

ACADEMIC CULTURES BETWEEN
DEPENDENCIES AND INDEPENDENCIES
IN THE INTERWAR BLACK SEA REGION



Milena Angelova, Sergii Glebov (Eds.)



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PREFACE

Sergii Glebov

“Knowledge is power”,
– Francis Bacon, *Meditationes Sacrae* (1597).

Thomas Jefferson used the phrase “knowledge is power” in his correspondence on at least four occasions, but each time in connection with the establishment of a state university in Virginia.¹ In an 1817 letter to George Ticknor, Jefferson equated knowledge with power, safety, and happiness.² As we may assume, this threesome message by one of the founders of the future superpower was directly connected to the higher education privilege. The history of the Black Sea region itself has always been connected to the phenomenon of power in a search of safety and happiness; especially in times when it was not safe and subjectively being turned into geopolitical burden for their communities by different powers.

The Merriam-Webster between others defines “power” as “ability to act or produce an effect”, as well as “possession of control, authority, or influence over others”. In order to make any region safe and the whole regional neighborhood to some extent happy, it would be idealistically important that knowledge and education got an ability to act by producing a common sense in a positive effective way. The Black Sea regional space both in geo-

¹ Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia, *Knowledge is power (Quotation)*. Web. 04.02.2022. <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/knowledge-power-quotation>.

² Ibid.

graphical and political systemic meanings is not an exception. It is not by chance that the Cambridge dictionary connects knowledge with safety when identifies “common sense” as “the basic level of practical knowledge and judgment that we all need to help us live in a reasonable and safe way”.³ At the same time, it has historically happened that the Black Sea region fixed an image of an arena of competition for both global and regional powers what brings less security and continues to cut perspectives for safety and prosperity to all the nations around the Black Sea. The power in a meaning of “strength”, based on the military component with a focus on the naval advantages, has been used by insiders and outsiders to control and influence each other, what left almost no chance for a common sense to prevail in the Wider Black Sea. Meanwhile, scientific community in the past, as well as today, by applying theoretical judgments and practical knowledge keep searching for the reasonable pass towards a common sense to prevent regional “unhappiness” for the local societies in a result of the fight of the powers for the power.

This volume represents the fourth collective product of the Horizon 2020 Research Project on “Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities: Europe and the Black Sea Region, Late 18th – 21st Centuries” (KEAC-BSR), which is funded by the European Commission under the project number MSCA-RISE 734645 and includes 11 participating countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, Ukraine). In general, as we can judge, this particular project was initially designed to help international community in Europe to find the right way to better understanding problems and needs connected to the elaboration of the common sense framework in the Black Sea area. Methodologically it was proposed to do through the knowledge exchange in interpreting

³ The Cambridge Dictionary, *Common Sense*, Web. 04.02.2022.
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/common-sense>.

different historical phases the Black Sea area went through as well as events which took place in the Black Sea and neighboring countries since the late 18th century until now through the retrospectives and perspectives of different academic cultures.

The first step to start an adventure to more reasonable and safe Black Sea socio-cultural space was made in 2018 when the project coordinator Karl Kaser and project manager Dominik Gutmeyr published a first volume on *Europe and the Black Sea Region. A History of Early Knowledge Exchange (1750–1850)*. The second volume *Institution Building and Research under Foreign Domination Europe and the Black Sea Region (early 19th – early 20th centuries)* was introduced by Iakovos D. Michailidis and Giorgos Antoniou in 2019. The third volume edited by Biljana Ristovska-Josifovka *Migration, Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in Europe and The Black Sea Region Until World War I* was published in 2021.

This particular volume as a fourth stage collective contribution represents the conference proceedings of the Project conference with the same title “Between Dependency and Independency of Academic Cultures. The Interwar Black Sea Region” which was held at Odessa “I. I. Mechnikov” National University on October 4–5, 2019. The conference aimed to open the floor for debates on forms of knowledge exchange and academic cultures within the BSR and beyond in the interwar period. It was focused, as well as this volume now, at investigating the interrelations of the geopolitical transformation of the BSR after WWI and knowledge and cultural exchanges between and within the region and Western Europe in a time of complex imperial and post-imperial relations. This complexity was established, among others, by the results of the WWI, by the emerging totalitarian regimes in Europe after, by the establishment of the League of Nations, the influence of the European Great Powers on international scientific and cultural exchange processes, the establishment of new scientific fields such as the study of races and eugenics, and the increas-

ing inclusion of women in national as well as international research programs.

Complex interrelations between science on a macro- and micro-level, where exchange of ideas becomes complicated even within a single department if it comes to negotiation processes or conflicts about the hegemony of scholars and concepts in a certain discipline, was discussed during the conference. This complexity multiplies if it comes to interactions with additional elements of the micro-level and the macro-level what has been reflected in the current publication by the co-authors. Because of a new quality of dense communication in the 20th century, interactions between the two levels have become intensive at the stage of investigation. Current research emphasizes a plurality of macro-historical and micro-historical transfer and interaction processes. Therefore, the question comes into foreground whether the exchange of knowledge and science can be delimited at all from general cultural exchange processes, including fashion, music, and cinema for instance, and theories. The contributors to this volume tried to give their perspectives on the above mentioned as well as to similar historical challenges.

In this respect, the volume has been divided into 6 sections which combine similar in topic contributions. As soon as the Interwar period has been seen as a dividing line between the old Wien system and the new Versailles-Washington system of international relations with the visible regime changes in major parts of the Wider Black Sea region there was a clear evolution (sometimes revolution) in changing all aspects of science and knowledge in political, cultural, social-economic dimensions from the traditional forms to the new ones. Some of the aspects of the development of science and knowledge in the selected dimensions are being represented in this volume. It is important to outline, that due to the dramatic regime changes in all the Black Sea countries, including the Balkans, a majority of the forms of expression of science and knowledge are marked by contradictory character and

to a great extent are controversial what has been reflected in the respective chapters.

The first section *From Ideology to Terror: the Case of Science in Bulgaria and Azerbaijan* is represented by Kristina Popova, an Associate Professor of History at the South-West University “Neofit Rilski” in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria, and İrada Baghirova, Head of Caucasus History Department at Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan Republic. Kristina Popova in *The Concept of the “Two Sciences” in the Soviet Science Politics and Its Implementations* investigated the process of interpenetration of the so-called “proletarian” and “bourgeois” sciences in times when standardized knowledge of dialectical materialism and historical materialism started to dominate increasingly in Bulgaria while non-alternative trends were established in the social and natural sciences, built on the denial of other, defined as “Western” and imposed by propaganda methods and political means. İrada Baghirova in *Azerbaijan Science during the Great Terror in the 1930s and 1940s* refers to the first years of Soviet power in Azerbaijan as to the “very controversial period”, mainly because the policy on universal education and the elimination of illiteracy went hand in hand with reprisals, unprecedented in their cruelty, against representatives of the intelligentsia, who promoted education. İrada admits that during the “Great Terror” under Stalinist repression of 1936–1938 hundreds of scientists and executives of the Azerbaijan branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences and universities were accused of “nationalism”, “Pan-Turkism”, “Pan-Islamism” and subjected to unreasonable harassment and slander. The author explores the struggle of not only Azerbaijani, but also prominent representatives of the Tatar intelligentsia who were declared traitors and “enemies of the people”, but continued their professional activity.

The second section *From Knowledge to Patriotism: the Case of Intellectuals of Greece, Armenia, and Macedonia* is represented by Stefanos Kordosis (Academic Associate at International Hellenic University, Thessaloniki, Greece), Iliya Nedin (Associate

Professor at the Department of Ethnology and Balkan Studies at the South-West University “Neofit Rilski” in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria), and Ilko Drenkov (Adjunct Professor in History at the South-West University “Neofit Rilski” in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria). Stefanos Kordosis’ *Tracks of Knowledge across Time and Along the Black Sea Shores. The Case of Vasílios Vatátzis’ History of Nadir Shah (Persica)* represents a piece of a study of the publication of Vasílios Vatátzis’ manuscript, titled *Περσικά (Persica: Histoire de Chah-Nadir)*, by the great Romanian scholar and historian of the Byzantine Empire, Nicolae Iorga, a year before his tragic murder. Stefanos argues that Vasílios Vatátzis’ work is an example of the interconnectedness of the Western Black Sea countries, across time and space. Stefanos is also paying a big respect to Iorga who managed to preserve and transmit a unique post-byzantine text that provides a detailed portrait of the founder of the Afsharid dynasty a little before WWII broke out. Iliya Nedin in *Keeping Identity and Nationhood through Ethnography during the Interwar Period of Soviet Era: the Case of Armenia* reflects the art life of the three founders of Armenian ethnography Yervand Lalaian, Khachik Samuelian, and Stepan Lisitsian who left a solid foundation for the further development of ethnography in times when ethnography was considered peripheral knowledge under Marxist-Leninist ideology. Ilko Drenkov in *Intellectuals of the Macedonian Liberation Movement in the Foreign Office Documents (1919-1941)* investigates an activity of the Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) in connection to the Union of the Macedonian Brotherhoods. In his article, Ilko on the study of The British Foreign Office documents analyzes the fate of the Macedonian intellectuals with their fights, contradictions, sacrifices, beliefs, and dedications in the light of the Macedonian liberation movement in the interwar period.

The third section *From Art to Politics in Cinematography: the Case of Soviet Transcaucasus* is represented by Associate Professors at Batumi “Shota Rustaveli” State University (Georgia) Manuchar Loria and Tamaz Putkaradze, and by Associate Profes-

sor of Archive Studies at the South-West University “Neofit Rilski” in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria Marijana Piskova. Manuchar Loria and Tamaz Putkaradze in *Ethno Cultural Aspects of Soviet Cinematography Through the Prism of Soviet Ideology in the 1930s* deal with the anthropological analysis of the ethnographic film *Jim Shvante (Salt for Svaneti)*, and silent newsreel *Congress of Ajaraian Women*. The authors of this contribution emphasize, that, for example, the film about everyday life style in Svaneti is finished with a typical Soviet ideological approach – the old traditions and customs are useless for people and a new Soviet ideology, lifestyle, values, ways of living and dressing shall become the main life standard, saving people from poverty. As authors admit, as soon as Soviet government started implementation of active measures to create and establish new Soviet traditions, it met uprising and the acts of civil disorder which were widely spread, for example, in many villages of Adjara Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The authors came to conclusion, that in fact the Soviet policy was not successful and all the attempts to change also religious traditions failed, as soon as different religious procedures, rules or customs were performed in hidden or modified manner. Marijana Piskova in *The Movies that Were Expected to Take off the Chador from the Face of the “Exotic East”*. *The Cinema of Transcaucasia in the 1920s and 1930s* traces back to the Soviet seizure of the cultural space of Transcaucasia and the establishment of “national” cinematography in the Soviet republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1920s and 1930s. Marijana argues that the Soviet power realizing the influential potential of cinema turned it into instrument of state propaganda. She concludes that the Transcaucasian cinema from 1920s and 1930s was not a result of free and creative exchange of knowledge and experience but it was created in a capsulated world under the control of the Soviet power according to the strict political aims.

The fourth section *From Traditions to the Gender Issue: the Case of Azerbaijan and Bulgaria*” is represented by an Associate Professor from the Institute of History of the National Acad-

emy of Sciences of Azerbaijan Shamil Rahmanzade, and by Associate Professors at the South-West University “Neofit Rilski” in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria Anastasiya Pashova and Petar Vodenicharov. Shamil Rahmanzade in *Elimination of Illiteracy among Women in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920s and 1930s as a Part of Soviet Literacy Politics* discovers the history of politics to eliminate illiteracy among women in the Azerbaijan SSR in the 1920s and 1930s as a part of Soviet “cultural revolution”. Shamil argues that Soviet cultural practices destroyed the traditional gender order based on the unconditional total dominance of men, but points out, that a solution of the female problem in Azerbaijan was overshadowed by the mass repressions carried out in the country at the end of the 1930s, as a result of which many leading women of Azerbaijan, who stood at the origins of the female movement in Azerbaijan, were arrested, expelled and executed.

Anastasiya Pashova and Petar Vodenicharov in *The Movement For New Education in the Interwar Period. Women’s Access to Science and Culture* trace the establishment and development of the International New Education Fellowship (NEF) highlighting the role of women whose basic faith was theosophy, and their basic pedagogical ideas were related to free pedagogy. Anastasiya and Petar based their study on the content analysis of those editions, which brightly reflected and expressed the movement’s basic humanistic pathos – the fight for peace and democracy. Among them were the Bulgarian edition of *Svobodno vŭzpitanie/ Free Education* (1922–1944), as well as the Russian journal *Svobodnoe vospitanie/ Free education* (1912–1913), and some others.

The fifth section *From Knowledge to Institutions: the Case of Macedonia and Romania*” is represented by Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska (Head of the Department for Cultural History and coordinator of the Cultural History of Macedonia at the Institute of National History) and Maria Mateoni-Micu (National Museum of the Romanian Peasant in Bucharest, Romania). Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska in *Emerging of Institutional Structures in the Interwar Period as Predecessors of the Macedonian Academic Institutions*.

Role of Emigration Communities in the Knowledge Exchange touches upon the phenomenon of the knowledge exchange as it is seen from the aspect of Macedonian education and knowledge and emerging of institutional structures of science at the territory of today's Macedonian state during interwar Serbian political domination. A special attention the author pay to the role of the Black Sea Region emigration in the knowledge exchange and its impact within the first educational and research facilities.

Maria Mateoniu-Micu's *Romanian National Museums in the First Part of the 20th Century – between Western Influences and Local Particularities* discovers how the most important national museums in Romania appeared and developed in the first half of the 20th century, recalling only the events that took place at the end of the 19th century or in the period after World War II, with the establishment of the communist regime. Maria argues that it was the period of national values maximum affirmation, which affected the museums' mission and their functioning. She investigates the case of the National Art Museum, the "Association" Museum in Sibiu, the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania with the Outdoor Park of Hoia, and the Village Museum.

The sixth section *From Modernization to Ideology in Agriculture: the case of the "Model Village" Program of Bulgaria* is represented by Milena Angelova (Assistant Professor at the Department of History of the South-West University "Neofit Rilski" in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria) and by Markus Wien (Professor of European History at the American University in Bulgaria). Milena Angelova in *The "Model Village" Program, Agrarian Sociology and Transformation of the Peasantry in Bulgaria – International Patterns and National Specifics (1920s–1940s)* analyzed the interaction between the national and international levels of rural modernization as they are shaped by the disciplines of agronomy, sociology, rural planning, public health and more. Milena argues that the end of the World War I led to significant changes in the status of the peasantry in Bulgaria, altering their social, economic and political roles and their place in the debates about national state

modernization. Among all, the article engages with the concept of the “Model village” /“Obrastsovo Selo”/ and examines the role of the agrarian sociology in producing visions of rural transformation in interwar Bulgaria, focusing on the Agricultural Economics Research Institute. Markus Wien in *Transfer of Technology and Ideology. The Role of German Know-How and the Nazi Agrarian Ideology in the Bulgarian “Model Farm” Program* investigates an evolution of the model farm program “Obrastsovo Selo” (Model Farm) which was introduced by the Bulgarian Agricultural Ministry in 1937. Markus stresses out that the semi fascist monarchic-authoritarian regime tried to use “Obrastsovo Selo” to integrate the peasantry – at that time about 80 percent of the entire population – into what the regime’s concept of a consolidated national community was. This policy was highly inspired by the agrarian “Blut und Boden” (Blood and Soil) ideology of the Nazi organization “Reichskuratorium für Technik in der Landwirtschaft” (RKTL). Markus concludes, that the German as well as the Bulgarian agricultural consulting systems – the Bulgarian one “enriched” with German elements from 1942 onwards – can both be regarded as parts of the nation building project.

In general, this book continues an initiated research on the development of BSR academic cultures in the frame of the KEAC-BSR project. This particular part which deals with an Interwar period opens the way towards current events in the Black Sea international arena as soon as many of them are connected to the dramatic outcomes of those changes which took place between WWI and WWII. Due to the specifics and different views on what is acute nowadays and traces back to the Interwar period, neither editors of this volume, nor the rest of the Project participants, including Project coordinators, are responsible for personal views from the authors. Final positions and conclusions of the authors are not necessarily a position of the entire Project. Such an approach is a reliable vision on how knowledge exchange may bring some solution to some sharp questions of the history of the Black Sea region. It is necessary to find a balance between the power of

Preface

knowledge and the power of common sense whether the Black Sea and/or global powers want this or not. That is why this volume can be treated as another modest contribution of the KEAC-BSR Project scientific community to the process of groping a common sense in the Wider Black Sea region.

FROM IDEOLOGY TO TERROR:
THE CASE OF SCIENCE IN
BULGARIA AND AZERBAIJAN

THE CONCEPT OF THE “TWO SCIENCES” IN THE SOVIET SCIENCE POLITICS AND ITS IMPLEMENTATIONS

Kristina Popova

Abstract: For half a century, the idea of the “two sciences” served different political purposes and underwent various interpretations. Started around the beginning of the 20th century as an idea for “proletarian science”, it found its practical realization in a series of schools for Russian workers in Capri (1909), Bologna (1910) and Paris (1911). Then, according to Alexander Bogdanov “proletarian science” did not oppose “bourgeois” science, but surpassed it, because of the natural monism of the proletariat, which ensured the unity of scientific knowledge. The possibility of free discussions, as well as the significant share of ideological knowledge, were part of the concept of the proletarian university. After the victory of the October Revolution in 1917, the experience of the proletarian academy was modified in new institutions and forms of ideological training, in which standardized knowledge of dialectical materialism and historical materialism increasingly dominated. In the time of late Stalinism after the end of the World War II (1945–1953), non-alternative trends were established in the natural and natural sciences, built on the denial of others, defined as “Western” and imposed by propaganda methods and political means.

Introduction

The concept of the “two sciences” – initially as “proletarian” and a “bourgeois”, later as “Soviet” opposed to the “Western”, but also as “Russian” and “Western” – played a significant role in the scientific exchange throughout 20th century, and it leaves its mark even today. Originated in the early 20th century, this concept formed the basis of the Soviet cultural, scientific, and educational policies, gradually changing its initial content. In the beginning,

though regarded in their difference and opposition, “bourgeois” and “proletarian” culture and science were interpreted as historical degrees in the development of the social conscience. Later, their irreconcilable confrontation increasingly emerged, culminating in the Cold War. This concept deepens hostile attitudes in people's minds, leads to isolation, increases suspicion and control over scientists and their vulnerability to persecution and accusations, and turns science into a subdivision of ideological opposition.

The historical context

The question about the proletarian culture was discussed in the second half of the 19th century but became more important in the time of the changed place of science in the society in the fin de siècle historical moment. The revolutionary transformations at that time also coincide with significant changes in the place of science in modern society.

Nikolay Kremenzov wrote:

The Russian revolutions also coincided with another scientific revolution, one that affected not all-natural sciences but only a particular subset, one that nowadays is called the life sciences but at the time was represented by two interconnected and overlapping fields of experimental medicine and experimental biology. The very names of these fields allude to the essence of this third “mini” revolution: the introduction of experimental methods – largely borrowed from physics and chemistry – into the studies of life, death, and disease. Begun in the last two decades of the 19th century, this revolution reached its apex in the 1910s and 1920s. Armed with new experimental methods, numerous researchers around the world enthusiastically attacked the mysteries of basic life processes and their pathological changes, including metabolism, reproduction, nervous and endocrine regulation, cell division, psychological and behavioral patterns, variability, immunity, growth, and heredity. The advances of experimental research were quickly de-

ployed in various fields of medicine, leading to new diagnostic techniques, therapeutic treatments, surgical procedures, and preventive measures. In the first decades of the 20th century, successes in tissue and organ transplantation; blood transfusion; serodiagnostics; hormones, vitamin, and sera therapies; cell and tissue cultivation; and in deciphering the basic mechanisms of heredity and embryonic development generated by euphoric vision: science could control life, death, and disease. Many scientists and revolution activists were captivated by this “visionary biology” (Kremenstov 2011, 6-9).

At the beginning of the 20th century, in relation to philosophical disputes in the social democratic circles, but also with the rise of interest in upbringing, science and education, the importance of the topic of proletarian culture grew. As an independent topic, the question of proletarian education was discussed at the Munich Congress of the Social Democratic Party in 1906 in a report about *Art and Proletariat* (*Kunst und Proletariat*) by the German Marxist theorist Clara Zetkin (1857–1933) and Heinrich Schultz (1872–1932).

The Russian Marxist Alexander Bogdanov (1873–1928) is considered to be the founder of the concept of “proletarian science” and “proletarian culture”, later developed under the Soviet rule. He was also the initiator of the first practical attempts to organize a “proletarian academy” as a pioneer attempt of educational institutions in the future of the new society after the revolution. With his ideas and innovative educational initiatives in the decade before the revolution in Russia, Alexander Bogdanov paved the way for the emergence of a new field, in which, in his opinion, a completely different kind of culture should be started, whose bearer should be the proletariat. Most of his ideas and principles were later rejected by the Soviet politics and practice, though many of his new educational and cultural endeavors like the so-called “Proletkult”, the Socialist (later the Communist) Academy, the “Rabfak”, and other Soviet educational institutions started from the

initiatives which he and his close collaborators developed before the Revolution. The idea of the proletarian science undergoes various changes and was included in the later concept of Soviet science as superior to the bourgeois and Western science.

The research interest in philosophical views as well as in literary and political activities of Alexander Bogdanov is growing in the last years. The paper is based on some of the recent publications and aims to present Bogdanov's views about the "proletarian science" in the perspective of their political implementations in the Soviet society.

Who was Alexander Bogdanov?

Alexander Bogdanov, was a physician by education. He became a Marxist in the 1890s. In the end of 1890s he worked among industrial workers in Tula, but after the 1905 revolution, like many other Russian revolutionaries, he emigrated from Russia and joined the Russian colony in Capri Island. In parallel to his profession as a physician, which he practiced till the end of his life, he was also a science fiction writer. He was an author of two science-fiction books, related to the social role of science.¹

At the beginning of the 20th century, Bogdanov became actively involved in philosophical polemics in the Russian Social Democratic cycles. In the social democratic discussions, he was close to the positions of the historian Mikhail Pokrovsky, the writer Maxim Gorky, and Anatoly Lunacharski. In 1904 in Geneva, he met Vladimir Uljanov (Vladimir Ilich Lenin). Bogdanov was particularly interested in the ideas of the Austrian physics professor and philosopher Ernst Mach. In them, he saw the possibility for breaking the boundaries between sciences, the expression of a scientific and technological revolution, and the recognition of the

¹ The historiographical interest of Bogdanov is growing in the last years. There are a lot of publications about his activities and views which are not presented here.

importance of “experience”, especially of the work experience. He believed that according to Ernst Mach's philosophy, individuals were as equivalent in the system of cognitive experience as in Karl Marx's political economy in the system of work experience.

