use of the divisionary and comparative methods in analysing the time vocabulary sample revealed qualitative differences in the way the minor peoples of the north of Russia (including Yukagirs and Alyutors) describe time. In particular, the vocabulary gives no indication of people experiencing the present tense in its multiplicity of time intervals - a second, a moment, an instant, a minute - such terms are practically absent.

In the national languages discussed above, time concepts appeared relatively recently as a result of loan translations. This may be explained by the extreme specificity of concepts. The absence of the words “instant” and “moment” is due to the fact that they reflect the direct perception of time in its ontological essence. These words are associated with the present tense, and it is the present tense which is the area of sensory time perception.

For example, Yukagirs primarily associate the present tense with the concept “period;” the term that is used to denote this has many different possible translations, including season, weather, period and prime. The cosmological content of this lexeme is manifested in the fact that it is perceived as logical, objective, repeatable and independent of human desires. “Period” is always thought of as something given, it correlates with the cosmic cycle and therefore is always present in the nomination of calendar months. Through the lexeme “period,” the past and present are put into one cosmological line (life and nature cycle). In comparison with the lexeme “time” the lexeme “period” is more epic, it has qualitatively different characteristics: a “period” does not flow and does not change; it has an existential and spatial impact on the time axis.

Most likely, these ethno-semantic differences between the lexemes “period” and “time” are due to the fact that representatives of the indigenous peoples of the North, Yukagirs in particular, are archetypically bearers of a cyclic consciousness. Cyclicity in general is associated with

concepts such as “period,” “previous,” “last” and “nowadays”; it represents a “set” for typification, the identification of what is already there with something that has been here more than once. The modern westernised person typically has a linear consciousness, aimed at individualisation. Linearity is associated with the concepts of “time,” “past” (meaning irretrievable) and “now.” Certainly, modern members of minor ethnic groups, even the in the purest representations, no longer bear a truly cyclic consciousness. But this worldview remains reflected in the cultural realities of the ethnic group, in particular in the language and ritual-ceremonial activities.

Conclusions

In the daily life of the minority peoples of the north of Russia, an archetypal cyclical orientation does not exclude the presence of linear time perception. Indeed, the flow of life itself poses the idea of remembering the past, generational change and a deep perception of the linearity of human life, the pathway from birth to death, and associates progressive movement with the natural solar and vegetative cycles of the planet. In the cultural paradigm of modern northerners, the idea of natural cycles, the infinite recurrence and repetition of events is combined with such characteristics of the linear time as repetition, uniqueness and the oneness of life itself.

This kind of eclecticism in the time perception of the minor peoples of the North has yet to be thoroughly examined from the perspective that ethnic notions of time are a component of the ethnic cultural “language,” in other words, its code. The importance of this research lies in the ability to understand the culture of any ethnic group, which offers promising prospects for further development of this aspect of the research theme.

Notions of Time amongst Indigenous Peoples of the Russian North: The Problem of Social and Cultural Interpretation

(Abstract)

The purpose of this study is to identify and analyse the semantic features of the temporal vocabulary in the context of ethnic culture and mentality of the Palaeoasiatic peoples - specifically the Yukagirs, Alyutors and Tungus-Manchurians (particularly Evens). The linguistic material used in this article primarily consists of conversations with native Even and Yukagir speakers, natives of Allaikhovskiy and Nizhekolymskiy districts of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), as well as corresponding samples from the root vocabulary dictionaries and authoritative research on folklore and language. Methods such as interviews and analyses of the meaning of words and what they represent in national idiomatic expressions were used, leading to some interesting observations on the notions

of time amongst minor nations of the North. Small folklore genres - riddles, proverbs and sayings - were of particular relevance in this study.

Specialised research methods used to analyse the national lexicon revealed that in the Yukagir and Alyutor cultures the experience of time in frames habitual to modern man and the technological world (a second, a moment, a minute) is almost entirely absent. The ethno-semantic difference that exists between the temporal lexemes "period" and "time" is due to the fact that archetypal representatives of indigenous peoples of northern Russia were and are bearers of a cyclic consciousness. In the daily life of the indigenous peoples of the North, the corresponding archetypal orientation of the consciousness does not exclude the presence of the linear perception of time usual to modern man. Indeed, the flow of life itself poses the idea of remembering the past, generational change and a deep perception of the linearity of human life, the pathway from birth to death, and associates progressive movement with the natural solar and vegetative cycles of the planet.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

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Keywords: indigenous peoples of northern Russia, culture, language, Yukagir, Alyutor, Even, time, mentality, time vocabulary, perception of time.

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PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditzionnaya kultura	- Traditzionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
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VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
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RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskiye issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Traditziennaya kultura	- Traditziennaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.

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