In 1904, Bogdanov published the book *Empiriomonism*, in which he presented his philosophical views. He took part in the philosophical discussions among social democrats in the beginning of the 20th century about the philosophical formulation of “matter”. The main questions in the discussions were: is matter an objective reality, is there a difference between matter as a philosophical category and matter as a scientific category and others. Bogdanov criticised Georgi Plekhanov's definition of matter finding this definition tautological. According to him, the essence of “matter”'s question for the social democrats was not the extension of the materialistic approach, but the elevation of labor as a collective human practice (Gloveli 1991, 11). He argued that there was no need for a definition of matter, just as religion doesn't need a definition of God, but a need of unification of the proletarian socialism with natural science and the achievement of a “all-scientific monism” or more “empiricism”, which had to bring together the achievements of Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, Ernst Mach, Georg Simmel, Spinoza, and other philosophers and representatives of the natural sciences, as well as poets such as Johann Wolfgang Goethe. In his 1908 book *The Red Star*, he also wrote about a unified socialist science. In the course of the discussions Vladimir Lenin wrote his work *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* as a reaction and criticism of Bogdanov's views (Althusser 1971, 27-68).

Bogdanov was also particularly interested in the theory of organization, in the system approach (the book *Tectology*). He was one of the founders and active members of the “Vpered” (Forward) group, established in 1909 by the Russian Social Democrats – emigrants. The new “Forward” group confirmed the proletarian culture and the proletarian science among its aims. After long controversies Bogdanov left the group in 1911 and the idea of the

need for a “proletarian culture” was later rejected by the “Forward”.

Bogdanov about the cultural role of the proletariat

According to Bogdanov, the proletariat had to create an independent culture, carrying out a cultural revolution, even in the bowels of capitalism, and transform the whole of humanity in a socialist way, achieving a “monism of science” (Gloveli 1991, 27), establishing a monistic approach to an universal science that overcomes narrow specialization (Yagodinskiy 2006, 155). He paid great attention to the problem of organization. Bogdanov believed that only the industrial proletariat could combine organizational skills and executive functions, creating a new image of man during this process. Nevertheless, Bogdanov felt the discrepancy between the high purpose and role of the proletariat and its low cultural level at that time. He spoke of the need for a socialist academy as well as of the preparation of a workers' encyclopedia. For him, Marxism became not a political struggle, but a worldview, a knowledge tool for industrial workers, whose conciseness was rooted in the collective work, the collective work lifestyle, as well as in their spontaneous monism (Gloveli 1991, 29).

Bogdanov emphasized the emergence of a particular way of thinking of the working class that stems from the conditions of collective labor and collective work life. He argued that this thinking was still spontaneous, but related to the natural pursuit of monism and to the clarification of philosophy and natural science as interrelated scientific methods, shaping a “unified picture of the world”. When outlining the differences between proletarian culture and proletarian science and the previous times' culture, Bogdanov also emphasized their continuity. He differentiated religious-feudal, bourgeois and proletarian art, believing that the former cultivated faith and obedience, the latter individuality, and the third collectivism and solidarity.

The Schools in Capri, Bologna and Paris 1909 – 1911 – the beginning of the Proletarian University

Together with Maxim Gorky (1868–1936), Anatoly Lunacharsky (1875–1933) and Mikhail Pokrovsky (1868–1932), in 1908 Bogdanov started a preparation of a Workers' Party School which took place in Capri in 1909. His friends Mikhail Pokrovski, and Anatoly Lunacharski, were also figures who later played a significant role in the development and the practical implementation of the concept of proletarian culture (Scherrer and Steila 2012). Vladimir Lenin expressed his disapproval of this endeavor, fearing fractionation of the revolutionary organizations.

The prehistory of the schools in Capri, Bologna and Paris goes back to 1895 – to the industrial workers' education circle in Tula. Based on this experience, Alexander Bogdanov wrote on his article *The Proletarian University* that the workers needed a kind of university, which goal should be not just propaganda, but also academic knowledge. He made the first steps to the practical organization of such school in Capri (Yagodinskiy 2006, 62-66).

Capri, 1909

The place of Capri was chosen because of the writer Maxim Gorky, who lived there at that time and supported Bogdanov's views about the academic courses for workers.² At that time Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko, Ivan Bunin and other Russian intellectuals also lived there. The school lasted about four months – from the end of July to December 1909. Bogdanov tried to attract some of the leading Marxists as lecturers. Karl Kautsky, Georgi Plekhanov, Vladimir Ilich Lenin, Leo Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg and other distinguished Marxists were invited as lecturers but they refused to take part in this education.

² There are also memoirs about the School in Capri: See (Scherrer and Steila 2012).

The famous singer Fyodor Chaliapin took part in the financial support of the school. Maxim Gorky arranged different cultural events for participants in Capri. German Lopatin (1845–1918), who was among the first translators of Karl Marx into Russian and had translated a significant part of *The Capital* talked about his personal meetings with Karl Marx. The educational program was extremely concentrated. The students had lectures in Political economy (Alexander Bogdanov), History (Michail Pokrovski), Literature (Maxim Gorky), History of the trade union movement as well as History of the Socialist International. Anatolij Lunacharsky gave lectures in Universal History of Art. Lecturers and students participated and took the decisions together in the school management. The school was considered to be a prototype of a future proletarian university. As an academic basis of the Proletarian University Bogdanov provided to prepare a *Workers' Encyclopedia*.

After the end of the courses, the new “Forward” group confirmed the need of the proletarian culture and the proletarian science. In 1911 some of the workers who participated in Capri courses organized a League of Proletarian Culture in Paris.

Bologna, 1910

The next academic school for workers was organized in Bologna in November 1910. Thirty listeners took part in the education. The courses' program included the topics: “History of the Russian Social Democratic Party”, “History of the labour movement in Western countries”, “The Slavonic movement in Austria”, “Law”, “Trade unions”, “Political parties in Russia”, “The agrarian question”, “The Women's question” and “The Finnish question”.

There were important new topics in the curricula in Bologna in comparison to Capri: the course of “The Women's Question” or “Feminism”. The Russian Marxist Alexandra Kolontay (1872–1952) was attracted as lecturer for it. Leo Trotsky and Anatolij Lunacharski were also teaching there (Yagodinskiy 2006, 69).

Paris, 1911

The School in Paris (Longjumeau) was considered by Lenin as counterpoise to the schools in Capri and Bologna. The classes took place in the spring of 1911 by a decision of the January plenum of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democrat Labour Party (bolsheviks) in 1910. Lecturers were Vl. Lenin, A. Lunacharski, the physician Nikolay Semashko (1874–1949) and Ines Armand (1874–1920), who coordinated the Foreign Bolshevik groups of the RSDLP. Among the listeners was the Bolshevik party activist Sergey Ordzhonikidze (1886–1937).

The classes in Paris were only three weeks. The program included some courses similar to the schools in Capri and Bologna: “History of the trade union movement”, “History of the Russian revolution”, “The national questions”, but also courses of a different kind of preparation like “Conspirative work”.

It is not difficult to find elements of these first curricula concepts of a proletarian university later, after the October Revolution in 1917. Despite of the continuity elements in the curricula, the initial Bogdanov’s organizational concepts were gradually removed especially the free academic discussions and the student’s participation in decision making.

Institutionalization in the Soviet education after 1917

During the war, Bogdanov served as a military doctor, which deepened his opposition to the war. He returned to the Russian capital in 1917 and founded the organizations of “Proletcult” (Proletarian Culture), shortly before the October revolution, at a conference of factory committees. The management committee included also Nadezhda Krupskaya (1869– 1939). In the beginning, “Proletcult”’s activities were highly decentralized (Mally 1990, 30). In February 1918, the Moscow-based “Proletcult”, led by Bogdanov, appealed for the establishment of a proletarian university. In 1920 at the Second Congress of the Communist International in Moscow the idea of a Culture International (“Culturin-tern”) based on “Proletcult” was discussed in order to achieve

global cultural influence but such decisions were prevented by Lenin supported by Nadezhda Krupskaya, Grigorij Zinoviev (1883–1936) and other leaders (Ibid., 41). Some of the active engaged in the organization of the schools in Capri and Bologna, revolutionists took leading positions in education and culture after the October revolution: Anatolij Lunacharski, Mikhail Pokrovski, Alexander Bogdanov. After the revolution, for ten years the Minister for education (“Narkompros”) was Anatoly Lunacharski. Pokrovski was the vice minister.³ Nikolay Semashko who participated in the Paris school in 1911 became Public Health Minister (“Narkomzdrav”) in 1918. All they started radical changes in the cultural and educational sphere.

Alexander Bogdanov took part in 1918 in the establishment of a Socialist academy, later called “Communist Academy” (Yagodinskiy 2006, 151). The Academy published a periodical *Newspaper of the Socialist Academy*, which from the beginning proclaimed that only Marxism could turn social science into real science. In 1919, there were opened departments for the History of socialism and the History of the Second and of the Third Internationals. A “Marx – Engels” Institute and “Lenin Institute” at the Central committee of the Bolshevik Party were started. A prominent role in this initiatives played Mikhail Pokrovsky who also had leading positions in the Communist Academy as well as in the Institute of Red Professorship, which started in 1921. The Institute was established as an elite university for further qualification of Marxist-Leninist graduates. For 3 years of education, students at the Institute of Red Professorship studied courses in History of the CPSU (b), Leninism, Philosophy, Political Economy, History of

³ In January 1917 there were 124 universities in Russia: 11 universities, 40 institutes university type, 9 Pedagogical Institutes, 9 Arts, 8 Military Academies, 7 Theological Academies, 19 Engineering Universities; they have 4 500 professors and 123,000 students. In the 1920s, the number of universities quickly increased to 701.

the USSR, Universal History, History of the Communist international and other disciplines. In 1924 the university had its first 53 graduates. Mikhail Pokrovski's also initiated the establishment of the institution of “Rabfak” (Workers faculty) which began in 1919.

For the purpose of re-educating professors in the Marxist ideology, in 1919 a Communist University was established after the name of the revolutionist Yakov M. Sverdlov (1885–1919). A. Lunacharski and M. Pokrovski also participated in it. Parallel to the new academic institutions, university programs were changed in order to indoctrinate students ideologically, atheism was also added to the programs. But in scientific research pluralism still existed at that time and the “bourgeois science” was not yet identified with the West. This was changed in the late 1920s. In the next years political purges began in the universities and the 'coexistence' with the old school scientist became impossible. These processes of transformation were researched by science historians in order to reveal the role of the confrontation to the Western science in the process of growing political and ideological control over Soviet scientific institutions. Loren R. Graham pointed out that the political control over science and science theories in Soviet Russia still didn't exist in the first post-revolutionary years. Party leaders didn't plan to approve or support certain scientific views, even such possibility was denied by prominent party figures (Graham 1987).

In the 1920s the concept of proletarian science included more ideological training courses and the existing university programs were restructured in order to include a significant sector for ideological education. There were still different trends in the science politics in the 1920s, but gradually the old Bogdanov ideas of the need for a unified monistic science and of unification of natural and humanitarian sciences, whose bearers had to be industrial workers, was modified as a tool to impose strict regulated worldview in form of “dialectical materialism” and “historical materialism”. In the early 1930s, PhDs programs in “Diamat” and

“Istmat” were introduced. Special “Communist institutes” (Komvuz) in the urban centres were opened with departments of political and social sciences, organization of political education, antireligious department, media department. They had to prepare Communist party activists and teaching staff for the political courses.

In 1938, the model of Soviet ideological academic preparation was finally formed. A higher School of Marxism-Leninism at the Central Committee was established, which was transformed into Academy of Social Sciences at the Central Committee in 1946; students with higher education were admitted recommended by the regional committees or the Central Committee. In the same year, the so called *Short course on the history of the Soviet Communist Party* was published. The names of a lot of previous leaders like Alexander Bogdanov, Nikolay Bukharin, Leo Trotsky and many others have already been removed from the party history or stigmatized in a negative light. The ideas of Alexander Bogdanov were seen as an eccentric fantasy. His idea of the necessity of a unified monistic science, which bearer should be the proletariat was transformed in an attempt to uniform the academic knowledge in order to build a unified materialistic worldview.

The “two sciences” concept in the late Stalinism (1945–1953)

In the years after the Second World War, great changes took place in the development of the concept of the ‘two sciences’: no longer as proletarian and bourgeois, but as Soviet and Western or Soviet and bourgeois. In the 1970s Dominique Lecourt analysed these continuity and development in his work about the concepts of “two sciences” regarding the case of the struggle against genetics in USSR (Lecourt 1977). In the years 1945–1953 in the framework of the Cold War Soviet science increasingly opposed to Western science, and the emphasis on their opposition became a standard part of scientific work. A series of events in science in the second half of the 1940s and early 1950s marked the new stage

of scientific opposition, related to placing science under increasingly strict control, as well as the public stigmatization and defeat of scientists and scientific directions in USSR.

In the natural sciences, better known is the session of the Agrarian Academy (VAHSNIL) from 1948, which defeated the “western genetics” of Mendel-Morgan-Weissman and confirmed the doctrine of Ivan Michurin – Trofim Lysenko about the lack of “hard” boundaries between species and the possibility of inheriting acquired traits. After the so called “Pavlov’s Session” of both the Soviet Academy of Science and the Soviet Academy of Medical Science in 1950, for the *Further flowering of the Pavlov Doctrine*, Soviet physiology was opposed to the Western one. Along with this there were other political campaigns – against cosmopolitanism and against foreign worship in science to the West, as well as the campaign to conduct the so-called “courts of honor” over Soviet scientists (Sonin 2011).

The session of VASHNIL and the “Pavlov’s session” confirmed the thesis about the determining importance of the environment for the development of living organisms. To these are added other theories in biology which were politically supported – by Ol’ga Lepeshinska – “about the living matter” – opposed to the cellular theory of Rudolf Virchow, Boshyan’s views – about the transformation of crystals into viruses and viruses – bacteria, and vice versa and other exotic ideas, which become official positions, whose impact extended through party propaganda and institutionally to the entire scientific and educational infrastructure (Tsvetayeva 1999).

Alexei Kojevnikov wrote:

It is often explained that in the years following World War II, the Stalinist leadership launched an ideological and nationalistic campaign aimed at the creation of a Marxist-Leninist and/ or distinctively Russian, non-Western science. Concepts and theories which found idealistic or bourgeois were banned, their supporters silenced. (Kojevnikov 2000, 171)

In organizational terms, the scientific sessions began to adapt patterns from the Communist party rituals and meetings, following the same model – criticism and self-criticism, decisions agreed with the political leadership, etc. (Kojevnikov 2000). All these patterns were very quickly assimilated from the center to the republics, as well as to other Eastern European countries. For example, in Bulgaria devastating scientific sessions, similar to those on the teachings of Michurin – Lysenko and Ivan Petrovich Pavlov, were immediately held.

In his book *Late Stalinism: The Aesthetics of Politics* Evgeny Dobrenko analyzes the processes in science and comes to the conclusion that science in these years became part of the so-called “state romanticism” (Gosromanticism), i.e. the widespread dissemination of theses such as those of Lepeshinska, Lysenko, Boshyan, etc. cannot happen without the aesthetic tools of the political propaganda. According to Evgeny Dobrenko, it was not possible without artistic methods to establish such theses. Socialist Realism is “the middle of Michurin's biology, without which it is impossible”, he wrote. (Dobrenko 2020, 75). Dobrenko accepts that the establishment and dominance of the main theses in natural science in the USSR – for example in Michurin biology, Lysenko's “stage growth”, Lepeshinskaya's “living matter” and others – become an expression of this state romanticism, permeated by voluntarism and titanism, which created an ordered fictional picture of the world and leads a struggle with the “spontaneity” characteristic of the Western world. Science became an ally of power as an instrument of control against “spontaneity” and freed Stalin from “chance”, made it possible to “fix” nature where it went wrong. Stalin's science established its “fathers” in every scientific field – in natural science it was Michurin, in physiology it was Pavlov, just as Stalin himself was in the Communist party. Everywhere only “one” direction was recognized without alternative. This non-alternative field, which Dobrenko calls “quasi-science”, was always built on the negation of certain views, defined as “Western”. This “quasi-science” also has a logical

structure and clearly defined concepts, with carefully developed arguments. At the same time, the impossibility of innovations in its positive part led to new and new development of its negative component. Thus, for decades, philosophy, aesthetics, natural science, and other sciences have been engaged in a critique of “bourgeois theories” and existed thanks to negation. But the most important function of “quasi-science” according to Dobrenko was the transforming reality. Art came to the rescue – paintings, posters and films represented the transformations in nature. Satirical illustrations depicted geneticists as Ku Klux Klan supporters, as war lovers and as racists – fascists. Theatrical plays and literary works represented the struggle in science, where the Communist Party supports the right scientist, to whom bureaucrats and careerists oppose (Ibid.).

Conclusion

For half a century, the idea of the “two sciences” served different political purposes and underwent various interpretations. Started around the beginning of the 20th century as an idea for “proletarian” science, it found its practical realization in a series of schools for Russian workers in Capri (1909), Bologna (1910) and Paris (1911). Then, according to Alexander Bogdanov “proletarian” science did not oppose “bourgeois” science, but surpassed it, because of the natural monism of the proletariat, which ensured the unity of scientific knowledge. The possibility of free discussions, as well as the significant share of ideological knowledge, were part of the concept of the proletarian university.

After the victory of the October turn over in 1917 in Russia, the experience of the proletarian academy was modified in many new Soviet institutions and forms of ideological training, in which standardized knowledge of dialectical materialism and historical materialism increasingly dominated.

In the time of late Stalinism in USSR after the end of the World War II (1945–1953), non-alternative trends were established in the natural and natural sciences, built on the denial

of others, defined as “Western” and imposed by propaganda methods and political means.

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AZERBAIJAN SCIENCE DURING THE GREAT TERROR IN THE 1930s AND 1940s

İrada Baghirova

Abstract: The first years of Soviet power in Azerbaijan can be characterized as a very controversial period. On the one hand, the ideal of the Bolsheviks was universal education and the elimination of illiteracy. On the other hand they carried out reprisals, unprecedented in their cruelty, against representatives of the intelligentsia, who promoted education. Their peak is considered the Stalinist repression of 1936–1938, characterized in historiography as the period of the “Great Terror” in the USSR. Hundreds of scientists and executives of the Azerbaijan branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences and universities were subjected to unreasonable harassment and slander, many of them were accused of “nationalism”, “Pan-Turkism”, “Pan-Islamism”, some of them were forced to leave abroad. Prominent scientists of the republic who became victims of repressions were declared traitors and “enemies of the people”, their merits were completely denied, their names were erased from people's memory, their contribution to science and fruitful activity was hushed up. The article explores the activities of not only Azerbaijani, but also prominent representatives of the Tatar intelligentsia.

The first years of Soviet power in Azerbaijan, as well as throughout the Soviet Union, can be characterized as a very controversial period. On the one hand, the ideal of the Bolsheviks was universal education and the elimination of illiteracy. On the other hand they carried out reprisals, unprecedented in their cruelty, against representatives of the intelligentsia, who promoted education. The peak period of reprisals is considered to be the Stalinist repression of 1936–1938, characterized in historiography as the period of the “Great Terror” in the USSR. It is believed that the

cause of the “Great Terror” was the murder of S.M. Kirov, the first secretary of the Leningrad regional party committee, in December 1934, in Leningrad. In reality, persecution under *class* principles began in the early 1920s, when intellectuals – doctors, teachers, and scientists – were arrested on charges of insufficient loyalty of the new government, or on the basis of bourgeois origins. The arrested persons were exiled to the north and Siberia, where it was virtually impossible to survive.

The Enemy Is Everywhere is the name of the famous book by Jörg Baberowski, referring to the speech of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Aliheydar Karaev, at the 9th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks in 1919. Karaev argued that the enemy is in all institutions, in schools, institutes, science, cinema, theatre, literature, everywhere there is an element hostile to Soviet power (Baberovski 2010, 9; *RGASPI* f. 17, op. 17, d. 30, l. 38). The task of the Communists was the destruction of these enemies. In this way, they saw the way to a “bright communist future”. Of course, this cannot be considered a sign of universal paranoia of the ruling party, although this was not excluded. But these statements had a basis in truth. As you know, the first wave of Red Terror began in Soviet Russia in 1918, when on the same day, August 30, an assassination attempt was made on Lenin, and the chairman of the *Petrograd Cheka*, Solomon Uritsky, was murdered. On September 2, 1918, Yakov Sverdlov declared the Red Terror in an appeal to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee as a response to these actions. In the first two days after the murder of Uritsky, 512 people were shot (Rat’kovski 2017, 75). According to various estimates, the number of victims of the Red Terror in the years 1918-1923 ranges from 100,000 to 2,000,000 people (*Ezhnedel’nik CHK* 1918, N6, 19).

Azerbaijanis experienced the “Red Terror”, with a significant national impact, as early as March 1918. The Baku Council, or the so-called “Baku Commune”, murdered more than 10,000 residents of Baku of Azerbaijani origin, under the pretext of combating the *Musavat* rebellion. Even more residents of the provinc-

es were killed over three days (*Azerbaydzhanskaia Demokraticheskaiia Respublika* 1998, 60). In September 1918, the national government of Azerbaijan moved from Ganja to Baku and the power of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic was established here, so the second wave of terror came here only after the Sovietization of the republic in April 1920.

From the first years of Sovietization in Azerbaijan, the persecution of people belonging to the *Musavat*, *Hummet*, *Ittihad*, *Socialist Revolutionaries*, *Mensheviks* and other parties began. And this is despite the fact that the Bolsheviks, during the conquest of Baku, made a promise not to apply any measures of punishment to representatives of these parties. Those oppositionists who could not emigrate abroad were sent to the first Soviet camps in Solovki and other places in the North, which for the southern people was tantamount to death. Some of them were able to adapt to the new system, in which the prominent political figure, Nariman Narimanov played an important role, as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

The first so-called “party purge” followed the 10th congress of the party in March 1921, at which for the first time a warning was voiced from Moscow about the need to strengthen the unity of the party ranks, to eliminate factional struggles and groups within the party, and to fight against foreign elements within. The purge of the 1921 party was unprecedented in the entire history of the Bolshevik government, with 159,355 people, or 24.1% of its composition, expelled from the party (Niftaliev 2017, 184). The overwhelming majority of those expelled from the party were “passive”, that is, people who were members of the RCP (b) but who did not take an active part in party life. Others were expelled from the party for abuse of their position, for the performance of religious rites, or as hostile elements, who “penetrated the party with counter-revolutionary goals”. In the Azerbaijan SSR 22 “purge” commissions were active. The work of the commissions began in September and ended in December 1921. In Azerbaijan, by the time of the purge in 1921, 6,771 people (38.5%) were expelled out of 17,548 communist members and candidates for party member-

ship (ARPAIİSSA f.1, op. 19, d. 19, l. 3.). They were expelled for violations of discipline, for being untrustworthy, for being too passive, for official crimes, or for hiding their alien social class origins during applications to the party.

I would like to describe separately the fate of one of such expelled figures, Akhmed Akhmedov. He was the son of a wealthy entrepreneur who became a revolutionary and joined the party at the age of 16. After the establishment of Soviet power in Azerbaijan, A. Akhmedov worked as a military commissar, and in 1925–1927 – researcher at the Institute of Party History. The young scientist sincerely believed that the universal happiness promised by the Communists is impossible without the prosperity of his own people. This is precisely what inspired A. Akhmedov in 1926 to write the fundamental book *Azerbaijani Turks in the Revolution of 1905*, which was published by our institute 76 years later, in 2002. The book covers all aspects of the social and political life of Azerbaijan in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Akhmedov 2002, 21-294). The strongest shock for A. Akhmedov was the death of N. Narimanov in 1925. Some of his associates switched to work in Soviet state structures, and some left active politics. A. Akhmedov, finally disappointed by Bolshevism, entered the *Musavat* party in 1925, which had been operating underground since the beginning of the 1920s. By joining this party during the most dangerous period of illegal activity, rather than during its heyday, is a vivid illustration of the courage of this person. Judging by his testimony given during the arrest, Akhmedov suggested that by joining this party he would strengthen its left, socialist wing, strengthen democratic statehood, and then turn *Musavat* into a socialist party that adheres to the principles of the Second International (1889–1916). Subsequent events showed the cynical policy of the Bolsheviks, which destroyed not only the dreams of a multi-party system and independence, but also their creators. Inevitable arrest followed in 1927. After a year spent in the dungeons of the Azerbaijan Political Directorate (AzGPU), A. Akhmedov was shot in 1928.

During this year in prison, A. Akhmedov wrote a second book that I managed to publish in 2006. Despite the repentance wrested from him by the Chekists, he boldly and openly outlined his by no means optimistic views, held also by his comrades-in-arms, on key issues of the political life of Azerbaijan in the first years of Soviet power (Akhmedov 2006, 36-78). Being active, and painfully enduring any manifestations of injustice in relation to his nation, A. Akhmedov preferred calm work in his post to a risky path of unequal struggle with the existing regime, thereby pre-determining his fate. He was pardoned only in 1992.

From the beginning of the 1920s, Stalin was worried about the mood among the party elites of the national republics. In a letter addressed to Lenin, he states openly that many communists once accepted “words about independence at face value, stubbornly demanding the implementation of the constitution of independent republics” (*Izvestiia TSK KPSS* 1989, 77). It was these people that Stalin called the “national deviators” (national-uklonisti). There was some truth in this, as many political leaders joined the Bolshevik party in the hope that it was the Communists who would contribute to the realization of the rights of the indigenous population of the republics to self-determination. In reality, as the power of the Bolsheviks strengthened, infringement of the rights of the national republics intensified, and this gave rise to the corresponding resistance by local party elites. Realizing the threat to their power, the Stalinist leadership in the mid-1920s launched a struggle against nationalism and gradually removed any leaders of the republics, who were suspected of national deviation. This is what happened with Buda Mdivani in Georgia, Nariman Narimanov in Azerbaijan, Christian Rakovsky in Ukraine, Mirmaid Sultangaliyev in Tatarstan, Aghasi Khanjyan in Armenia, etc.

During the 1920s and early 1930s, leaders of the party organization of Azerbaijan were representatives of a non-indigenous nationality. Narimanov spent only two years (1921–1922) as the head of the Council of People's Commissars, then was recalled to work in Moscow, where official conclusions were that he died

unexpectedly from a heart attack in 1925, at the age of 55. Stalin appointed Mir Jafar Baghirov, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, only in December 1933. Baghirov still causes a lot of discussion and conflicting assessments. On the one hand, over the twenty years of his tenure, Azerbaijan has achieved great success in industrial, scientific and cultural development. On the other hand, the most terrible repressions, against the best representatives of the people, are also associated with his name.

The idea of the class struggle, formulated by Lenin, was developed in the writings of Stalin, who believed that this struggle only intensifies with the development of socialism. In addition, countless secret services' reports and denunciations of "working people" testified to the fact that there were quite a lot of people dissatisfied with Soviet power. This discontent fits quite logically into the Stalinist theory of the class struggle, in which class opponents were to be destroyed. The right to exist was to be reserved only for those who did not doubt, therefore any independent thinking was punished with severe punishment. Many historians consider the outcome of the first two Soviet five-year plans to be another reason for the expansion of terror. Although a great leap has been made in the economic and industrial development of the country, its pace clearly did not correspond to the desired results. The technical capabilities to achieve progress in production, the low qualifications and professional skills of many groups of workers, the costs associated with the country's transition from a private property system to a completely different socialist form, all had a negative effect. Accidents at industrial enterprises and mines, and frequent breakdowns of machines and mechanisms, occurred due to the lack of qualified personnel, many of whom either emigrated or were murdered by the Soviet government. Workers were stimulated by the constant threat of criminal punishment, especially on charges of political crimes. The particularities of the formation of the political elite of Soviet society led to the monopolization of power in the hands of the Bolshevik party, whose composition also changed over time. Under Lenin, the

country's leaders had a certain intellectual level. Later, Stalin cracked down on almost all of Lenin's comrades-in-arms. The key to advancement in the Stalin's career ladder was not personal qualities and professionalism, but the working-peasant origin and loyalty to the regime, which later formed the so-called Soviet nomenclature.

The beginning of the “Great Terror” in Azerbaijan.

In the Caucasus, the “Great Terror” began at the end of 1936. In Azerbaijan, L. Beria's article, entitled *Dispelling the Ashes of the Enemies of Socialism*, was published on August 21, 1936 in all the central newspapers of the Transcaucasus. The article signalled a peak in the “popular” campaign. Describing the depth of the ideological fall of the former opposition leaders Trotsky and Zinoviev, Beria argued that they had a large number of supporters in Transcaucasia, preserving deeply conspiratorial organizations. These organizations carried out subversive work in all spheres of economic and cultural life, planning, in addition, the physical elimination of all true communists and, above all, Bolshevik leaders led by Stalin. The republican newspapers reprinted an editorial from Pravda with the characteristic name *Trotsky–Zinoviev–Kamenev–Gestapo*, which emphasized the connection of opposition figures with the secret services of fascist Germany. The reaction of workers of Azerbaijan's factories arrived immediately, they demanded reprisals against “fascist killers”. Baghirov spoke at the notorious February-March (1937) plenum of the Central Committee about the outbreak of Great terror. He acknowledged the lag in oil production plans in Baku, and the increase in the number of accidents and explosions. He considered that foreign powers are responsible. They “use the *Musavat* bourgeois-nationalist counter-revolutionary elements in Azerbaijan to destroy and disorganize the oil industry, to fight the Soviet regime”. With his usual obedience to Stalin, Baghirov recalled that the Secretary General back in 1922 had pointed out the danger of “bourgeois-nationalist counter-revolution”. Now the foresight of this prediction is confirmed. In rural areas, nationalists organized “rebel groups”, destabilising

collective farms, sowing discontent among collective farmers, and advocating the separation of Azerbaijan from the Soviet Union (Ibid, 25). Baghirov himself in 1936 ordered mass arrests on collective farms. Hasan Safarov, head of the agricultural department of the Central Committee of the AzKP, was arrested as an enemy of the people, and brought to trial (Baberoovski 2010, 730).

In the fall of 1936 in the USSR, including Azerbaijan, a new phase of the search for political opponents, now designated by the term “enemies of the people”, began. This phase of repression is inextricably linked with the dismissal and arrest of the USSR Commissar of Internal Affairs Heinrich Yagoda and the appointment of the new Commissioner Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov in his place (Ismailov 2015, 71). The campaign to identify “enemies of the people” began to develop at a rapid pace. One of the first high-profile cases instituted in this direction in Azerbaijan was the Ali-Bayramli case, named after one of the regions of Azerbaijan. In a trumped-up case of a “ramified counter-revolutionary organization”, 120 people from seven villages of Ali-Bayramly district were arrested. The charges were so absurd that only 2 people were sentenced to death, and the rest were jailed. However, this case was reviewed in the following year, and most of the defendants were either shot or sent into exile for 10 years (ARDA f. 1017, op. 18c, d. 46, l. 12).

The whole drama of this time was that if in the 1920s the republic was undergoing the process of forming the organizational foundations of science and the rapid growth of scientific intelligentsia, then in the 1930s the opposite picture was observed: the monstrous extermination of the best representatives of Azerbaijani science and the intelligentsia as a whole. Bagirov proudly wrote to Stalin:

During 1936, we identified and eliminated 78 counter-revolutionary groups with a total number of 752 people [...] The organizers of these groups were mainly Trotskyists who took an active part in the counter-revolutionary struggle against the party in the past. (Ismailov 2015, 72)

The counter-revolutionary parties were primarily members of the Musavat ruling party during the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the parliamentary parties – *Ittihad*, the Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, etc. Despite the fact that many members of these parties have already been repressed, exiled to Solovki or Siberia, some of them remained at home, joined the Communist Party and worked at Soviet enterprises. In the 1930s, they began to be credited with liaising with the Trotskyists and arrested on new charges.

Events of mass repression associated with the concept of “Great Terror” took place in Azerbaijan for more than two years – from the summer of 1936 to the autumn of 1938. In this relatively short historical period of time, the Soviet totalitarian system, used methods of state terrorism to achieve its goals and objectives. A system which was not initially distinguished by special humanism, more and more openly violated the rules of observance of citizens' rights. This was a period of outright violence, which led to enormous sacrifices, and infringement of the rights and freedoms of a huge mass of people. This period was rightly named the “Great Terror”. While the party purges of the 1920s and first half of the 1930s touched mainly ordinary communists, the repressions of 1937–1938 were directed, first of all, against leading cadres. If the February-March Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of 1937 officially authorized the start of total repressions in the USSR, then in Azerbaijan this function was fulfilled by the 6th of March (1937) plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Republic. At the plenum, any immunity for repression against nomenclature workers was canceled. This was followed by mass expulsions from the party and the arrests of party, Soviet and business leaders. In Baku in December 1936, more than half of all party secretaries lost their posts and freedom. In 1937–1938, the NKVD arrested 200 employees of the Azerbaijani prosecutor's office, its management apparatus was beheaded almost completely. Four fifths of the people's judges of Azerbaijan were arrested as enemies of the people (Baberoovski 2015, 779).

According to the report of the deputy head of the department of the State Security Directorate of the NKVD of the Azerbaijan SSR, State Security Captain Meshnikov, *A brief overview of the elimination and defeat of counter-revolutionary units and the anti-soviet element in the Azerbaijan SSR from January 1, 1934 to January 1, 1939*, the total number of repressed was 27,458 (ARPAIISSA f. 1, op. 22, d. 277, l. 4). The main impact was in the period 1936–1938. From October 1, 1936 to July 1, 1938, 25,222 people were arrested in the Azerbaijan SSR. Of those, 13,356 were Azerbaijanis, i.e. more than half. For 1937–1938 the NKVD officers of Azerbaijan fabricated the so-called “mandatory” cases. Examples were the cases of: the “Conspiracy of Party Workers”; the “Azneft”; the “German Nationalist Center”; the “Writers Union”; the “Scientists”, etc. A total of 1,700 people were involved in these cases (Kerimova 2017, 206).

As a result, the party ranks became much thinner, and at the 14th Congress of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) held in June 1938, the party organizations of the republic were set the task of admitting new members to the party. For 2 years, from 1937 to 1939, the number of party members increased by 57% to 45,864 people (ARPAIISSA f. 1, op. 22, d. 444, l. 2-3). Almost none of the new cadres had pre-revolutionary work experience. Having occupied the personnel voids formed after the terrible repressions, the generation of new leaders understood deeply their dependence on the new System, feeling appreciation towards it and its creator. Everyone appreciated that he did not take his place by any right, but by the grace of the leadership, and if this grace ceases, he can easily be replaced by another. This principle of personnel policy generated among new careerists not just obedience to the will of their superiors, but a strong desire to curry favor in order to become irreplaceable in this way and get even higher posts. Fear of the constant threat of losing their acquired position turned them into executors of directive instructions, unable to show any initiative, and kept them under constant tension. Such functionaries were obliged to demonstrate admiration for a higher leader, emphasizing their vassal status, and at the same time inspiring their

subordinates to adopt vassal positions in relation to themselves (Ismailov 2003, 88-89). The *Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)*, published in 1938 on the direct instructions of Stalin, completely falsified the real history of the creation and rule of the Bolshevik Party. It presented the correct ideological attitude to new nominees. This was the authoritative canon of high Sovietism, which created an intellectual strait jacket around all cultural life until well after Stalin's death. Despite a number of later amendments, the basic tenets of *Short Course* would not be repudiated, whilst the Soviet regime lasted (Martin 1994, 237).

Mass repression against the intelligentsia

The irony was the 1920s saw the organisation of science, and the rapid growth of scientific intelligentsia took place in the republic, but in the 1930s the opposite picture was observed – the monstrous extermination of the best representatives of Azerbaijani science and the intelligentsia. Hundreds of scientists and leading researchers of the Azerbaijan branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (founded in 1935) and universities were subjected to unjustified persecution, and slander. Many were accused of “nationalism”, “pan-Turkism”, or “pan-Islamism”. Prominent scientists of the republic were declared “traitors and enemies of the people”, their achievements were completely ignored, their names were often erased from history, their fruitful research activities were hushed up. (Kerimova 2016, 332)

In the 1920s and 1930s, Baku was the largest center of science and culture of the USSR, and prominent scientists from other Turkic-speaking republics and regions of the USSR – Tatarstan, Uzbekistan, the Turkic-speaking Crimea, Turkey, and others – also worked there. The First All-Union Turkological Congress, held in Baku in 1926, created a single Latin alphabet and played a large role in the spiritual unification of the Turkic peoples. Almost all the participants in this congress were executed under the stigmas of: “nationalist”; “pan-Turkist”; “musavatist”; or other varieties of “bourgeois nationalism”. Some Russian orientalists, partic-

icipating in this congress, were repressed. Examples were: well-known Turkologists Alexander Nikolaevich Samoilovich, Evgeny Dmitrievich Polyvanov, Nikolai Feofanovich Yakovlev, and others. Most of all, suspicions were directed at the intelligentsia, whose representatives could be accused of having ties to the so called “dvurushniki” (two-dealers), as the right-wing opposition leaders were then called. At first, the repressions were not widespread and people accused of crimes were deprived of their party ticket or sacked. For example, the literary critic Huseyn Eldarov was deprived of his membership card because he translated Trotsky's works into the Azerbaijani language in the 1920s. The instructor of the publishing house “Azerkitab” Baba Bagirzade was declared a “double-dealing Trotskyite geek” and expelled from the party (Kerimova 2016, 31).

But gradually, the persecutors of the “enemies of the people”, who received instructions directly from Moscow, found it necessary to remove them from society, and mass arrests began. Exceptions were not made, either for officials, or for ordinary party members. In August, the director of the Azerbaijan branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Mahmud Agayev, and deputy prosecutor of the republic Kuzakov, manager of the Azenerji trust Dadashev, were expelled from the party, for belonging to the Trotskyist opposition. Many oil workers were arrested, also. All of them were convicted by the Special Conference of the NKVD of the USSR to long terms of imprisonment in camps (ARPAIISSA f. 1, op. 43, d. 181, l. 5).

On December 2, 1936, Boris Nikolaevich Tikhomirov was arrested. He was the dean of the Faculty of History of Azerbaijan State University, and a graduate of the Moscow Institute of the Red Professors. He was charged with ties to the Leningrad underground Trotskyist organization. During initial interrogations he denied his guilt. However, in subsequent interrogations, after intense moral and physical pressure, he began to admit to anti-Soviet activities. The admission also noted the guilt of a group of scientists: Agamir Mammadov, Balabek Hasanbekov, Alexander Bukspan, Veli Khulufllu and others. Ruhulla Akhundov was charged as

the leader this group. He held high positions in the leadership of both Azerbaijan and the entire South Caucasus, being in 1930–1932 one of the three secretaries of the Transcaucasian Regional Party Committee. From 1933 until his arrest, he was chairman of the Committee on Arts at the Council of People's Commissars of the Republic and deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Akhundov, who did not have a diploma of higher education, supervised the entire work of the branch in the 1930s. While working in the Central Committee, in 1927 he compiled and published a Russian-Azerbaijani dictionary. Under his leadership, and with his participation, Azerbaijani language translations of Marxist-Leninist classics were carried out intermittently until his arrest. (Kerimova 2005, 311-312). To fabricate the charge of a “nationalist underground”, two humanitarian institutes were chosen as targets: the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography; and the Institute of Language and Literature. The first was led by Rukhulla Akhundov, as Institute Director I.I. Meshchaninov was constantly in Leningrad. The Institute of Language and Literature was headed by famous linguist Arthur Rudolfovich Zifeldt-Simumyagi, who was subsequently sacked, and died in Kolyma in 1939. (Ashnin and Alpatov 1998, 99).

Some historians believe that the elimination of R. Akhundov was due to the fact that his rapid rise and popularity within the national intelligentsia gave Baghirov an occasion to consider him his most dangerous leadership competitor (Kerimova 2016, 320). According to others, the initiator of the arrest was Lavrenty Beria, a close friend of Baghirov. Beria was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR in 1936, and in 1938 became the head of the NKVD (Ismailov 2015, 78). In any event, in a letter to Stalin at the end of 1936 Baghirov reported that some senior officials were Trotskyists, and hence a cause for serious concern. These senior officials included: R. Akhundov, Chairman of the Committee for Arts; Museib Shakhbazov, People's Commissar of Education; and Eyub Khanbudagov, Deputy Chairman of the Azerittifag. (ARPAIISSA f. 1, op. 88, d. 18, l. 1-2). Ruhulla Akhundov was arrested at the entrance of his house on

December 17, 1936. At the notorious February-March (1937) plenum of the Central Committee, Baghirov accused him of leading a conspiracy of counter-revolutionary nationalist elements in Dagestan, Turkmenistan, and other republics of the Soviet East. According to Baghirov, Akhundov violated the rights of national minorities, creating unimaginable chaos in changes to Azerbaijani language spelling and terminology. In addition, Akhundov was obsessed with the idea of maintaining “literary ties” with Turkey and flooding Azerbaijan with books from a neighboring country. The main goal was concluded to be the separation of Azerbaijan from the USSR, leading to the formation of a powerful Turkic-Tatar state under the leadership of Turkey. According to Baghirov, the Musavatists, returning emigrants and representatives of the pre-revolutionary elite were preparing to overthrow the Soviet regime in Azerbaijan (Ashnin and Alpatov 1998, 126-127).

One of the first scientists who fell victim to the repressions of 1937–1938 was Bekir Vagapovich Choban-zade (1893–1937), a man of great talent, who carried out numerous scientific, social, and pedagogical, activities in Baku. He was known in the Soviet Union and throughout the Turkic world as one of the major scholars of linguistics. The son of a Crimean Tatar shepherd (hence his nickname, which later became a surname), he graduated from the Lyceum in Istanbul (1914), the University of Budapest (1919), subsequently becoming the rector of the Crimean University (1924). Choban-zade arrived at Baku in 1925 at the invitation of the Azerbaijan State University, and the Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet (ACCNA), where he worked until his arrest. In 1925, he became Dean of the Oriental Faculty of ASU, published extensively, trained national cadres, and actively participated in the work of the All-Union Central Committee of the New Alphabet. Originally working in Baku, he was one of the leaders and participant of the First All-Union Turkological Congress. By the beginning of 1937, B.V. Choban-zade was a professor at Azerbaijan State University and an employee of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Azerbaijan Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Ashnin and Alpatov 1998, 127). Choban-zade was fluent

in Russian, French, Hungarian, Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, languages. In January 1937, testimony from two arrested persons implicated B.V. Choban-zade: namely testimony by economist, ethnographer, M.G. Baharly (Veliyev), author of the book *Azerbaijan: a look at geography, nature, ethnography and the economy*; and philosopher A.Kh. Chichikalov. This testimony provided formal “grounds” for the arrest of B.V. Choban-zade. On January 27, 1937 an arrest warrant was signed and on the same day a search was made in the scientist’s Baku apartment, during which 38 books and other materials were seized. The professor himself was at that time on vacation in Kislovodsk. He was placed in the Pyatigorsk prison until the arrival of the special convoy from Baku, then returned to Baku. The professor was forced to admit to having ties with the *Musavatists*, the *Sultan-Galiyevites*, the *Dashnaks*, the Uzbek “Pan-Turkists”, etc. Similar testimonies implicating B.V. Choban-zade were ‘beaten out’ of Baku scientists arrested at the same time. Amongst these was the prominent Tatar historian G.S. Gubaidullin, his Azerbaijani student V. Khulufli, the linguist H. Zeynalli, etc. (Ibid, 128.) On September 2, 1937, an ‘Indictment’ was drawn up, which stated:

The investigation has established that the accused, Choban-zade Bekir Vagapovich, is an active leader of the All-Union counter-revolutionary Pan-Turkist organization, a member of the joint counter-revolutionary Pan-Turkist center, and from 1920 to the day of his arrest, he actively struggled against the Soviet regime, conducting practical counter-revolutionary work in the national republics of the USSR. Based on the foregoing, Choban-zade Bekir Vagapovich is accused [...] of the crimes under Art. 60, 63, 70, 73 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR (ARMTNA d. PR26926, t. 3, l. 1006-1014).

On October 12, 1937, his trial was held, lasting only 20 minutes. The scientist was found guilty of all four counts and sentenced to death on October 13, 1937. The professor’s wife, artist Rugiya Gireyevna Abdulina, was arrested the day after her husband was shot, on October 14, and was sentenced to 8 years in

prison camps as a “member of the traitor’s homeland” family. (Ibid.)

As a result of arrests and confiscations, thousands of pages of scientific works were irretrievably lost or destroyed, not only from public funds, but also from personal libraries, from bookstores. These included the many years of unpublished studies, personal archives, documents, manuscripts in the old Arabic alphabet, and entire libraries. It was a time when any competition or debate of scientific concepts was banned, rendering science infertile. During the arrest of one of the famous representatives of Azerbaijani literature, Salman Mumtaz, his priceless library of manuscript books was seized and destroyed. The scientist had traveled to Georgia, Central Asia Republics, Dagestan, Iran, in order to preserve literary manuscripts from extinction. As a result, S. Mumtaz had identified more than 1,500 poets and writers. The well-known orientalist S.F. Oldenburg commented that only two copies of the greatest monument of literature *Kitabi Dede Korkut*, which are stored in the Vatican and in Dresden, have been preserved in the world. There was a third copy in the library of Salman Mumtaz. Documents indicate that on the night of his arrest he was forced to load his priceless books in a car. (Kerimova 2016, 329-330). From October 10 to December 7, 1937, the scientist was repeatedly interrogated. Unbroken by torture, he did not admit the charges against him, nor did he implicate another person. Salman Mumtaz was shot in Orel in 1941, shortly before the city was taken by the Nazi occupiers. After Stalin's death, an investigation was carried out in the 1950s – manuscripts seized during the arrest of S. Mumtaz were held by the Azerbaijan SSR NKVD. Some documents were used for commercial purposes, but other invaluable manuscripts were destroyed.

Very often, direct or indirect denunciations of colleagues served as the basis for the persecution of scientists. During those years, even a scientific review containing accusations of “deviation from the Marxist methodology” could become the reason for the arrest of the scientist. Among those who were sentenced to death were prominent humanities scholars, who were pioneers in

the dissemination of scientific knowledge in Azerbaijan, as authors of the first fundamental research on history, literature and language. These were professors Bekir Chobanzade, Hanafi Zeynalli, Gaziz Gubaidullin, Huseynali Bilendarli, Boris Tikhomirov, Alexander Bukspan, Khalid Khojaev, Abdulaziz Salamzade, Balabek Hasanbekov, Mikail Huseynov and others.

Gaziz Gubaydullin can rightly be called the first Tatar professional historian who researched the history of his people, relying on the methods of European science. In 1925, Gubaidullin was invited to Azerbaijan to work at State University and the Eastern Pedagogical Institute. He reacted very responsibly to the development of urgent problems of the Azerbaijani and Turkic history and culture. Over the next ten years, he became an outstanding orientalist researcher, and a world-famous Turkologist. He was the author of the first large-scale, detailed studies of the history of Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kabardino-Balkaria. He was elected professor at Tashkent and Samarkand universities and other scientific centers (Salikhov 2017). Gubaidullin was one of the one of the first accused of counter-revolutionary activity by Baghirov, at the March 1937 plenary meeting of the Central Committee. In March 1937, Gubaidullin was arrested for participating in the all-Union Pan-Turkist center, which he allegedly created in 1934 (Gubaydullin 2010, 14). During many months of interrogation, Gubaidullin testified under torture concerning the formation of several blocks of “counter-revolutionaries” among the Baku intelligentsia, namely: “communist-nationalists” (*Narimanovites*); *Musavatists*; and neo-nationalists. On September 4, 1937 Gubaydullin was convicted of preparing an armed uprising in the USSR, carrying out rebellion, and espionage activities against the state. On September 7, the case investigation was completed, and he was sentenced to death by a court. On October 13, 1937 the sentence was carried out (Ibid, 15).

The devastating tornado of arrests of scientists touched a famous historian, Panteleymon Krestovich Zhuzey (nee Bendali bin Salib al-Jawzi) also. Zhuzey was an orientalist, legal scholar, a founder of the Azerbaijani school of Soviet Arabistics, and an

employee of the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He was a Christian Arab, born on July 20, 1871 in Jerusalem. After receiving a religious education in his homeland, as one of the best graduates of the seminary, he was awarded a scholarship from the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society, and in 1891 was sent to Russia to continue his spiritual education (Kerimova 2009, 83). In 1895, having moved to Kazan, he was accepted as a student in the historical department of the Kazan Theological Academy, then he taught at Kazan University (1911–1917), following which he received a doctorate in philosophy (1914). In the years 1896–1920, he taught Arabic, French, and Muslim law. After 1917 he taught history of Middle East peoples at both Kazan University and the Northeast Archaeological Institute. In 1920, Samedaga Agamalioglu, the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Azerbaijan USSR, invited Zhusey to work in Baku. On September 21, 1920 Zhusey was elected by the Council of Baku University as a professor of the Department of Arabic Language and Literature. He moved permanently to Baku with his family, with the assistance of the I Congress of Oriental Peoples, on October 29, 1920. Zhusey was a multi-faceted specialist in Arab problems, an unsurpassed expert in the Arabic language. He was invited in 1938 to the Institute of History of the Azerbaijan branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences (AzFAN), where he began work as a senior researcher, focusing on translating and publishing the most important sources on the history of Azerbaijan during the Arab conquest. On February 23, 1940 Zhusey was arrested by the NKVD of the Azerbaijan SSR as part of a large group of employees of the institute in the so-called “The Case of Scientists” No. 12493. Under torture, the health of the world-famous 70-year-old scientist deteriorated sharply, and on April 14, 1940 Zhusey was released. After his release, Zhusey’s health deteriorated further, and he died on January 19, 1942. He was buried in the Orthodox cemetery in Baku (Ibid, 88).

Under repeated torture, it was very difficult not to sign a confession. In spite of this difficulty, many avoided a signed con-

fession, including oriental scholars, historians and literary scholars: Salman Mumtaz; Seyid Huseyn; Hasan Imanov; Agamir Mammadov; and others. Being strong people, they were not broken by the investigation. After going through all the horrors of torture, and many days of interrogation, they neither implicated, nor slandered, anyone. Among those sentenced to death were prominent humanities scholars, who were truly pioneers in the dissemination of scientific knowledge in Azerbaijan, authors of the first fundamental studies on the history, literature and language of Azerbaijan. These were professors: Hanafi Zeynalli; Huseynali Bilendarli; Boris Tikhomirov; Alexander Bukspan; Bekir Chobanzade; Gaziz Gubaidullin; Khalid Khojaev; Abdulaziz Salamzade; Balabek Hasanbekov; Mikail Huseynov; and others (Ismailov 2015, 139).

Four directors were replaced at the Institute of History over the years 1936-1938. All were arrested for “wrecking” or “pan-Turkist” activities. On June 1, 1937, a graduate of the Institute of Red Professors Akhmed Ali oglu Akhmedov was appointed director of the Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Akhmedov was able to stay in this post for only 40 days. He was arrested as a “member of an organization led by Rukhulla Akhundov” on July 11, 1937, and executed on October 13, 1937 (Kerimova 2016, 345). In his place was appointed linguist, professor Idris Hasanov. On April 3, 1938, Gasanov was also arrested and charged with “having carried out pan-Turkic and wrecking work in the field of the Azerbaijani language for a long time”. On June 21, 1939 Hasanov was sentenced to 8 years in prison, serving his sentences in Kolyma, in Magadan. In February-April 1938 three more were arrested in this case: A.R. Zifeldt-Simumyagi, director of the Institute of the History of Language and Literature; Gulam Bagirov, his former deputy; as well as Jafar Kyazimov, a geologist, and deputy chairman of the branch. A.A. Klimov, a Russian ethnographer, was appointed as the head of the Institute of History, Language and Literature, after the end of the wave of repressions, during which its entire leadership structure suffered. For several months, the institutes of the

USSR Academy of Natural Sciences became empty. In May 1937, the Institute of History, Literature and Language consisted of 51 scientific and scientific support staff; 42 of them were scientists. By the end of 1939, the Institute had a total of 26 scientists and scientific support staff, 2 of whom had a degree (Ismailov 2015, 142).

Almost all the scientists involved in “Case of Scientists” died in Stalin's camps or were shot. Academic activity in the field of history and literature in AzFAN was curtailed, and the staff was accused of: incompetence; unimportant research topics; and the failure to meet deadlines. Work ceased on almost all of the previous research topics, and their participants were fired.

Stalinism left a heavy imprint on the historical, economic, philosophical, and philological sciences. It created a specific dogma, tailored to its goals, and involving anti-science, and the mystification of this philosophy, to transform it into a kind of scientific system. Stalinism not only diminished and disgraced the social sciences by repression and persecution of the best scientists, but also drove the humanities into a dead end, threatening complete professional and moral decay, and degradation. It was in the social sciences, as in no other sphere, that Stalinism took deep roots, deformed scientific thinking, and survived for many decades.

Azerbaijani students sent to study in European countries by the ADR government in the years of Azerbaijan independence (1918–1920), suffered huge losses during the years of Soviet repression, and became part of the tragedy of the entire Azerbaijani people. Out of 102 students, 13 were supposed to go to Russia and Ukraine, but they remained in Baku, waiting for travel authorization. Of the 89 students who studied at universities in Western Europe and Turkey, 56 returned to Azerbaijan. Of these, 41 of them were repressed. Additionally, 6 people who returned to their homeland were able to emigrate after a few years (Tahirzade and Tahirli 2016, 193). Some who returned became famous scientists and teachers: Rzazade Iskender; Kyazimov Jafar; Rajabli Ahmed; Vezirzade Aslan; Mustafa Vekilov; and others.

Iskender Rzazade was a graduate of the Higher Electro-technical Institute in Nancy (1922, France), and since 1924 was a graduate of the Faculty of Electrical Engineering of the Higher Technical School of Darmstadt (Germany). In Berlin, he worked as an engineer in the Berlin office of Azneft, and became acquainted with the work of the largest electromechanical and mechanical plants (Tahirzade 2000, 35). After returning to Baku in 1925, Rzazade worked until 1934 in the Baku branch of the All-Union National Economic Council, in the State Planning Commission, sequentially as a teacher, head of the department at the Azerbaijan Polytechnic Institute, dean of the Faculty of Electrical Engineering at the N. Narimanov Industrial College, and ultimately as head of the Baku branch of the Research Institute of Energy and Electrification. On June 11, 1937, he was arrested by the NKVD as “a member of the anti-Soviet nationalist, Trotskyist, terrorist, rebel, subversive organization existing in Baku”. He was shot on December 31, 1938 (Kerimova 2016, 349).

Another of the foreign educated scientists sent to the GULAG camps was Jafar Kyazimov, a well-known geologist. He graduated from the Freiberg Mining Academy (Germany). He prepared for publication the fundamental monograph *Mineral wealth of Azerbaijan*, which was confiscated during his arrest, along with his other works, and apparently lost forever. In January 1940, a special meeting at the NKVD of the USSR sentenced Kyazimov to five years of imprisonment in forced labor camps. However, in connection with the outbreak of war, many arrested scientists were forced to work for the defense industry in special laboratories. In 1941, Kiazimov was transferred to the Central Research Laboratory. After October 1945, he worked in the North-Timan expedition of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Kiazimov, achieved great success in an expedition in which discovered uranium. For this major discovery, he was awarded a prize of one hundred rubles only. At the same time, he suffered a stroke and became paralyzed. Only in 1966, two years before his death in Baku, Kiazimov received the Order of the Red Banner of Labor (Tahirzade 2001, 39).

The “Great Terror” of the late 1930s paralyzed the activities of many scientific teams, and AzFAN of the USSR was no exception. The diminishment of the USSR AzFAN, arrests, and executions of many of its employees, slowed down the development of scientific research. But the “Great Terror” could not reverse the process of development of science itself. In Stalin's time, entire scientific subjects were suppressed and prohibited. Ideological intervention also affected such disciplines as physics, chemistry, astronomy, statistics, literary criticism, sociology, psychiatry, demography, economics, genetics, cybernetics. The apotheosis of repression can be considered the shooting of leading demographers, after Stalin rejected the results of the 1937 census, which revealed huge population losses from hunger and repression. The 1937 USSR general population census data were officially regarded as “defective” and “erroneous”. Consequently, demography “ceased to exist” in the USSR. As a result of this policy, “until the mid-1950s, no one knew at all how many people live in the Soviet Union”. The first post-war census was carried out only in 1959 (*Demoskop Weekly* 2005).

The purges were launched from the top by Stalin, Yezhov, Beria, and their associates like Baghirov, but they evolved into an entire social system – terror as a way of life. From the highest-ranking officials to those at the bottom of the system, individuals had an incentive to denounce others before they themselves were targeted – to preserve their own positions, avenge old wrongs, dispense with rivals, while at the same time receiving the gratitude and praise of superiors. Across the Soviet Union, roughly twenty nine million people passed through state-run labor camps or were deported en masse during the Stalin era – ordinary criminals, political prisoners, peasants, and scientists (Applebaum 2003, 578-586).

The Twentieth Party Congress (February 1956), debunked Stalin's personality cult. It represented a turning point in the objective coverage of the repressions of the 1930s and 1940s, and their consequences. The Soviet government wished to look more civilized in the eyes of the world community and its own people.

A campaign was launched to expose the extreme manifestations of the system, which was called “Stalinism”. Thus, the new leaders including Khrushchev denied involvement in the atrocities committed, in an attempt to ennoble the image of the Soviet regime. Repressed or surviving family members received various kinds of certificates and insignificant compensation. At the same time, the authorities continued to conceal the scope of the crimes committed, since many of the new leaders were involved in them, to a certain extent. Only after the collapse of the Soviet Union, in the 1990s, did the world learn the full truth about the monstrous repressions of Stalinism.

On March 13, 1954, by decision of the CCP under the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mir Jafar Baghirov was expelled from the party and arrested. On April 12, 1956, an open trial of Baghirov began in Baku. This process was more political than legal. The Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR convicted defendants Baghirov, Borshchev, Grigoryan, Markaryan, Atakishiev, Emelyanov of participation in a treasonable group, and of terrorist attacks against Soviet citizens. They were sentenced with capital punishment – shooting with confiscation of all personal property, on the basis of Articles 63-2, 70 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR (ARPAIISSA, f. 6, op. 8, d. 35, l. 21).

Contemporaneously, posthumous rehabilitation of scientists began. Scientific intelligentsia, as well as the entire national culture, suffered irreparable losses during the Stalinist repressions of the 1930s and 1940s. And yet, despite the unrelenting political pressure during this period, Azerbaijan’s scientific intelligentsia succeeded in making a valuable contribution to the scientific, economic, and cultural, development of the republic. The names of these repressed scientists, regardless of their degree of fame, were included in the golden fund of Azerbaijani scientific thought of the twentieth century.

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II. FROM KNOWLEDGE TO
PATRIOTISM:
THE CASE OF INTELLECTUALS
OF GREECE, ARMENIA,
AND MACEDONIA

TRACKS OF KNOWLEDGE ACROSS TIME AND ALONG THE BLACK SEA SHORES. THE CASE OF VASÍLIOS VATÁTZIS' HISTORY OF NADIR SHAH (PERSICA)

Stefanos Kordosis

Abstract: The discovery and publication of Vasílios Vatátzis' manuscript, titled Περσικά (Persica: Histoire de Chah-Nadir), by the great Romanian scholar and historian of the Byzantine Empire, Nicolae Iorga, a year before his tragic murder is an example of the interconnectedness of the western Black Sea countries, across time and space. Thanks to Iorga, a mid-18th c. manuscript on Persia during Nader Shah's times, written by a Greek Ottoman merchant from Constantinople, found its way into becoming a published, edited text a little before World War II broke out. Iorga managed, thus, to preserve and transmit a unique post-byzantine text that provides a detailed portrait of the founder of the Afsharid dynasty.

Vasílios Vatátzis is an Ottoman Greek author quite unknown both to western general readers and history researchers and Greeks, even though he is an invaluable source on the 18th century Europe, Persia and Central Asia. Born in 1694 (Vatátzis 1972, 226-227)¹ into a rather large and poor family of Ottoman Constantinople living at the outskirts of the city (Therapia, mod. Tarabya) with affiliations to the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Vatátzis

¹ "κατ' ἔτος τὸ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἀνακτος τοῦ θεοῦ μας, // τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ πλάστου μας καὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ μας, // χιλιοστῷ ἑξακοστῷ ἐνενήντα τεσσάρω...".

1972, 227; Venetis Encyclopaedia Iranica),² Vatátzis left for Moscow when he was 14 years old (Lámpros 1881, 713, i.e. 1708) to seek his fortune as a merchant and to “become acquainted with other nations and countries of the world” (Vatátzis 1972, 227).³ Hence, his wanderings began, across Europe and across much of what is today Central Eurasia and Persia.

Vatátzis compiled two manuscripts: one that comprised his experiences as a roaming merchant (*Voyages/Περιηγητικόν*) and the other, a biography of the founder of the short-lived Afsharid dynasty in Persia, Nader Shah (Vatátzis *Persica*) from the time he served there as an advisor. The latter’s text was edited and published by the well-known Romanian scholar Nicolae Iorga in 1939 and is the subject of this paper. Both, however, have been largely ignored by modern history scholars, although, as Marinos Sariyannis points out, there has been recently some interest in his work about Nader Shah, while the most recent paper on Vatátzis work is presented by the Greek Iranologist, Evangelos Venetis (Sariyannis 2014; Venétis 2017, 27-32). The former, however, i.e. the description of his experiences as a traveler in Central Eurasia (and also Europe and Persia), remains largely neglected by modern scholars.

Of the two manuscripts, the first to be edited and published was *Voyages/Περιηγητικόν*, by the French scholar, Emile Legrand, in 1886. Legrand believed that the other manuscript, *Persica*, was lost and was considered lost by the scholars until the last days of the mid-War period with only a fragment of it surviving, in the form of a summary from memory, written by Daniíl Philippídís in one of his works (Vatátzis 1972, 189). Laurence Lockhart, who

² “Πατρις ἦν με ἐγέννησε μήτηρ μου ἡ κυρία// ὑπάρχει εἰς τὸ κατάστένον τοῦ λένε Θεραπεῖα...”

³ “ἕως ἐτῶν ὧν ἀριθμὸν δέκα τε καὶ τεσσάρων,// τὴν τάξιν δὲ καὶ ἄσκησιν ἐπιθυμῶν ἐμπόρων,// καὶ περιήγησιν φιλῶν κόσμου καὶ πολλῶν χώρων,// ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ταύτῃ δὲ, ὡς ἄνωθεν φανίζω, καὶ ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ πρὸς ξεν’ ἀναχωρίζω”.

first undertook the effort to write Nader Shah's history (published in 1938, Lockhart 1938), thought the same (Axworthy 2006a, 331, n. 3). Indeed, Philippidis, a prominent figure of the Greek Enlightenment movement, had provided a summary by memory as an addendum to his *Geography* (also known as *History*) of *Romania*, published in 1816 in Leipzig, lest the manuscript he had read 7 years before, as he states, was somehow lost (Philippidis 1816, 189-90; Vatatzis 1972, 189-190). Finally, it was proven that the manuscript existed when Nicolae Iorga, the well-known Romanian scholar, found it in 1939 in a stockpile of books in Cotnari and decided to edit and publish it under the auspices of the Romanian Institute of Universal History. Its discovery and publication demonstrate in the best way how interconnected the countries lying along the western shores of the Black Sea were and how knowledge hopped over, from country to country, following strange paths, up until the inter-war period.

As regards the time of the compilation of the actual manuscripts, Michael Axworthy, one of the few – if not the only one – to have used Vatatzis works extensively (Axworthy 2006b), suggests that the *Voyages/Περιηγητικόν* was compiled at the same time with *Persica*, in 1747 (Axworthy 2006a, 332, 342). The same is supported by other scholars, as well: Sariyannis suggests that the “account of Vatatzis’ travels is surely posterior to both the map and his *Persica*” and provides references to points in Vatatzis’ text, all of which come from part II (II/24, 341-42, 761 ff., 852 ff., 1073); Venetis also states that Vatatzis “wrote *Voyages* after *Persica* (1747)” (Sariyannis 2014, 48-49; Venetis, Vataces, Vasilios” – *Encyclopaedia Iranica*). It appears, however, that Vatatzis compiled his travel memoirs in two phases, with the second one after *Persica* or concurrently with it (Lámpros 1881, 714). That, one may deduce not only from the fact that the text itself is divided into two parts (*μέρος πρώτον* [verses 1 – 920] and *μέρος δεύτερον* [Verses 1-1144]), suggesting a time break between the compilation of the two, but also from an acrostic that forms his name (ΒΑΣΙΑΕΙΟΣ BATATZHΣ) at the end of part I. This acrostic/signature by the author suggests that it was intended as the

actual *fin* of the text at the time it was being written. When was that? The answer is provided in the epilogue of part I, where the author explicitly states (verses 871-873) that at that time and as he was returning from Moscow to Constantinople (his final trip prior to 1727, when he undertook a second expedition) 12 whole years had passed from the beginning of his journeys (hence, he returned in 1720-21) and that he had recorded all that he had seen up to that point (*καὶ νῦν γυρίζοντας...* Vatátzis 1972, 254).⁴ This is why references to the map he had had engraved in 1732 and to *Persica* (compiled in 1747) are only made in part II, because only part II was written after the map and *Persica* (or at least concurrently with the latter). Another indication, supporting the above, is his description of Isfahan in part I. He mentions that, at the time of his stay there (in 1716) Sultan Husayn (1694–1722) was the Shah (Vatátzis, 1972 244) and says nothing anywhere of the turmoil that ensued his overthrow by the Afghans in 1722, which means that either the events had not taken place, yet, or the upheaval in Persia had not reached his ears at the time he was authoring part I.

Returning to the fate of *Persica*: up until 1939, Philippidis's summary was the only proof that a copy of the manuscript had existed, at least in Romania or Moldavia, in late 18th century. Philippidis was born in Thessaly somewhere between 1750 and 1755. In 1780 he moved to Bucharest where he stayed until 1784. From 1784–1786 he must have taught at the Princely Academy of Iași. From 1790 to 1794 he moved to Paris and then, in 1796, he resettled in Iași (resuming teaching at the Princely Academy from 1803–1806). From 1810 to 1812 he moved to Paris for the second time and from 1812 to 1815 he settled in Chișinău (Kishinev), moving, again, to Leipzig in 1815, where he stayed until 1818, when he returned to Iași (*Engiklopaidia Mizonos Ellin-*

⁴ “Τόση μοι περιήγησις, κι ὅσα ἔγραψα τα εἶδα// ἀγκαλὰ εἰς τὴν Μοσχοβίαν πάλιν ἐματαπῆγα, // καὶ νῦν γυρίζοντας λοιπὸν στὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν, // ἔγειναν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν σωστοὶ δώδεκα χρόνοι.”

ismoú). We do not know if Philippídís was in possession of the manuscript of *Persica* or if he had accidentally come across it, somewhere in Romania or Moldavia, but we can tell with certainty that he was unable to consult it at the time he published his *History of Romania*, as he was out of the country and had to summarize it by memory. Later, N. Iorga describes how he discovered in Cotnari – a city very close to Iași, where Philippídís had lived – a wonderful manuscript dedicated to the history of Nader Shah that he had come across accidentally in a stock of books from a Greco-Russian library. The books were donated by the daughters of a deceased Terente, who was their owner, to the then recently founded Institute of Universal History in Bucharest (Vatátzis 1939, v). Was that the manuscript that Philippídís had used or was it a different one? This is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. Recently, a Greek scholar, Venetis E., suggested that Vatátzis probably produced his manuscripts in Moldavia, where he lived in the various courts of the Greek Phanariote princes and where they were reproduced after his death (Venétis 2017, 27). It is quite possible that this may be true, given that Romania and Moldavia were transit areas for Vatátzis to and from Moscow, and given that these areas were focal points of publishing activities of eastern Christianity under Ottoman rule.

Vatátzis relationship with Romania and Moldavia is apparent in his *Voyages/Περιηγητικόν*. Vatátzis crosses Danube for the first time in his first voyage to Moscow entering Moldavia and stopping at Galatz (Galați). After that, he goes to Iași whereby he later crosses into the lands of Modern Ukraine, continuing his voyage to Kiev and from there to Moscow. Unfortunately, he does not mention the duration of his sojourn in the cities of Moldavia, but it must have been quite long, given that he engaged in commercial transactions (Vatátzis 1972, 195). After his 3-year stay in Moscow (Ibid., 197), he takes the route back and, from Kamianets, crosses again into Moldavia and Romania, staying in Bucharest where he spends the necessary time to arrange his affairs. He crosses Danube and enters the Ottoman Empire reaching Constantinople, where he stayed for a short period, which he does not

specify (Ibid.) He crosses Danube once more while on his second expedition, this time to Poland, through Valachie and its smaller or larger cities (Târgoviște, Rucăr, Brașov [Cronstandt], Făgăraș, Bistrița) (Ibid. 198). He then makes it to Moscow and from there he makes his first journey to Persia (Astrakhan and Derbend) and returns to Moscow again (Ibid. 198-201). After some more expeditions (Ukraine-Russia and Persia) he departs for Constantinople via Kiev and Moldavia, again (Ibid. 207). The year was 1720-21. In 1727, Vatátzis is found again in Moscow, where he had probably arrived, as usual, via Romania and Moldavia. There is no mention in his writings of any other visit to Romania or Moldavia after this last one, but there must have been more in the subsequent period.

Vatátzis, was therefore, a frequent visitor and sojourner of Romania and Moldavia (the latter, until 1711, ruled by prince Dimitri Cantemir, who sided with the Russians, Calic 2019, 147). These were places where publishing activities in Greek or copying of Greek manuscripts were vibrant in the monasteries and bishoprics founded by princes and clergy of the Romanian Principalities (Pacurariu 2008, 194). Throughout the 18th century state academies became centers of southeastern European intellectual life while “great libraries could be found at the royal courts as well as in monasteries and the villas of educated boyars” and “close contacts with Austria, Poland, and Russia contributed to a lively cultural atmosphere” (Calic 2019, 149; Candea 1970, 196 ff.). According to Dan Simonescu (Simonescu as cited in Marinéskou and Rafailă 2004, 266), 185 books written in Greek circulated from 1508 to 1830 printed in Bucharest, Târgoviște, Ramnik and Iași, where Anthimos, a trusted collaborator of the ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu (1654–1714) and later Bishop of Hungro-Vlachie, was responsible for much of the publishing activity (Marinéskou and Rafailă 2004, 267 ff.). Ion Andrei Țarlescu supports that a large number of Greek manuscripts found their way into the Romanian Principalities carried over by Scholars of the Constantinopolitan Academy, (such as Meletios Syrigos, Theophilos Corydalleus, Ghermanos Lokros de Nyssis, Ioannis Cariofillis or Sevastos

Kymenites), while the Princely Academy of Bucharest, organized by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos Nottaras, formed another network, complemented by the monastic academy in Patmos, through the person of Sevastos Kymenites (Țârlescu 2019). Certainly, the fact that the manuscript of *Persica* was found by Iorga in Cotnari, in Iași province, which had been frequently visited by Vatátzis, coincides with the fact that Iași, like Bucharest, was a center of Greek copying and publishing activities and the place of residence of Philippídís.

Given his frequent visits to Moldavia and Wallachia, it may be suggested that Vatátzis had numerous contacts with the vibrant communities of the Greek *Phanariotai* (*Φαναριώται*) of Romania, and Moldavia, who ruled the Danubian Principalities until 1821 (Calic 2019, 148-149) and it is quite possible, as Venetis points out, that he compiled his manuscripts and had them copied there (Venetis 2017, 27). Venetis, as stated above, also hints at Vatátzis' affiliations with members of the ruling elites of the Danubian principalities of Romania and Moldavia, the Phanariotai Princes or *Hospodars*, who hosted him at their courts. On the other hand, following Cantemir's treachery in 1711, the *Hospodars* of the Danubian Principalities were selected carefully by the Sultan to avoid influence from Russia or Austria (having Dimitri Cantemir as an example to be avoided). Given that Vatátzis himself may have been working for the Russian diplomacy during his expeditions (Ibid. 29-32), the existence of his manuscript amongst the items of a Greco-Russian library near Iași may be explained simply by the intellectual orgasm that took place in the 18th century in the Danubian principalities and not by any of Vatátzis' personal contacts in the local ruling elites.

Further investigation is, however, needed. We don't know how much time Vatátzis spent in the Danubian Principalities (and in Iași, in particular), either the first time he went there or any of the others; nor do we know what Vatátzis did or where he was from 1732 (year of the engraving of the map in London) to 1747, when he completed the manuscript on Nader Shah and part II of his *Voyages/Περιηγητικόν* and which – if any – of the *Hospodars*

he was affiliated with, in particular. M. Axworthy suggests another theory, that “he [Vatátzis] was working, mainly in Moscow but with occasional visits abroad, as an expert on Persian affairs for the Russian government” or as a recipient of reports from informants in Persia or that he was back and forth in Persia up to 1735, when the Russian forces departed from the country (Axworthy 2006a, 342). If that is the case and given Cantemir’s apostasy in 1711, which must have rendered the Danubian Principalities a difficult place for Russian agents, then Moscow must have been the place of *Persica*’s compilation and not any of the centres of Phanariotai in Moldavia or Wallachia, although they might be the places where the manuscript was copied and reproduced. The Moldavian Prince and Russian ally in Moldavia, Dimitri Cantemir himself – celebrated nowadays as the “first Russian Orientalist” (Gusterin 2008) – was forced to exile in Russia, after his failed insurrection in 1711 – at about the same time Vatátzis was there, and participated in Peter’s the Great expedition against Persia (Ibid. 63-65), in which Vatátzis also played a role (or so he claims in his text, as a messenger between Shah Nader and the Russian General Vasili Yakovlevich Levashov, see Vatátzis 1972, 285). Cantemir could have recruited Vatátzis, although this is another hypothesis that needs further investigation.

Regardless of the above, Iorga’s discovery of the manuscript, his editing of the text and, finally, publication, helped in preserving a unique post-byzantine text and a rare sample of modern Greek literature. Moreover, Iorga contributed to the preservation of a source about the renowned Shah Nader, the lion of Persia and founder of the Afsharid dynasty that helped Iran transit through the troubled times following the collapse of the Savafids.

Conclusion

Vatátzis manuscript on Nader Shah, thought up to 1939 to have been lost, was accidentally found in Cotnari (Iași Province), in the items of its Greco-Russian library by the famous Romanian Scholar, Nicolae Iorga. Iorga edited its text and published it in Bucharest in 1939. The place the manuscript was found (Cotnari)

suggests that it may have been reproduced in Iași, a center of Greek publishing and copying activities in the 18th century. However, suggesting that it was compiled there by Vatátzis himself and not brought from Moscow (or any other place visited by Vatátzis during his lifetime) and simply copied in Iași, remains to be proven by further research, if possible.

Vatátzis' *Persica* is a work largely unnoticed by modern scholars and research could be directed to various hypotheses. There is much that needs to be done to verify its accuracy (especially by juxtaposing it to other contemporary sources, such as the archives of Dutch East Company, published by Willem Floor, Floor 2007). Iorga, in other words, on the break-out of WWII, contributed greatly not only to the preservation and transmission of a unique representative of post-byzantine literature, but also to safeguarding a source for Afsharid Iran.

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KEEPING IDENTITY AND NATIONHOOD THROUGH ETHNOGRAPHY DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD OF SOVIET ERA: THE CASE OF ARMENIA

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Abstract: The text presents the three founders of Armenian ethnography Yervand Alexandrovich Lalaian (1864–1931), Khachik Stepanovich Samuelian (1873–1940), and Stepan Danilovich Lisitsian (1865–1947) and its formation in the conditions of Soviet power in the period between the two world wars. The period is complex and difficult, Marxist-Leninist ideology permeates all spheres of life, and in the eyes of the rulers, ethnography is considered peripheral knowledge. Nevertheless, Lalaian, Samuel, and especially Lisitsian managed to lay a solid foundation for the further development of ethnography in the generations to follow. In general, their research remains in the spirit of the cultural-historical method from the pre-Soviet period, it is actively engaged in museum, collecting, organizing, and teaching work, leaving significant scientific works, mostly in Armenian, which are part of the national cultural heritage of Armenia.

The topic formulated in this way, for me represented the general framework through which my main research curiosity was focused on the history, research traditions, and topics of Armenian ethnography. The interest was focused on the academic influences on the scientific activity of Armenian ethnologists and the exchange of knowledge in the field of ethnology. In connection with this stays the question of constructing the Armenian identity through ethnography. Here I use the term “ethnology” in its modern use, while for the period discussed in the text, the term used is “ethnography”.

Today, Armenia is a small sovereign state with a population of about 3 million, but with almost three times larger in count diaspora in different countries around the world. Probably Mkrtichian is right when he uses the term “small world nation” for Armenians, given the current migration situation of Armenians in the new global conditions, because the new Armenian networks, regardless of the changing content and their physical location, remain stable, and through this, the nation is able to stabilize within symbolic cultural boundaries (Mkrtichian 2015, 12-13).

In the first days of my stay in Armenia, I was impressed that Armenians love to talk about the history and have a sense of worthy heirs to a rich and ancient cultural heritage. A colleague of mine, a specialist in ancient Persian and Arabic manuscripts in Matenadaran, a repository of more than 15 000 manuscripts and old printed editions, one of the symbols of Armenian pride, put it in a simple conversation: “Armenia is not just a state – it is above all, a cultural space”. In casual conversations, I have also heard interpretations such as, “Noah’s ark is stuck here in Ararat, so the second humanity came from the Armenians”. From the accommodation to Matenadaran and the Central Library, I traveled mostly by taxi of a company with cheaper prices, in which a taxi driver can be anyone who has a car and can afford such a service in his spare time. So, my taxi drivers were people with different educational qualifications and social status, but everyone loved to talk about the history of the Armenians with an emphasis on the ancient roots of Armenian people. And when asked how they knew all this, everyone gave a single answer: “I love reading history”.

In the text, I return to the period between the two world wars, when the establishment of the national cultural and scientific institutions in Armenia in the new Soviet republic took place. In this context, I am also looking for the place of ethnographic research, the beginnings of ethnography, and its development at such crucial and uncertain time. Schnirelman believes that in the 1920s and 1930s, due to its mono-ethnic composition, Armenia managed to avoid the intensive Russification introduced in many other regions after 1934, although it generally went through the

same processes as the other regions in the USSR (Schnirelaman 2003, 46). In 1938, 77.7% of Armenian students studied only in Armenian and only 2.8% in Russian (Sunny 1983, 58, quoted in Shnirelaman 2003, 46). According to Sunny, the then intellectual elite in Armenia seems to have largely taken advantage of the policy of so-called indigenization in the 1920s, announced in March 1921 at the 10th Congress of the CPSU. A literary language was created based on the Eastern Armenian dialect, in its basis are the literary works of Khachatur Abovyan and Rafi (pseudonym of Hakob Melik-Hakobyan), otherwise announced later in the abolition of the policy of indigenization for nationalists. Sunny defines the 1920s in Armenia as a cultural renaissance for artists and scholars: for the first time since the Middle Ages, Armenian has once again become the language of science; a national radio was established, an opera, a theater, a cinema, and an Armenian-language press were opened; it began to be taught in Armenian in schools (Sunny, 1993, 143-147). At the same time, Armenia was not spared by the repressions of 1927–1928 and in the 1930s against communists, peasants, and intellectuals accused of Trotskyism and *specificism* in 1927, and in the 1930s about 120 intellectuals were convicted of *ultranationalism* (Sunny, 1993, 147-157).

The years between the two world wars were at once a complex, difficult, and formative period for Armenian ethnography. On one hand, still fresh were the memories of the Armenian genocide in 1915, as a result of which many found refuge in Eastern Armenia, as well as in various countries around the world, the Armenian-Turkish war of 1918, the creation of the first independent republic, the Soviet occupation and the subsequent communist ideology in all spheres of life. On the other hand, this is the period of institutionalization and constitution of ethnography as an independent discipline and professionalization of ethnographic research practice. As paradoxical as it may be, the leading names during this period remained the scientific pioneers in the development of Armenian ethnography from the pre-revolutionary period. The text will focus only on the work of the three leading ethnog-

raphers, founders of Armenian ethnography Lalaian, Samuelian, and Lisitsian. Chursin, Abegyan, and Parushevsky are also important authors, as well as the numerous local historians with whom Lissitian had an active correspondence.

Unfortunately, the new ruling communist government was not particularly interested in ethnography. Due to the lack of attention and neglect of ethnography as an important knowledge by the authorities, there are almost no conditions for the training of young professionals from the younger generation. During the first years of Soviet rule, ethnography was absent from university curricula. The subject of Ethnography, with some interruptions, began to be taught by Professor Lisitsian in the 1930s and 1940s until his death. (Naapetian 2017, 6, 11). Vardanian and Dabagian cite an eloquent example in this regard:

More than two decades after the Sovietization of Armenia, Stepan Lisitsian (1865–1947) wrote in a letter addressed to the higher authorities of the then Armenian SSR: ‘It is ridiculous to say that in the whole of Armenia, only me, a 78-year-old man, and one or two young associates /in the State History Museum of Armenia in Yerevan/ are engaged in ethnography. With all our devotion it is impossible to embrace the entirety of current problems to be tackled by the ethnographers of Armenia. (Vardanian 2005, 407-409; Dabaghian 2011, 152)

The history of the development of ethnography in Armenia between the two world wars has been well studied by Armenian ethnologists. The publications of authors such as Vardumian (1956, 1962), Karapetian (1956), Melik-Pashaian (1965, 1971, 1975), Ter-Sargsian (1998), Dabagian (2011) Naapetian (2017) contain abundant information about the development of ethnographic knowledge. The granddaughter of Stepan Lisitsian, founder of Armenian ethnography from the Soviet period, L. Vardanian has dedicated a series of publications to his scientific biography, which also contain documents from his archive, published for the first time (Vardanian 1986, 1997, 2000, 2005, 2015).

In the pre-Soviet period, there was no single center for ethnographic research, although solid empirical ethnographic and folklore material had been accumulated by then. Ethnographic research is to a large extent part of the more general framework of Armenian studies at the Lazarev Institute, Kazan University, and especially in Tiflis (Tbilisi), where the activities of the Armenian Ethnographic Society were very active until the First World War. In 1887 Halatyants, a professor at the Lazarev Institute published a *Program for the Collection of Materials on Armenian Ethnography and Folk Law Customs*, and earlier in Constantinople in 1874 Archimandrite Garegin Srvandzians (1840–1892) published the first questionnaire for the study of folk culture of the Armenians. He was the first to discover, record, and publish a version of the epic *David of Sassoun* (G. Srvandzians, *Grotz and Brots and David Sasunsky or the Door of Mgera*, Constantinople, 1874), and is considered to be the founder of Armenian folklore (Harutiunian, Sahakian 1975, 80).

All three founders of Armenian ethnography were European scholars, graduated of various European universities: Ervand Alexandrovich Lalaian (1864–1931) graduated from the University of Geneva, Switzerland (1894); Hachik Stepanovich Samuelian (1873–1940) – University of Jena (1903); Stepan Danilovich Lisitsian (1865–1947) was a graduate of the Faculty of History and Philology at the University of Warsaw (1894). Their European education shapes them as specialists with the typical for their time, multidisciplinary training. A cursory comparison with the founder of Bulgarian ethnology – Ivan Shishmanov (1862–1928), shows typologically similar features in the profile of scientists from the pre-war era - specialists with a wide range of knowledge in the field of literature, philology, ethnography, history, polyglots and in addition geography and archeology. The same goes for Lisitsian and Lalaian, respectively; active organizers of scientific, publishing, museum, and field research, as well as founders of the first scientific institutions. Samuelian became the first director of the National Archives of Armenia in 1921, Lalaian was the first director of the National History Museum in 1921. With his arrival in

Yerevan in 1924, Lisitsian started working at the museum and became a scientific secretary of the Central Bureau of the Local Lore of Armenia, and since 1928 he headed the Ethnographic Department at the State Historical Museum of Armenia (Vardanian 1997: 134). Before that, all three of them were in Tiflis (Tbilisi) and published their research in the journal *Azghagrakan Handes* (1896-1916).

In 1896–1916 Lalaian published in Tiflis the ethnographic periodical *Azghagrakan Handes* (Ethnographic Review), of which 26 issues came out. Lalaian is also one of the organizers (1906) of the Armenian Ethnographic Society in Tiflis. In 1909, he initiated the establishment of the Ethnographic and Archaeological Museum in Tiflis. In 1921, his exhibits were moved to Yerevan and the Historical Museum of Armenia was established on their basis, and Lalaian became its first director. The museum was established by a decree of the Parliament of the First Republic of Armenia from 09.09.1919 under the name Ethnographic-Anthropological Museum – Library.

However, the big field worker among the three was Lisitsian. When he moved to Yerevan, he was already 59 years old. Then he began his work as an ethnographer: field research in almost all regions of Armenia, organizational work in the museum, in the local history commission, lectures at the university. He is considered the “father of Soviet ethnography”. This is a bit misleading because Lisitsian was never interested in politics and ideologies and cannot be defined as a follower of the Marxist dogma in ethnography. However, he was the “creator” of ethnography in the Soviet period. He was dedicated to his work. Already posthumously, it is no coincidence, that in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s the new doyens of Armenian ethnography Karapetyan and Derlugyan will criticize him for not getting entirely on the “right pat” because he did not get rid of the geographical approach. He taught Physical Geography and Historical Geography of the Caucasus at Yerevan State University and was one of the founders of the Geographical Society in Yerevan in 1935 and insisted that Ethnography should be included in history and geography curriculum.

Eventually, it was included as an elective but at that time this meant outside the program, then after his death, it was excluded and was restored only in the school year of 1964–1965. On the eve of his final transfer from Tiflis to Yerevan, Lisitsian suffered personal tragedies and misfortunes. During the events of February 1921, his only son Levon Stepanovich Lisitsian was killed, and shortly afterwards his brother Vartan Danilovich Lisitsian died of illness. In 1922, the Soviet government in Georgia terminated issuing the children's magazine *Asker* (1905–1917, 1922) and the textbook *Lusaber* (1907–1922). In 1924 the mixed high school, that he founded and to which he was completely dedicated was nationalized. In October 1924, he finally settled in Yerevan at the invitation of the Armenian government (Vardanian 2000, 113). He was a member of the initial staff of the Caucasian Institute of History and Archeology in Tiflis, whose founder and chairman was Academician Nikolai J. Marr (1917–1931). Lisitsian was a full-time associate of the Institute from 1921 to 1928, and a freelance associate until 1931 (Vardanian 2000, 114).

Armenian ethnography from the period between the two wars in the face of the three founders was not affected to such an extent by the revolution in ethnography, which began with the meeting of ethnographers from Moscow and Leningrad, held on April 5–11, 1929. Its consequences will be felt by the representatives of the next generation of ethnographers – D. Vardumian, V. Bdoyan, E. Karapetyan, K. Melik-Pashayan, A. Odabashyan, K. Segbosyan, L. Petrosyan, and others. The most hostile at this meeting was V.B. Aptekar, who attacked theoretical ethnology as a manifestation of class perversion and as bourgeois science, and that practical ethnography did not differ in any way from Marxist sociology. His critique goes so far as to completely deny the existence of the discipline of ethnography. Bourgeois ethnology considers the concepts of “culture” and “ethnos” as detached from “production relations”, it is a “bourgeois surrogate of social science” and therefore contradicts the only correct approach to the study of culture-historical materialism (Slezkin 1993, 116). The consequences of this meeting were catastrophic for the guild of

ethnologists in Russia and for ethnology itself as a science. The term “ethnology” becomes obsolete, ethnography completely passes under the power of history, which on its turn was struck by the vulgar sociology of Marxist theory of socio-historical formations. Thus, ethnography acquired the status of a science that had to study mainly the “survivals” of the primitive communal system, and in order to serve the state, and to also study the progressive changes that had occurred in people's lives as a result of socialist changes.

This had little effect on the comparative-historical method of the three creators of Armenian ethnography. Lalaian died in 1931. Persecuted in Tsarist Russia for his social democratic convictions, Samuelian seems to have been most successful in “overcoming the mistakes of the past”, or so believe the critics of the next generation of ethnographers. Here is an example of a post-humous categorical assessment of the three from the standpoint of the “only correct” Marxist approach of their successors:

During this period, E. Lalaian and S. Lisitsian, and in particular H. Samvelyan, tried to get rid of the mistakes of the bourgeois schools prevailing in ethnography and to take the right Marxist path. However, none of them managed to completely overcome the influence of the bourgeois schools. Prof. S. Lisitsian paid homage to some of the principles of these schools for the rest of his life. Thus, when explaining some issues of culture, he proceeded from the magical principle, giving priority to the geographical factor in explaining socio-economic phenomena. (Karapetian, Vardumian 1952, 68)

And one more:

Even in the extensive ethnographic questionnaire, St. Lisitsian did not pay the necessary attention to the study of modernity. The questionnaire of St. Lisitsian is the third one in Armenian ethnography, except for several questionnaires on certain ethnographic topics, compiled by E. Lalaian, St. Zelinski, and others published in *Azgagrakan Handes*. This work of St. Lisitsian contains strictly systematized questions

about anthropology, toponymy, economic life, material and spiritual culture, social life of the people and is a useful guide for anyone studying Armenian ethnography. But even it does not develop questions for studying the changes that take place in the life of the Armenian people in the conditions of socialist construction, except for the stereotypical question at the end of each section: “What changes are observed in this area under Soviet conditions?” (Vardumian 1962, 113).

Samuelian's interests were focused on the study of the customary law of the Armenians.¹

Lisitsian studied the architecture of the folk home, and concluded that it had been influenced by church architecture. *His work Armiane Nagornogo Karabakha. Ėtnograficheskiĭ ocherk* (Armenians in Nagorni Karabakh. Ethnographic essay) has a long and perverse destiny. The work was a result of his participation in a complex fieldwork expedition organized in 1924 by the Transcaucasian Scientific Association at the Central Institute of the Caucasus to the regions of Zangezur (now Syunik), Nagorno Karabakh, and Nagorno-Kurdistan (Lachin region) for the economic, ethnographic and archeological study of the region. Later, in the 1930s, Lisitsian visited the region again to supplement the ethnographic material collected in 1924 and to record the changes that had taken place in people's everyday lives. In 1935, Lisitsian signed a contract with the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Leningrad) for the publication of the work. He was also paid a fee. Following came a long correspondence

¹ “Ocherki po obychnomu semeynomu pravu armyan”. *Kavkazskiy vestnik* (Caucasian newspaper), 1902, № 1 – 3 (Essays on customary family law in Armenians); *Obychnoye pravo u armyan* (Customary law in Armenians). T. 1; *Drevneye armyanskoye pravo i metod yego izucheniya* (Ancient Armenian law and a method for its study). T. 2; *Brak po umykaniyu i vykupu. Opyt izucheniya* (Marriage by abduction and ransom. Research attempt). Tiflis, 1911 (In Armenian).

with the Institute, which was postponing the publication of the manuscript every year. In 1940, at the suggestion of the Institute in Leningrad and with the consent of Lisitsian, the manuscript was redirected to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, which gave its principal consent for publishing. A new postponement followed year after year and a long correspondence. Lisitsian did not live to see his work published. The correspondence was continued by Lisitsian's daughters, who finally managed to arrange the manuscript to be given back to them. The institute in Azerbaijan refused. The correspondence ended in 1966. In the 1970s, a draft version of the original 1924 text was accidentally found in Lisitsian's archives. After careful editing by L. Vardanian, the manuscript was published in Armenian by the Institute of Archeology and Ethnography at the Armenian Academy of Sciences in 1981, and in Russian in 1992 (Vardanian, Vardumian 1992, 14-17; Ter-Sargsian 1993, 174). The work is a comprehensive study of the social and ethnic composition of the population and the changes that occurred in the late 19th and early decades of the 20th century, material and spiritual culture, description of settlements, home, food and clothing, family life, birth rituals, wedding, funeral, and calendar rites, holidays and related beliefs. The author also analyzes the intercultural contacts between the two main population groups. One quote clearly illustrates his approach:

The long-term neighborhood of the plains (Karabakh and Mugan) and the mountain plateaus (mountain Kurdistan) with the Turko-Tatar tribes, the centuries-old political dependence on the supreme power of the Persian shahs, the constant communication with the Turkic tribal elders (there were often marriages between them and the families of the meliks, the local princes) – all this led to the strengthening of the Turkish-Iranian influence not only on the local feudal nobility but also on other strata of the Armenian population of Karabakh. This has also manifested itself in the general education (especially among the male population), and in the spread of the Turkic language, in the custom of giving

children Muslim names, and learning music in the Turkic-Iranian traditions, in the fact that the situation for women became increasingly disenfranchised and humiliating, both in cases of polygamy (as in the melik Shahnazaryan family) and in the fact that it was perfectly permissible to take a second woman into the house if the first marriage turned out fruitless, and similar. Unfortunately, the most important stages of the interaction between the Armenian and Turko-Azerbaijani cultures have not been fully studied. (Lisitsian 1992, 44)

Lisitsian's essay does not carry the burden of nationalism. On the contrary, Lisitsian was interested in the cultural contacts and interactions in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Conclusion

Although in difficult times, Armenian ethnography developed during the interwar years. A cursory comparison with the Bulgarian case shows a historically determined difference. Institutions in the field of ethnography in Armenia were created in the conditions of the highly ideological framework of the Sovietization of the country. In Bulgaria, this process began after 1944 with the already established and operating institutes with scientific traditions. Certainly, the Bulgarian scholar Ivan Shishmanov, who for some time was also Minister of Education, worked under more comfortable for that time conditions with the establishment of Sofia University, the National Theater, the Ethnographic Museum, the Academy of Arts and the publication of the Collection of Folk Tales. Far more difficult were the times of Lalaian, Samuel, and Lisitsian, forced to comply and be careful with the new ideological dogma. During the fateful meeting of ethnologists in Moscow, which determined the fate of ethnology, Lisitsian was in Moscow and probably attended some of the meetings, but how much he had understood of what it was all about is a separate topic. His stay in Moscow at that time had a completely different purpose, it was part of his business trip to Tbilisi, Moscow, and Leningrad to study the museum experiences in these cities and how to establish

one. When a thunder struck Moscow, the echo in peripheral Armenia did not even faded for the three creators of Armenian ethnography. And their merit is great. They do rescue ethnography, but they were also theorists in the spirit of pre-revolutionary ethnology. They collected and studied folklore as part of a common discipline with ethnography. After them, folklore studies were separated from ethnography. Lalaian was a publisher, author of numerous publications with an interest in archeology, which he saw as prehistoric ethnography. Samuelian started archival science in Armenia and left significant works in the field of common law. Lisitsian was tireless in organizing and conducting ethnographic expeditions throughout the country, lecturing at the university, preparing graduate students (what their fate was, is a separate topic because the next generation of ethnographers were largely graduates of Moscow and Leningrad), collecting and cataloging ethnographic materials in the museum. In the face of the young colleague Evgenia Tigranovna Gyuzalyan and the museum photographer Suren Zolyan he had a constant companion in his tours around the country during the 1930s. Unfortunately, Moscow-graduated ethnographer Evgenia Guzalyan, a young and reliable museum associate, fell victim to Stalinist repression, and was arrested on October 15, 1939, on espionage charges, and sent to a camp where she died of meningitis in 1941. (Vardanian 2003, 322-346).

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INTELLECTUALS OF THE MACEDONIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE DOCUMENTS (1919–1941)

Ilko Drenkov

Abstract: After World War II and the subsequent changes in the political map of Europe and the world, the former IMORO from 1893, was re-stored as IMRO (Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization). Although the formation kept its subversive tactics, it also had to maintain legal channels to communicate and present its ideas of an autonomous Macedonia that would attract the diverse peoples inhabiting the region of Macedonia. The intellectual power that sympathized with the Macedonian problem got acknowledged and was supported by IMRO to promote its policy. Many intellectuals from the region of Macedonia had to leave as refugees and moved to Bulgaria, where they structured the Union of the Macedonian Brotherhoods. The Union was in cooperation with IMRO and acted as its legal body, along with many others. The British Foreign Office focused its attention on IMRO and its leaders but also analyzed intellectuals related to IMRO, such as Ivan Karandzhulov, Bozhirad Tatarchev, Dimitar Michailov, Konstantin Stanishev, Georgi Bajdaroff, Todor K. Pavlov, Nikola Stoyanoff, Nikola Milev, Yordan Chkatrov, Radan Sarafov, and others. The fate of these intellectuals with their fights, contradictions, sacrifices, beliefs, and dedications is an illustration that although were of the brighter side of the Macedonian liberation movement in the interwar period, they still reflected the brotherly murders and some of them became victims.

IMORO (Inner Macedonian Odrin Revolutionary Organization) was structured in 1893 in Salonica. It aimed to liberate the regions of Macedonia and Adrianople /Odrin is the Bulgarian name/ from the Ottoman Empire. Following the changes on the map of the Balkans due to the Balkan War and the World War I,

the former Revolutionary organization was restored in 1918 as IMRO (*Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization*). It played a significant role in political life until its ban in 1934 and even for a certain period after that.

In any stage of human history people of academia, scholars, doctors, writers; perceived as intellectuals, have their big role in all the aspects of political and cultural processes. These intellectuals form the core of the so-called intelligentsia and have an impact on a state's development, especially when one is in difficulty and needs revival.

Many people originate from the region of Macedonia and are regarded as intellectuals of the interwar period. The focus of this article will highlight only those who were legal and acquired a college degree – medical doctors, professors, and jurists, and attracted the attention of the Foreign Office multiple times. More specifically, the article revolves around the founders of the Union of the Macedonian Brotherhoods, established in Bulgaria on 22 November 1918. Other educated and prominent leaders could also be found in other legal entities such as the Macedonian Scientific Institute, the Students' unions, etc., and illegal ones such as IMRO.

After the World War I, IMRO focused its activities on the three parts of Macedonia – Pirin, Aegean, and Vardar, which were respectively in Bulgaria, Greece, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Coats, and Slovenes /Yugoslavia after 1919/, in regards to the Treaty of Bucharest (1913) and the Treaty of Neuilly (1919). In Pirin Macedonia, IMRO acted as a state within the state and gradually distanced itself from the Bulgarian government (Tyulekov 22). Still, the organization was involved in some acts of responsibility and cooperation. Such include the opposition to the communist uprising in Bulgaria in September 1923, the defense of Petrich against the Greek aggression in October 1925, and the prevention of a civil war in May 1934 with the refusal of armed resistance to the newly established Bulgarian government of Kimon Georgiev (1934–1935). IMRO lost grounds in Aegean Macedonia in the 1920s due to the settlement of many Greek refu-

gees after the defeat of Greece in the war with Turkey in 1922, and the following voluntary exchange of population with Bulgaria. Vardar Macedonia turned to be the battlefield of the prime interests in the interwar period with the subsequent logical reflections on the other two parts.

Strong minds with an origin from the region of Macedonia have been a topic that attracts many researchers. Dimitar Gotsev analyzed the matter in his book *Makedonskata intelligentsia v perioda 1919–1941*, but his work reviewed mainly the Macedonian Students and Youth unions, and the Macedonian Scientific Institute. His work although based on resourceful archives, barely connotes and represents the intelligentsia from the region of Macedonia. The works of Kostadin Paleshutki and Dimitar Tyulekov could be useful sources when it comes to intelligentsia from the region of Macedonia and good cross-references to the British Foreign Office's point of view. Aleksandar Grebenarov also researched the legal and the secret organizations of the Macedonian refugees in Bulgaria, which revealed the disputes and the fights among them. *The Memoirs* of Cyril Parlichev are descriptive but due to their emotional and biased perspective should be referenced very carefully. The memoirs of the people who are the focus of this analysis are also essential for the genuine reflection of the theme.

Bulgaria managed to accommodate many refugees from the region of Macedonia in a few waves that usually followed the clashes and the tensions after the Ilinden Uprising (1903), The Balkan Wars (1912–1913), and the consequences after the World War I and the Treaty of Neuilly (1919). Bulgaria collapsed after the defeat from the war and had to accept the reality of the new status quo that was established under the Washington-Versailles system. The idea of autonomous Macedonia under the supervision of the Great Powers was developed and presented to many of the diplomats but faded away through the process of discussions among the Big Four – France, the USA, the United Kingdom, and Italy.

On 22 November 1918, representatives of 21 municipalities of the region of Macedonia and the Macedonian Student group gathered at the Sofia University to open their Constituent Assembly and establish the Union of Macedonian Brotherhoods. The elected seven-member Executive Committee was working hard to promote the idea of Macedonia's accession to Bulgaria or, if this was not possible, to separate it as an independent state (Paleshutski 1993, 15; Grebenarov 2006, 29-34). The following year, on 27 March, the Executive Committee sent a written request to the Great Powers asking for Macedonia to be occupied by the Allied forces until a final solution was reached. Attached to the request is a list of Serb and Greek atrocities since the reoccupation of Macedonia.

At the beginning of April 1919, the British Commissioner in Sofia, Harry H. Lamb, transmitted to the headquarters in London:

5 copies of a *Memoir* drawn up by the "Executive Committee of the Brotherhoods of the Macedonian Emigration in Bulgaria". The copies have been deposited at the British Mission by a deputation of that body for transmission to the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Barnes and Sir Robert Borden respectively. This *Memoir* bears the signatures of Mr. Ivan Karandjuleff Procurator General at the High Court of Justice, as President of the Committee, Dr. B. Tatartcheff and Professor D. Michailleff as Vice-Presidents, Messrs T.K. Pavloff, formerly Deputy for Uscub in the Bulgarian Sobranie, Dr Stanischeff and Professors Bajdaroff and N. Stoyanoff as members. (The National Archives Foreign Office 608/44, pp. 264-266; Drenkov 2021, 1-3)

The *Memoir* is well known and urged for a plebiscite of the inhabitants of Macedonia. The British analyses note for the first time a difference between the Committee and the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO). They see the demands of the Brotherhood for autonomy as a preferable option to partition. There is a belief for a possible future union with Bulgaria, while the Revolutionary Organization is aiming at the overthrow of the reigning dynasties in all Balkan states and the substi-

tution of a Federal Union on the model of the Swiss Confederation. Harry Lamb concluded:

The population of the contested regions having had the opportunity of observing the effects of Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian administration, each in turn, have come to the sad conclusion that none of the three is capable of restoring the long-desired tranquility to their much tried country and they, therefore, incline more and more to adopt the doctrine of autonomy, in the hope that it may offer a better chance of attaining that end. (Ibid.)

This document provides precise information for giving a solution to the Macedonian problem. The British government has enough information that the autonomy of Macedonia will satisfy most of the population there, but at the same time realizes that such support for such a solution would oppose it with its allies France, Greece, and Serbia.

All the above-mentioned intellectuals of the Executive Committee of the Union of Macedonian Brotherhoods have dynamic lives in service of their cause- reaching a peaceful solution to the Macedonian problem through legal actions. Their actions illustrate the number of sacrifices they had to make. Alas, some of them became victims of the so-called brotherly murders in between the wings of the Macedonian liberation movement. The seven members of the first Executive Committee of the Union of Macedonian Brotherhoods elected on the Constituent Assembly in November 1918, are prominent intellectuals with a huge impact on social and political life.

The chair Ivan Karandzhulov graduated in France with a law degree and held various positions in the judiciary. In 1923, he was elected a Member of Parliament from the Petrich District and again in (1927–1931). He was the main leader of the so-called Macedonian Parliament Group. Karandzhulov was a founding member of the Macedonian Scientific Institute. After the split of IMRO and the assassination of General Alexander Protogerov in 1928, he sided with Ivan Mihailov (Paleshutski 1993, 65; Parlichev 1999, 170-171; Peltekov 2014, 209, Tyulekov 2001, 55, 175).

The Vice-Chair Bozhirad Tatarchev worked as a surgeon at the Alexandrov Hospital (1905–1922). During the Balkan Wars and the World War I, he was a military doctor at the front. In 1924, Dr. Tatarchev tried to return to his homeland, which came under the rule of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The Serbian authorities increased the pressure against him and in August 1926, banned his medical practice and he was forced to return to Bulgaria (Peltekov 2014, 459).

The Vice-Chair Dimitar Mihailov received his higher education at the Sofia University and the University of Munich, where he specialized in classical philology and Byzantine studies. He worked as a teacher at the Sofia Theological Academy for 20 years and then became secretary of the Bulgarian Exarchate and inspector of Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. Dimitar Mihailov was killed in 1932 in Sofia by the activist of the Protogerov wing of IMRO (Paleshutski 1993, 65; Peltekov 2014, 300).

The member Todor K. Pavlov studied law and held Bulgarian diplomatic posts in Albania (1914–1915), and was a diplomat in the Ottoman Empire (1921–1922) and Hungary (1924–1927). Pavlov was also Minister Plenipotentiary in Turkey (1927–1933). He is a founding member of the Macedonian Scientific Institute (Peltekov 2014, 338-339).

A member and a Chair (1924–1934) Konstantin Stanishev graduated with a medical degree from the University of Geneva, after which he specialized in Berlin was elected a member of the 22nd Ordinary National Assembly in 1927, and a prominent participant of the Macedonian Parliamentary Group. Dr. Stanishev was a founding member of the *Macedonian Scientific Institute*. He made a significant contribution to the publication of the unique in its layout and rich content Album-Almanac *Macedonia* in 1931 (Tyulekov 2001, 217-237).

The Financial Secretary Georgi Bajdarov was an author and was elected a member of the Overseas Representation of IMRO. In 1925 at the Sixth Congress of IMRO, he was re-elected to the same post, along with Naum Tomalevski and Kiril Parlichev. After the assassination of Protogerov in 1928, he was one of the

leaders of the Protogerovist wing and was killed by the Mihailovists in 1929 (Parlichev 1999, 255-259).

Secretary Nikola Stoyanov is a Bulgarian economist and financier. Stoyanov participated in various organizations of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria. He was a founding member of the *Macedonian Scientific Institute*, and he was its chair (1938–1945) (Paleshutski 1993, 65).

The fate of these intellectuals, members of the Executive Committee of the Union of Macedonian Brotherhoods, shows their attitudes and preferences in regards to ideologies and the different wings of IMRO. Grebenarov emphasizes their high educational and professional level, intellectual power, and diplomatic skills (Grebenarov 2006, 29). What they all have in common, is their love for Macedonia and their commitment to solving the Macedonian Question. Unfortunately, in the interwar period, they split, gradually reflecting the split of IMRO after 1928-1929. Some of them distance themselves from the close ties and the severe methods of IMRO, choosing to raise their voice against the atrocities of Ivan Mihailov and got killed in revenge (Bajdarov 2001, 92). The mutual elimination increased and D. Mihailov got killed by the followers of Protogerov. Karandzhulov proclaimed neutrality but changed his mind and announced that there is only one IMRO of Mihailov. Although they were pursuing a peaceful solution to the Macedonian problem through diplomatic skills, they could not keep distant from the intra-organizational fights. The strong unity and commitment in constructing trustful and legal entities in service of the Macedonian problem were proceeded and established in the first five years after WWI.

The British Military Representative in Sofia, Brigadier General Biard met Karandzhulov and reported about a preparation of a Macedonian Delegation:

A Macedonian Delegation which was to consist of 1 Turk, 1 Greek, 1 Bulgar and 1 Vlack (Rumanian) of Macedonian origin, with the object of presenting a demand on behalf of Macedonia for the formation of an Autonomous Macedonia under the protection of the French flag. Mr. Karanjuloff, whose word may be relied on

in this matter, states that the Albanian, whose coming and proceedings were attended by the greatest secrecy, gave out that his mission was being executed with the knowledge and consent of M. Pichon, the French Foreign Secretary, with the knowledge but without the consent of M. Clemenceau. The Albanian stated that all arrangements would be ready for the despatch of this Delegation from Constantinople to Paris as soon as the Members to form it had been collected.

Mr. Karanjuloff further informed me that a young Bulgar Macedonian of the name of Alexandroff, who had been educated in France and spoke French fluently, had been selected as the Bulgar Macedonian representative and had already proceeded to Constantinople. Mr. Karanjuloff, as President of the Macedonian Internal Committee, had been asked to authorize this representative to plead as the representative of his society on behalf of an autonomous Macedonia under the French flag, but that he had refused, not only because the whole affair lacked any proof of authenticity, but also because his party had already adopted a resolution in favour of an autonomous Macedonia under British or American protection.

I forward this report for what it may be worth as it appears to me desirable that our Foreign Office should be informed. (TNA FO 608/44, pp. 369-370; Drenkov 2021, 3-5).

The British Minister in Sofia, William Erskine reports:

The Makedonia has published an article by Monsieur Mileff, a professor at the Sofia University and former editor of the Press Bureau and of the official *Echo de Bulgarie*, exhorting the Macedonians to follow the example of the Irish who, after a bitter struggle lasting through centuries, have succeeded in gaining their autonomy. After reviewing the history of Ireland and Irish efforts to gain their independence, he says "Their country is today free. Ours, too, will be free if we remain faithful to our own traditions of struggle and if we take as our example the lives of peoples who, like the Irish, have never despaired of the force of right." (TNA FO 371/7375, p. 34).

Nikola Milev was a Bulgarian distinguished professor of history, an opponent of the communist demands to obsess IMRO, and a member of the Executive Committee of the *Union of Macedonian Brotherhoods* (1923). He was killed in 1925 and is one of the first significant victims of the numerous political killings in the interwar period (Bazhdarov 2001, 93, Paleshutski 1993, 65; Peltekov 2014, 292).

All of them showed great devotion to servicing the solution to the Macedonian problem. On 9 February 1922, Karandzhulov visited the British legation in Sofia, where he presented his idea for creating an autonomous Macedonia under the protection of the Great Powers. He expressed the preference for the role of Great Britain. Erskine listened but made no commitments. The diplomat used the visit to ask his guest to discourage revolutionary elements from launching a violent campaign (TNA FO 371/7375, pp. 35–39)

Not all intellectuals connected with the Macedonian cause and IMRO are present in the British reports, such as Yordan Ivanov, Atanas Ishirkov, Anastas Kotsarev, Lubomir Miletich, Dimitar Mishev, Dimitar Yaranov, and others, who were mainly involved with the *Macedonian Scientific Institute*. These are activists of lesser and sporadic missions and their Macedonian involvement collides with the one of the Bulgarian government and meets some common endeavors as the proper functioning of the Macedonian Scientific Institute. From the above mentioned Lubomir Miletich was in good collaboration with Todor Alexandrov and Ivan Mihailov but kept that communication in secret (Gotsev 2006, 302-303).

IMRO turned out to be hostile to political ideologies and considered them harmful to the national and patriotic tasks of the Macedonian Bulgarians. It is especially attentive to the activities of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party. To other political forces that are in opposition, IMRO “shows a favorable attitude, is ready to assist them, being convinced that they are the bearers of the future nationally responsible alternative to agricultural governance” (Tyulekov 2001, 32). IM-

RO, although declaring that it does not interfere in the internal affairs of Bulgaria, does not resist the temptation offered to it by the political struggles. It takes the side of the opposition and is ready to cooperate with the conspiratorial forces, as long as it is not widely publicized (Paleshutski 1993, 127).

IMRO sought rapprochement with the British politicians and “British sympathies” (Mitev 2001, 170). On 8 May 1922, a meeting was held in Rome between the British military attaché in Italy, Major General Duncan, and Protogerov. The member of the Central Committee of IMRO acquainted his interlocutor with the activities of the Macedonian committee:

He contended that the present Serbian Kingdom, comprising 13 nationalities, could not last unless it was formed into a Federation; and stated that his committee was preparing the ground so that when the situation developed the Macedonian Bulgarian element would be in a position to form the nucleus of an autonomous Macedonian State with eventual possession of SALONIKA. He pointed out the great advantage it would be both commercially and strategically to Great Britain to have a large friendly Bulgaria with possession of SALONIKA, and hinted how much it would help matters if we would favour the project. (TNA FO 371/7375, pp. 45–47)

Protogerov sought the support of Great Britain for this project, explaining that in this way it will have a good strategic and trade partner in the face of Bulgaria, adding that Italy would also support such an endeavor (Drenkov 2021, 27–29).

The British representatives in the Balkans were trying their best to cover all spheres of political, economic, cultural, and religious matter, and thus, maintain a good connection with governments’ members, monarchs, leaders, etc. In their annual reports, all who have significant importance in the processes have their place with detailed biographical information and assessment.

In his annual report on the political and economic situation in Bulgaria in 1922, William Erskine described the Pirin region as an autonomous kingdom of Macedonia and stressed that the Bul-

garian sovereignty over the region was purely nominal. The difference noted by the British diplomat in the attitude of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization towards the communists on both sides of the border is interesting. While in the Pirin region any communist activity was forbidden, in Southern Serbia their activity was not hindered by the IMRO. Erskine drew a credible conclusion that the plan was to destroy the strongholds of Serbian rule in Vardar Macedonia. The Foreign Office gave a good assessment of the report and pointed out that Stamboliiski had brought Bulgaria out of isolation through a policy of pacifying the region and easing tensions with the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom (TNA FO 371/8568, pp. 122-142).

IMRO found only moral and subliminal support in the face of the Foreign Office as prevention of advancement of the Little Entente¹ (Paleshutski, 1993:170). On 14 September 1923, the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) prepared a three-page document entitled *The Balkans. Plans and prospects of the Macedonian revolutionaries*, which again outlined independence in the conduct of the organizational structure and provided for the resumption of its armed actions (TNA FO 371/8563, pp. 76-79). Foreign Office considered IMRO as a conflict management tool for preserving the balance of powers in the Balkans, but could not accredit more than that. The leaders of the organization (T. Alexandrov, Petar Chaulev, and Al. Protogerov) count on the United Kingdom but need further acknowledgment and financial support.

In 1924, the *Communist International* managed to contact the organization and signed a Manifesto in May in Vienna, which was aiming at cooperation in the fifth for independent Macedonia. USSR wanted to create independent socialist countries in the Bal-

¹ An alliance formed by Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes with the purpose of common defense against Hungarian revisionism and the prospect of a Habsburg restoration. France supported the alliance by signing treaties with each member country.

kans – Macedonia, Croatia, and Slovenia (Paleshutski 1985, 133-142). The designed idea of joint actions did not succeed but started the split and murders in IMRO. Alexandrov was killed in August, which ended the idea of a flexible organization with diplomatic and peaceful policy. Protogerov was the natural heir but Ivan Mihailov took over and quickly prevailed the image of a terroristic and subversive one.

Tyulekov points out that after these events “unfortunately in the public consciousness of the Bulgarian public the topic of Macedonia is increasingly associated with bloody fratricides and civil strife, and not so much with the situation of compatriots in Yugoslavia and Greece” (Tyulekov 2001, 66). The anticommunist and antifederalist character of IMRO deepened. In the following decade, the IMRO members split into two wings, and started brotherly murders in between, especially after the assassination of general Protogerov in 1928 (Parlichev 1999, 218). Apart from the existing Mihailovists and Protogerovists, the Communist International supported the creation of IMRO (United) which was not that strong and flourished after the World War II when communism invaded the Balkans. The Foreign Office continued its policy of keeping the status quo and appeasing the region and bearing in mind the increasing danger of the communist movement. The “interweaving” of a communist ideology and a *Comintern* practice in the liberation movement of the Macedonian Bulgarians proved not to be successful and with lasting fatal predestination (TNA FO 371/10668, pp. 96-99; Drenkov 2021, 41-43; Paleshutski 1985, 193).

Both the Foreign Office and the Bulgarian government reported fatigue among the population from the authoritarian rule of the revolutionary organization in the second half of the 1920s (TNA FO 371/12090, pp. 105-108; FO 371/12090, p. 214; Tyulekov 2001, 120-121). At its congress, held from February 19 to February 22, 1927, in Sofia, the Union of Macedonian Brotherhoods issued a declaration to the Bulgarian public and the Great Powers, accusing the Bulgarian government of failing to provide the necessary support for the Macedonian struggle. Erskine re-

ceived the relevant declaration, to which he did not reply, but forwarded all the documents to London (TNA FO 371/12089, p. 96).

The Times points IMRO as an obstacle to Bulgaria's good relations with its neighbors. The newspaper talks about cooling the feelings of Bulgarians towards the actions of the organization, without losing their sympathy for their brothers abroad (*The Macedonian Quarrel*, 1928). Charles Dodd, the British minister in Sofia emphasizes the warm feelings of all Bulgarians towards their compatriots in Southern Serbia. He suggests that the British-French policy should consider contact and cooperation with the opponents of the IMRO, the so-called Protogerovists, to resolve with their help the Macedonian Question, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to ignore Mihailov, who is a paid instrument of the Italians (TNA FO 371/12857; Drenkov 2021, 121-127).

The different wings of the Macedonian liberation movement did some efforts for reconciliation in 1928, but after the assassination of Protogerov the gap in between emerged and all margined on their own (Parlichev 1999, 217, 260). All the separations made the Union of the Macedonian Brotherhoods transform into the Union of the Macedonian Emigrants Organizations in Bulgaria. Brotherhoods became irrelevant in the name because of the brotherly murders. In the spring of 1929, Konstantin Stanishhev, a chair of the National Committee of the Union of the Macedonian Emigrants Organizations in Bulgaria, sent a letter to Austin Chamberlain calling on British policy to intervene in favor of the Macedonian autonomy. It provoked comments in the Foreign Office, which ended with Sargent's remark: "This requires no answer from us". (TNA FO 371/13571, p. 126)

The new labor government that came into power in the United Kingdom in 1929 gave some grounds for new hopes of revisionism and minority rights. In such an international environment, the Macedonian Bulgarians appealed to the new British cabinet to beg to improve their situation:

The clauses relating to the protection of the Minorities, which should form the fundamental law for Serbian Kingdom and Greek Republic, remained a dead letter. All

nationalities in Macedonia under Serbian and Greek rule are hindered in their free national development. The regime imposed upon the Macedonian Bulgarians, however, exceeds in cruelty everything experienced in the past. All Bulgarian cultural and religious institutions, built up during the Turkish rule by the efforts and sacrifices of the population itself, have been taken away and converted into instruments of denationalization. No legal protection exists for Macedonian Bulgarians. There is no personal security. We are entirely deprived of liberty of conscience, of speech, of press, of public meetings. (TNA FO 371/13572, pp. 198-201)

The rising wave of revisionism of the Paris Treaties of 1919 in 1930s activated the British Foreign policy. Its efforts focused on consolidating peace treaties by implementing measures to alleviate the situation of oppressed minorities by improving their economic situation. The British Labor government worked to strengthen the role of the League of Nations, and for that, Foreign Secretary Arthur Henderson received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1934.

In 1933, Adolf Hitler came to power and the tension in Europe increased. The same happened in Southeast Europe, with IMRO emerging as one of the leading catalysts (TNA FO 371/18369, p. 170). From the summer of 1933 to the early spring of 1934, the process of the grouping of the Balkan states, which was aided from the outside (mostly by France), ended. On 9 February 1934, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, and Romania formed the Balkan Pact in Athens. The new Balkan formation had to ensure the preservation of the existing borders through mutual military assistance and was supported by Britain. The establishment of the Balkan Union led to a weakening of Italy's influence and a temporary strengthening of France's position in Southeast Europe. Bulgaria, with the IMRO operating on its territory, was once again isolated and in real danger of being attacked by all its neighbors. The Balkan Pact was described by Seaton-Watson as a reversal against the terror and criminalization of Macedonia (Seaton-Watson 1968, 186).

The coup d'état of 19 May 1934, banned IMRO and other political parties. Its ban by the government of Kimon Georgiev was seen as a natural political move by external observers and analysts, and by the public in Bulgaria. The arrests and internments of IMRO activists by the Bulgarian government found opposition. In a letter to the Bulgarian Prime Minister, dated 30 August 1934, Eduard Boyle advocated for one of the prominent figures of the Mihailovist wing of the IMRO, Yordan Chkatrov, and asked for his release. *The Macedonian Political Organization* (MPO) in the United States and Canada also wrote a letter to the Foreign Office against the “dictatorial cabinet of Kimon Georgiev”. It called the British government to create an independent state of Macedonia. After the IMRO ban in 1934, the MPO in the United States and Canada, the Union of the Macedonian Brotherhoods, and the *Macedonian Scientific Institute* in Bulgaria were the only legal political organization of the Macedonian liberation movement (TNA FO 371/18370, pp. 94-96).

Mihailov's IMRO was banned and the Foreign Office reported that this political act paved the way for the development of the communist IMRO (United), which was established with the assistance of Dimitar Vlahov in 1925 in Vienna. Its headquarters moved to Berlin and after 1933, settled in Paris. After the coup of May 1934, Bentinck reported that IMRO (United) was in close contact with the *Third Communist International* and Moscow, and was working to separate the three parts of Macedonia from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece to create a Soviet republic in the Balkans. (TNA FO 371/19486, pp. 193–195; Barker 1950, 68; Drenkov 2021, 185-187).

In 1934, the first official recognition of the Macedonian nation by the *Third Communist International* was published. The *Comintern* condemned the IMRO of Mihailov and the so-called Protogerovists around Petar Shandanov. Moscow's trust was solely in IMRO (United). The Comintern and the communist parties could not quickly impose a doctrine of “macedonism” due to the lack of structures. It achieved results 10 years later, after World War II (Paleshutski 1985, 224-225).

The IMRO ban did not solve the Macedonian issue. The Central Committee of the *Macedonian Political Organization* in the United States and Canada again sent a letter to Arthur Henderson in 1935. In the letter, it was demanded that the rights of the Macedonians of Bulgarian nationality be respected, as provided for in the international treaties of Versailles signed by Greece and Yugoslavia. The document also called for a plebiscite among the population, similar to the one held in the Saar, France. (TNA FO 371/19489, pp. 85-87).

With the beginning of the War on 1 September 1939, the Macedonian Question and all other unresolved problems in South-east Europe became relevant in the grouping of forces. The Foreign Office avoided discussing the topic of Macedonia, but, on the other hand, there was goodwill on the Dobrudzha issue. Therefore, Rendel sought assistance from the Foreign Office to initiate the return of Dobrudzha. The British diplomat considered the issue of South Dobrudzha to be the most feasible and far less dangerous than those for Thrace and Macedonia (Rendel 1957, 171).

In the first days of 1940, Dr. Radan Sarafov, held a meeting with the British military attaché in Sofia, Colonel Alexander Ross, on behalf of Ivan Mihailov. Dr. Sarafov studied medicine in France, specialized in the Sorbonne, and was recruited by Colonel Ross for the Secret Service (SIS), remaining undisclosed after the withdrawal of the British legation in 1941. After World War II, he continued to work for foreign intelligence and expanded the spectrum of cooperation with both France and the United States. Sarafov got convicted and sentenced to death in 1968. Cooperation was proposed between the Foreign Office and the IMRO, which, despite the 1934 ban, still had an influence. In return for this support, the organization wanted a solution to the Macedonian Question at the end of the War. The manifested desire of Mihailov to visit Paris and London is related to this. Rendel met Sarafov, but he could not accept such a promise and turned to the headquarters for a response to the proposal. The resolution of the Foreign Office, signed by Sargent, said: 'I do not think we should have any-

thing to do with the Macedonians'. (TNA FO 371/24880, pp. 110-114; Drenkov 2021, 199-203).

On 15 August 1940, Rendel reported on the propaganda activities of five Macedonian refugee formations in Bulgaria. According to the diplomat, a Macedonian National Committee had been formed and Prof. Alexander Stanishev, its chairman, was planning a visit to Berlin to seek support from the Germans and the Italians for an autonomous Macedonia. A month earlier, on July 15, the program announced the aim:

Macedonia, whole and indivisible within its geographical borders, to return to its motherland, Bulgaria, without allowing any share. (TNA FO 371/24880, p. 183)

In the autumn of 1940, after the occupation of Romania by Germany, the diplomatic activity of all the Great Powers in South-east Europe reached its peak. In September, the British intelligence suggested to the Foreign Office that the idea of meeting with Mihailov's men or with himself to be considered for a cooperation, with Britain helping to resolve the Macedonian question at the end of the war. They proposed to invite Yordan Chkatrov, who was residing in Geneva, to visit London for further arrangements. The Intelligence also suggested relying on the IMRO for sabotage and coup, an operation codenamed 'cuckoo in the nest if Germany occupies Yugoslavia and/ or Bulgaria'. The Foreign Office rejected the offer because IMRO was discredited, had no influence, and was already receiving money from Germany, Italy, and most likely from the United States. It is further argued that such cooperation would worsen British relations with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria (TNA FO 371/24880, pp. 241-252).

Anticipating German occupation of the Balkans, the British drew up a plan to build resistance centers on the territory of the individual Balkan countries. After the Foreign Office refused to cooperate with the IMRO, the British intelligence and the *Special Operations Executive* (SOE) focused on the agricultural leader, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, and his political party, *Pladne* (Oren 1971, 163-165; Oren 1973, 86; Amery 1973, 150-151; 182-183). The conspiracy failed and the Bulgarian police issued an order to de-

tain the agricultural leader. The leader was arrested on 22 February 1941, but later escaped and with the help of the British Legation's officer Major Crowley, and personally, the Minister Plenipotentiary, George Rendel, G. M. Dimitrov was transferred to Turkey (Rendel 1957, 175-176).

On 1 March 1941, Bulgaria signed a treaty with Germany and, thus, joined the World War II. In his memoirs, Rendel summarizes very precisely the reasons that pushed Bulgaria into the war on the side of Germany: the fear of Russian communist imperialism, the gift of South Dobrudzha that Bulgaria received, the collapse of Yugoslavia and Greece, and the Bulgarian-Turkish declaration of 17 February 1941 (Ibid., 183). In mid-April, Bulgaria severed diplomatic relations successively with Yugoslavia (April 16) and Greece (April 24) and entered Macedonia and Aegean Thrace. The dream that arose after the Berlin Congress for Bulgarian national unification was coming true.

The Macedonian Question has been on the political field for more than 140 years and once North Macedonia joins the EU is likely to find its conclusion. In the period between the Two World Wars, those who were fighting with the peaceful methods of diplomacy did gain much more and their achievements lasted longer, i.e., the Craiova treaty from September 1940, when Bulgaria managed to gain back South Dobrudzha. Revisionism was possible only when mutually accepted for the benefit of all that involved. The menace of a new upcoming war gave space for more vital negotiations for a Balkan Union or Pact to achieve united strength and thus being able to keep neutrality. The path of a solid Balkan Union was through the satisfaction of some of the revisionist plans of the Bulgarian government and South Dobrudzha was the first particle of the puzzle to become completed.

The British Foreign Office used all the possible tools of communication to preserve the fragile peace that was established after WWI. The United Kingdom realized that one more big war would demolish the dominant leading position and most of the colonies would not be kept long. The intellectuals of IMRO were the diplomatic link and hope for keeping the balance and the status

quo. When the split of the organization became deeper, and the number of victims went up British diplomats increased the pressure for subsiding IMRO.

Most of the intellectuals of the interwar period sacrificed their lives although they tried to be in the light of legal actions. Many IMRO impacts could be found in the Union of the Macedonian Brotherhoods, the *Macedonian Scientific Institute*, and the so-called *Macedonian Parliament Group* from 1927, although all of them tried to build an independent image, but never succeeded fully. Bulgaria was a defeated country, and the intelligentsia was under the shadow of the failure of the national desires of unification of the Bulgarian people. Most of the intellectuals did not accumulate enough confidence being witnessing repeated catastrophes in the Bulgarian Foreign policy in the Balkan and World War I. Although they did acquire significant education and were skillful professionals and personas Integra in social and political life in Bulgaria, they were trapped by the ties of IMRO and slowly doomed and sacrificed. Many of these intellectuals did not reach the fruits of their elderly lives. Communists executed N. Milev, Mihailovists killed Bajdarov, Progerovists exterminated D. Mihailov, and the line with the names of the victims of the brotherly murders of members of the Macedonian liberation movement could go up to few hundreds. The existing Brotherhoods did not prevent the brotherly murders and the Union of the Macedonian Brotherhoods transform into the Union of the Macedonian Emigrants Organizations in Bulgaria.

Others like Chkatrov continued their pursuit for knowledge and graduated law in Geneva in 1942. In the interwar period he was the best front speaker and ideologist of an independent state of Macedonia, but during the World War II, he collided with the Bulgarian administration in Vardar Macedonia and abandoned the idea of autonomy, and distant from the ideas of Ivan Mihailov.

Very few of the intellectuals from the interwar period had a good fate and the more detached from the Revolutionary Organization the brighter and calmer life they had. Simeon Radev was very committed to the Macedonian cause, but always in service for

that on the field of diplomacy and following the Bulgarian government and its policy of peaceful revisionism. He was appointed as a Bulgarian Minister in London (1935–1938) and proved to be one of the most skillful diplomats.

After WWI in Europe faded the possibilities of any revolutionary changes and only the menace of WWII revoked them. In the interwar period, IMRO was doomed to fade, especially after the assassination of T. Alexandrov, and after his elimination, the legal activities gave up ground to terroristic and subversive ones and the curse of death and despair prevailed.

Revolutionary movements create many victims and sacrifices while the evolutionary ones are less harmful and the intellectuals of IMRO prove that. The Macedonian Question was at its most tensed and transitional character in the interwar period and thus accumulated so much attention, involvement, and victims. The political ‘macedonism’ was inseminated with an ethnic motion by the *Third Communist International* which created additional room for drastic clashes and everlasting confrontations. Revolutionary movements create many victims and sacrifices while the evolutionary ones are less harmful and the intellectuals of IMRO prove that. The Macedonian Question was at its most tensed and transitional character in the interwar period and thus accumulated so much attention, involvement, and victims. The political ‘macedonism’ was inseminated with an ethnic motion by the *Third Communist International*, which created additional room for drastic clashes and everlasting confrontations.

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III. FROM ART TO POLITICS IN CINEMATORAPHY: THE CASE OF SOVIET TRANSCAUCASUS

ETHNO CULTURAL ASPECTS OF SOVIET CINEMATOGRAPHY THROUGH THE PRISM OF SOVIET IDEOLOGY IN THE 1930s

Manuchar Loria, Tamaz Putkaradze

Abstract: The presented paper deals with the anthropological analysis of the ethnographic film *Jim Shvante* (Salt for Svaneti), and silent newsreel *Congress of Ajaraian Women*. The film *Jim Shvante* was produced by a prominent Georgian film director Mikheil Kalatozishvili in 1930. The film contains the views of the typical traditional towers of Svaneti, sheep shaving, wool fluffing, the process of making of famous traditional Svanetian felt caps, different pagan rituals, as well as childbirth, funeral and mourning rituals and ceremonies. The film is finished with a typical Soviet ideological approach – the old traditions and customs are useless for people and a new Soviet ideology, lifestyle, values, ways of living and dressing shall become the main life standard, saving people from poverty. In 1929 Siko Dolidze produced the silent movie showing Muslim women wearing and then burning their chadors (“chadri”) during the visit of the Soviet Leader F. Makharadze. The process of forcible remove and burn of purdah had a considerable number of the opponents. Thus, uprising and the acts of civil disorder were widely spread in many villages of Adjara Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (official name of the region during the Soviet regime). The main sources of the Soviet Cinematography analysis are presented with the visual data and a reach archive and ethnographic database.

Introduction

The paper contains introduction, conclusion and two topical directions. A large amount of different sources and archive documents including two video records were analysed from anthropologic point of view within the frames of implemented research. A chronological frame of the research covers the 1930s,

particularly focusing on two different topics presented in a documentary film. The first part deals with the film *Jim Shvante* (*Salt for Svaneti*¹) describing ethnohistoric and ethnographic heritage: accommodation constructions, cattle breeding, folk transport, dry fodder preparation and carriage processes, farming activities, wheaten products handling, the major processes related with weaving, pagan ritual, elements of traditions related with child-birth and funeral. The second part deals with the aspects related with Islam in Ajara – the spread of Islam, anti-religious propaganda, burn of chadors (“chadri”), Islam and its influence upon the local residents, medresses². The main concept of the research is to show ethnocultural aspects through the ideological prism of the Soviet cinematography. The research clearly shows that the Soviet government used all possible means to reach its ideological goals, the detailed prove of which is preseted in the conclusive part of the paper.

The ethnographic film *Jim Shvante*

The Soviet regime used all possible means to achieve its ideological goals, actively involving mass media and especially cinematography for great ideological influence on the population. Thus, multifarious activity of Georgian documentary makers, covering almost all spheres of life in the 1930s causes a special interest.

The film *Jim Shvante*, directed by Mikheil Kalatozishvili (Kalatozovi) in 1930, causes a special interest from ethnographic point of view. *Jim Shvante* starts with the scenes of geographic location and adjacent areas of Upper Svaneti – Alpine meadows, surrounded by enshrouded in fog high mountains, the rivers, the mountain Ushguli (a community of four villages Svaneti Region, Georgia), covered with snow approaches to the village and the

¹ Svaneti – a mountaneous region of Georgia.

² Muslim religious schools.

towers of Svaneti. According to the film, the towers have a strategic function.

Generally, the towers in the Caucasus region are multi-storied constructions serving defense and household purposes. The ethnographic data makes it clear, that construction of the towers was a labour-intensive process, lasting at least two or three years. As a rule, river and rock stones were used as construction material. Towers of Svaneti have actually common sizes. As the rule, their height is 25–35 meters. The towers are symmetrically elevated four-cornered constructions (4x4m or 5x5m). Generally, the tower contains five or six storeys, but four-storey and five-storey ones also exist. The four-storey and five-storey ones have a dungeon with a small entrance door. Each storey contains a square room, linked with a wooden staircase. The last storeys have castellation walls, typically with three (rarely with two) small windows. Some storeys of the towers are provided with crenelles with narrow outer and wide inner design. The roof of the towers is covered with ashlar stones or roof tiles. The film *Jim Shvante* shows ethnographic elements in vivid details. At the same time, inclusion of the stunt scenes of an assault of the local feudal lords on “freedom-loving Svans”³ into the documentary film also causes interest. Historical-ethnographic data prove, that defenders of the towers, supported with the system of secret interrelated underground tunnels, could resist the enemies for months. The vessels located on the second and the third floors were used to store water and food. The tower was also a dwelling space for a family. That is why, food was kept in the towers and the local residents spent the nights there in summer. The majority of more than 200 towers and the ruins of tower, currently kept in Svaneti, were built in the 10th–12th centuries, but according to Byzantine written sources, the initial stage of their construction is dated by 6th–7th centuries (*Ethnographic dictionary of the georgian material culture* 2011).

³ Svans – one of ethnographic groups of the Georgians.

The peaceful life is also shown in the movie. Livestock is the only sustenance of the characters in the movie. According to movie captions – there are pastures, but there is no much milk, because of water is salt free. The film *Jim Shvante* shows different ethnographic aspects of the local lifestyle: hay carriage process and preparation of fodder for winter, agricultural activities, bread making processes: threshing-board⁴ making and grain processing. Women's activities, such as needlework, bringing up children, maintenance of 'akvani' (Georgian cradle) are also presented in the movie. The film director presented the traditional, logically arranged distribution of household activities in Svaneti, giving family members possibility to do different activities at one and the same time. It shall be noted that the film director carefully selected and in details presented the ethnographic elements. For example, he shown a nowt' muzzle, which was used to prevent damage of grain. The main processes of weaving are presented in an interesting and correct manner: footages of sheepshearing follow scenes of the full cycle of woolens making⁵ and application of hand spindle. *Jim Shvante* also presents different pagan rituals, related with childbirth and the cult of the deceased, such as mourning smoke, mournfulness, public prayer, sacrificing of bull and blessing of the deceased souls.

One of the rituals, related with the souls of the deceased (known in Georgian ethnography as the "soul's horse", which is sacrificed to the deceased) is presented in an interesting manner. Generally, this ritual was spread among the local population of Eastern mountainous Georgia. As the rule, a horse was sacrificed in case of man's death, but it also was admissible in case of death of a woman having appropriate authority among the local resi-

⁴ Threshing-floor is a round shape place for grain processing. Oxen and horses were used to operate threshing-floors in ancient Georgia.

⁵ The fibre making process covers sheepshearing, fibre preparation, hand and lathe knitting, felt making, national 'chokha' (folklore dress) and Svan felt hats making scenes (Neimani, 1978, 559).

dents. The ethnographic researches in Georgia prove that the rules related with the horse sacrificing were also important for the Svans. On funeral day, they decorated the horse and kept it near the coffin of the patron of the horse. During funeral procedure, a young man was riding a horse to death “to follow its patron to the heaven” (Giorgaże, 1987, 11-4; Baliauri and Makalatia 1940, 29-57; Makalatia, 1984, 203-204; Očiauri 1940, 77; Hizanišvili, 1940, 76-77). These ethnographic details are skillfully presented in the movie.

Ideological approaches are clearly shown in the epilogue of the film. *Jim Shvante* is finished with the mottoes: “Listen to me, Svaneti! [...] Look, the viewer! [...] Nobody shall defeat the communists of Svaneti!” The final scenes show muscley workers, exploding mountains are marching to “bring light to Soviet Svaneti and to defeat darkness”.

A silent newsreel Congress of Ajaraian Women

A silent documentary, produced by Georgian film director Siko Dolidze in 1929, is an example of the Soviet ideological campaign implementation which was aimed against “old” Muslim traditions. The Soviet policy of “chadri” removal is shown in the film, containing the scenes of burning of “chadri” by Ajarian women, hiding at the same time forcible manner of chadri removal campaign.

After after the annexation of Muslim Ajara by the Russian Empire in 1878 Russia’s imperial policy was aimed at replacement of the local population. Such policy resulted in *Muhajir* movement.⁶ Disorder following wars negatively impacted upon the region of Ajara, which was badly suffered from chaos. The situation aggravated in the period of the First Republic (1918–1921).

⁶ This Arablanguage term is used in historiography to signify the mass, purposeful uprooting and exile of the local population of the Caucasus to the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. In Islamic states, Muhajir is a name used for an emigrant or a person in exile.

From the first days of establishment of the Soviet rule in Georgia, mass anti-religious campaign was started, League of Militant Atheists and Religious Cult Councils were established, religious buildings were destroyed, anti-religious plays were broadly delivered. Anti-religious activity always foresaw wearing of special anti-religious badges (Putkaradze 2013, 4).

Women issue was one of the most important components of anti-religious policy. So-called women committees were established in 1920s, to control women issue. The committees supported women in family, everyday life, legal, wedding and other issues and involved them into social life. Muslim Women Section, aimed at support of vocational education (dressmaking), was established in 1924 (ASA, f. p-1, op. 1, d. 358, l. 17, 14, 18). This propaganda campaign resulted in negative results. Men protested against women vocational courses. One of the documents directly displays attitude of the local population:

Our women shall study at home [...] our customs reject education for women [...] A man is a patron of a woman [...] men don't want education for their women [...] The head of the executive council shares the same position (ASA, f. p-1, op. 1, d. 358, l. 6-7).

Activity of the government persons in such conditions faced many serious problems, resulted in their request of resignation:

Agrafina Talakvadze, working among Muslim women in Khulo District sent a letter to Ajaristan Women Division on November 20, 1924 [...] Based by my report, it is clear that Khulo District is not ready to make background for employment of women and there are no reasons to hope for that. Taking above mentioned in consideration, kindly ask my resignation from my position (ASA, f. p-1, op. 1, d. 358, l. 17).

One of the letters sent to the revolutionary committee reflected that “the first years of the Soviet rule” were very difficult for government members, that “activity in Ajara was equal to heroism”, that it was “impossible to stay in Ajara”. Thus, “it was necessary to develop a plan to restore confidence and dispel all

doubts among the local population of Ajara” (ASA, f. p-1, op. 1, d. 10, l. 1). It was specially noted in the letter that the competence of party leaders was very low, their activity “resulted in creation of Kemalist oriented Mejlis”. According to the letter, the decree on Ajara Autonomy was negatively assessed and noted that “the Kemalists” headed it (ASA, f. p-1, op. 1, d. 10, l. 2).

The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, Speculation, and Sabotage) was informed about activities of pro-Turkey oriented members of Mejlis (“Sedai Mileti”, Kemalists), who later created the armed forces (ASA, f. r-2, op 1, d. 2a, l. 7). The Main Political-Educational Committee was created to monitor and control anti-religious activities, agitation and areas of impact upon the local educational institutions. At the beginning there was not a barrier to join the party in case of religious commitment of the candidate. One of the protocols of one of the meetings shows, that several muslims were allowed to join the Communist Party in Khulo, but the majority of believers was rejected to become the communists (ASA, f. p-1, or. 1, d. 10, l. 1).

Gradually, from the second half of 1920s, a rude behaviour of the Communist party officials became noticeable in all sphere of social life. Strict religious restrictions were also established, for example, Khkhaziri khoja was prohibited to provide funeral religious procedures, causing three days’ delay in muslim person funeral. Spiritual leaders were forced to sign a document, prohibiting implementation of religious procedures (for example in Dioknisi – a village in Adjara Autonomous Republic, Georgia). In the village Gorjomi, intentionally humiliating feast tables were implemented at time of Ramazan, muezzins were threatened in case they continue their religious activity. A letter explains the reasons of negative attitude of the local population towards women education and chadri removal. Partly it is explained by activity of the local feudal lords and Muslim spiritual leaders.

One part of the feudal lords is pro-Turkish oriented, the second one is pro-Georgian oriented. We cancelled relations with both parts of the feudal lords. We aimed our activity at the full

isolation of the feudal lords from the farmworkers and finally we reached our aim. (ASA, f. p-1, op. 1, d. 10, l. 2)

The government abated not a jot of demands. Registrars of Births, Marriages and Deaths were established (the first such Registrar was established in Khutsubani, to remove spiritual leaders from population (ASA, f. p-1, op. 1, d. 733, l. 19). Registrars of Births, Marriages and Deaths should manage and monitor marriage registration issues, and eradicate early marriages of under age people. The reform should gradually change existing practice. But the registrars often could not manage marriage registration. The registrars were located in the central parts of the villages, which were restricted for women due to existed religious limits. Thus, Council member signed the documents instead of the women (ASA, f. 14, op. 4, d. 301, 153). According to the record, arranged in 1925, Women Committee demanded protection of women and children rights in case of divorce and development of simplified rules and procedures for child spousal support (ASA, f. p-1, op. 1, d. 465, l. 10). The special meetings were arranged to provide immediate respond to the women applications and tried to manage and monitor all issues related with women needs. (ASA f. p-1, op. 1, d. 590, l. 8).

Anti-religious campaign affected churches, mosques and other religious institutions. According to the decree of Ajaristan Central Committee of January 13, 1923, which was based on decision of Council of People's Commissars of January 3, 1923, the St. Alexander Nevsky Cathedral, church of the military hospital and "St. Mikhail" Church were transferred into the ownership of "Communal division fund", and property of churches was transferred into the ownership of "Hunger reduction committee" (ASA, f. r-2, op. 21, d. 1, l. 6).

There were 158 acting mosques in Ajara in 1929, construction of the part of them was finished during the Soviet rule, but they soon almost all of them were closed. Batumi "Ortajame" mosque was the only one mosque which continued activity to 1935. Later it the mosque was used as a military warehouse (Baramidze 2013, 201, 404). During the World War II, when it became

necessary to open religious institutions and legalize their activity, on November 28, 1943 Soviet Government statement *On Churches Opening* was put into force. On April 19, 1943 similar decree *On opening of religious prayer houses* gave possibility to restore Ortajame in 1946 in Batumi. With a decision (May 19, 1944) of the Council of People's Commissars, Soviet and Autonomous republics established Councils of Religious Cults' Affairs, aimed at provision of communication the government and religious communities. Such councils fully controlled religious activities of communities (Putkaraze 2013, 4-5).

The campaign, aimed at closing of medreses and "chadri" removal, was broadly started from the second half of 1920s. A. Pantskhava, a secretary of Ajara District Committee, informed the Central Bodies of the Party about closing of 147 medreses, refusal of spiritual leaders to implement religious rules and success in "chadri" removal campaign in the region in 1929. Pantskhava particularly noted, that the results were reached without riot and public disorder. Naturally, the statement was far from reality. By that time, chadri was refused by approximately by 300 women and mainly because of administrative abuse. Archive documents prove that even the active communist did not remove chadri from their family members. Population protested terror of administration members but the governmental structures tried to explain it by "separate individual mistakes" (SPA, f. 14, op. 1, d. 301, l. 150). Promotion of new Soviet rules and discreditation of traditional points of view was the main purpose of creation of League of Militant Atheists and Georgian magazine *Militant Atheist* (Zosidze 1978, 25-8). Opposite to Christianity, Islam required wearing of "chadri", but the holy book of Quran does not contain such requirement. This issue was successfully used by the Soviet activists. The meetings of voters were conducted in all villages in 1928–1929 in the frames of anti-religious campaign, aimed at medreses closing and chadri removal. According to the statement accepted at Sagoreti voters meeting on January 16, 1929:

Wearing of chadri was introduced by local feudal lords who wanted to suppress their wives. This is an old,

obsolete custom, having no place and purpose in Soviet village (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 340, l. 31).

Similar records are fixed in decisions of other villages and speeches of communist propagandists. At “Poor people Conference” (December 20, 1928) of Keda District speaker Kh. Zoidze explained the reasons of ‘chadri’ removal:

Formerly, a woman was object of sale and chadri covered woman’s face to prevent the interest from other males. The Quran does not contain requirement to wear chadri and nowadays, during the Soviet period, it is clear that it is inadmissible to sell or to buy women [...] We shall remove chadri from our women and involve them into social life. Even in Turkey and Afganistan chadri is removed, thus Ajaristan stays as the backward region. It is necessary to develop Ajaristan and demolish all obsolete traditions and customs. (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 299, l. 1-3).

The newsreel *Congress of Ajaraian Women*, produced by film director Siko Dolidze, starts with the scene of the train, entering old railway station of Batumi and people, waiting for the train with welcoming signage. Filipp Makharadze, Chairperson of Council of People's Commissars of Georgia is coming from the train and together with accompanying persons, is walking on the streets of Batumi. Women also participate in march, almost all of them carry kerchieves, some of them carry chadri. The next street scene shows a woman without chadri, standing on the platform where chadris are burnt (*Rogor moixades k'alebma čadri Ačaraši* 2015).

Anti-religious policy of the Soviet Government was based on heavy-handed methods. The policy resulted in reduction of the influence of spiritual leaders and religious institutions and strengthening at the same time dissatisfaction among muslim population. According to Islam rules, Georgian Muslim women should carry chadri. Anti-religious policy implementation was started in Soviet rule period. It was characterized by implementation of campaign of forcible withdrawal of chadri. Pembe Khozrevanidze removed her chadri and burnt it publicly in Januray

1929 in the centre of Khulo. Naturally, it was a result of the Soviet brainwashing and easily detectable propaganda ploy.

The Soviet policy increased protest mood of the local population. Domestic and foreign factors, as well internal political tension in 1922–1925, caused public protest in Ajara, which was squashed by the local party members. The Soviet government tried to condemn wounding religious feelings and correction of related mistakes through development of appropriate recommendations, provision of infrastructural projects and strengthening atheistic campaign. At the same time, studies of Muslims' religious issues were started which were resulted in collection of a large-scale database, reflecting conditions of religious buildings, educational institutions and spiritual leaders. In line with above mentioned measures, active poaching of spiritual leaders was also implemented. All these activities provoked public disorder which was started in 1929 and developed into the full-scale riot. These processes were also related with the situation in the rest parts of Georgia (Manvelidze 2002, 196-98).

The first Congress of Georgian Muslim Women was conducted at Batumi State Academic Theatre on February 8, 1929. The congress was attended with 447 women delegates, 380 of them were Ajarian women. At the end of the meeting, thirty women went to the platform and shouted: "Long live women's freedom, down with the chadri!", then they removed their chadris, thrown and burnt them, causing applause from the meeting participants. According to archive database, the walls were designed with banners: "Long live to the holiday!", "Let's make our efforts to struggle with old traditions stronger!" Women, brainwashed by the special service, became the activists of "Women Divisions", Kom-somol members and finally joined the communism builders army. "Chadri removal campaign" faced serious resistance. Numerous group of defenders of old traditions resisted breakage of religious rules and way of living. It was very difficult to keep peaceful situation despite mass campaign provision and decisions of "Congress of Georgian Muslim Women". Promotion of emancipation of women also caused public concern. Georgian pro-governmental

“Women Division” established its own magazine *Our Way* which was involved in active propaganda and systematically covered women related issues. Many documents, kept at archive institutions, prove that despite an active propagandist activities, chadri removal process in Muslim Ajara had more opponents than supporters and caused sharp debates from both sides. Attitude of supporters is clearly displayed through the questions put during discussions. The next questions were often put at the meetings:

Is it admissible to teach 2 children but to leave one child for assistance at home? [...] Is it acceptable to take a child to khodja for studies in the summer, when a child is free from school? [...] Is it possible rapidly to withdraw chadri, which is so deeply rooted in the traditions? (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 299, l. 14);

Our women say – we wear chadri, nobody tried to remove it, thus we prefer to commit suicide but not to refuse chadri (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 298, l. 1);

We will not remove chadri voluntarily, will the government do it against our will? (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 298, l. 6);

I prefer to die but not to remove chadri or to close medrese. We don't want your freedom, leave us alone (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 298, l. 6);

In case medrese is closed we lose our religion and how our children understand what religious procedures shall be provided when we die? (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 298, l. 6);

We will not remove chadri, we want our religion, our children will study at school and then at medrese (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 299, l. 14);

We keep our conscience under the chadri (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 298, l. 17);

Chadri shall be removed not violently but voluntarily (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 298, l. 40).

According to opinions, displayed at the meetings, some women agree to remove chadri, but can't resist opinion of the countrymen. Thus, they demanded introduction of the appropriate

law, under which all females shall remove chadri. Aishe Memiadze, resident of Laklaketi declared:

Chadri removal is difficult. There may be one or two supporters, but our neighborhood will not give us opportunity to act so. We can't resist their humiliation and the law is necessary to remove chadri and no person shall be humiliated due to chadri removal. (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 298, l. 144)

Archive documents show that Kedi residents were relatively less aggressive towards the chadri removal process than Khulo residents, who put a logical question: "What is the profit for the Government if we remove chadri and close medrese?" (ASA, f. r-4, op. 1, d. 298, 144).

The 8th Congress of Ajara Councils (April 5-7, 1929) dealt with "chadri" wearing issue in line with other economic and cultural issues (Ajara Council meetings 1971, 297-99). Application of heavy-handed methods caused mass dissatisfaction, which soon transformed into the riot which covered the whole mountaneous Ajara. As the example we may bring field data recorded in 1969, keeping memoirs of participants of the event:

Nazire Makharadze started agitation against chadri among women of our village. They said Nazire became "Georgian". The older members of congregation condemned her, the majority of women ignored her, but Nazire prolonged her activity. Promoting chadri removal she successfully made an appeal to quotation from the Koran, according to which the Muslims shall firstly obey the State, and then the God. (Kalandarišvili, 1969, 3)

Naturally, it was not written in the Koran and village women, who did not know Arabic could not check correctness of this postulate. These factors were taken by the Soviet agitation into consideration and successfully applied.

During implementation of anti-religious campaign, Soviet civil servants cynically offended the feelings of the believers. People remember severity of A. Kalandadze, who headed Khulo Party Committee. The village Chvana became the first center of

mass protest and resistance, which soon spreaded to all villages of mountaneous Ajara. Lavrenti Beria and other members of the Soviet Government, accompanied with army forces came to Ajara from Tbilisi to study the situation. According to Niaz Bolkvadze, L. Beria twice met A. Bolkvadze and some other heads of the riot, who, in line with other demands, also requested to withdraw communist officials from the district and provision of freedom of religion. The riot was not squashed despite the promises to improve the conditions. The rebels put Purtio-Skhalta strategic bridge under their control and conducted military parade in Skhalta. The special three member committee of L. Beria, L. Gogoberidze and Kovalev was established to crush the riot, activity of which was resulted in squash of the riot and establishment of Soviet dictatorship in Ajara in 1929 (Bolkvadze 2016, 154-201).

M. Tskhakaia, Chairperson of the Central Committee of Georgia, at the 9th Congress of Ajara Councils (March 18-22, 1930) promoted inclusion of women from Ajara to social life and increasing literacy rate among them. Gradually, chadri was removed from necessary attributes of Ajarian muslim women. Changes also affected other sides of religious life. Religious wedding was prohibited, but religious rules were implemented in hidden manner, the doctors secretly implemented posthetomy in neighbouring Christian regions to protect the local medical personnel, funeral procedures were also implemented secretly, mainly at nights (Turmanidze 2012, 133).

Soviet government started implementation of active measures to create and establish “new Soviet traditions”. Communist and komsomol holidays were held at time of religious holidays: “Komsomol Christmas”, “Komsomol wedding”, “Komsomol baptizing”, “Communist Red Funeral”, etc. It became a trend to perform revolutionary songs during funeral, to deliver pathetic speeches and to publish announcements of civil funeral rites in mass media (ASA, f. p-1, op. 1, d. 145, l. 35). In 1924, Soviet holidays related protocol was established. In line with other activities, celebration of the first “Red Wedding” on August 18, 1924 was plan in Ajara. Analogous plans were developed to celebrate

different Soviet holidays – so called “Red Bairam”, “Red Easter”, etc to replace religious ones (ASA f. p-1, op. 1, d. 145, l. 35).

But neither policy was successful, nor attempts to change religious traditions were fruitful. Different religious procedures, rules or customs were performed in hidden or modified manner. Both for the partocracy (in some cases the government) and spiritual leaders turned a blind eye to such cases. For example, a spiritual leader hold teacher’s position at more than in twenty schools. At the same time, there were some cases of the protests against non-religious education. Archive database contains a letter of rural correspondent of *Khmeli* (a dagger in Georgian) dated by 1927, describing woman appointment at teacher position in village Dida-jara of Khulo region and the protest, related with unpaid salary for muslims (ASA, f. p-1, op. 1, d. 733, l. 19-23).

Gradually, the government made its policy tougher. In 1926 it was prohibited to teach law of God, later in 1929, according to the special governmental statement, general education became mandatory and at the same time spiritual educational institutions were prohibited to implement educational activities. Thus, religious traditions were handed down in oral manner, accordingly, different interpretations of traditions followed the process of oral paraphrase (Chkhartishvili 1982, 196).

Conclusion

The ethnographic film *Jim Shvante* persuades the viewer that obsolete old traditions impede development of the region, that old lifestyle kills people, as it is shown in the movie, when the local resident went to bring salt and died and that only Soviet Rule will promote and save Svaneti region. Purely Soviet ideological signs are eminently presented in the introductory and final parts of the movie. It is not surprising; the films of the periods should praise the Soviet rule, otherwise the movies would be blocked by Soviet censorship. It explains structuring of the movie, but the film director could also show a rich ethnographic heritage of Svaneti. It shall be specially noted that, ethnographic data, shown in the movie, compared with the field-ethnographic data and sci-

entific literature prove that life style of the local population was well adapted with environment, work cycle was well organized and optimized, but movie voiceover persuades the film viewer, that everyday life and work in Svaneti are very hard, harmful and irrational and only advantages of Soviet rule may manage the problems. One of the movie comments directly declares – Soviet Socialist industry is more important than religion and lifestyle! In our opinion, cutting introductory and final parts of the movie, it becomes a collection of beautiful ethnographic sketches.

It also shall be noted that the silent newsreel *Congress of Ajaraian Women* exactly emphasizes ideological signs of chadri burning process. It is enough to quote the slogans, to understand Soviet antireligious policy: “Religion is peoples’ enemy”, “Down with the chadri slave heritage”, “Down with the chadri, polygamy, early marriages and bride-money”! The first slogan clearly shows that the state doctrine is against all religions. The second and the third slogans clearly show rejection of the Islam rules. The documentary, discussed by us, shows the ideological importance of chadri removal process and participation of top public figures in this procedure. Later, chadri removal and women emancipation and related “successful activities” made the background of the further “brilliant victory” of Soviet people and “native Communist party”.

All regions of Georgia had a rich spiritual and cultural heritage, which was unacceptable for the Soviet reality, the aim of which was to create a unified like-minded “Soviet citizen” (*Homo Sovieticus*). That is why, the Soviet ideology forced Georgian cinematography to show Georgian spiritual culture as the impediment for development of Georgia, but, in fact, Georgian film director shown the attitude of the Soviet ideology towards religion and at the same time, created a rich visual evidence of the Georgian spiritual and material culture keeping it for the future generations.

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Archival Materials:

ASA – Ajaris saark’ivo administracia, centraluri saxelmcifo ark’ivi (ASA, CSA, Ajara Archive Administration, Central State Archive).

SPA – Sak’art’velos prezidentis ark’ivi (SPA, Archive of the President of Georgia).

THE MOVIES THAT WERE EXPECTED TO TAKE OFF THE CHADOR FROM THE FACE OF THE “EXOTIC EAST”. THE CINEMA OF TRANSCAUCASIA IN THE 1920s AND 1930s

Mariyana Piskova

Abstract: The paper is concerning the Soviet seizure of the cultural space of Transcaucasia and the establishment of “national” cinematography in the Soviet republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1920s – 1930s. The Soviet power realizing the influential potential of cinema turned it into instrument of state propaganda. The three Transcaucasian film studios (in Tiflis, Yerevan, Baku) had a common task – to change the image of the East as “exotic world” and to alternate it with the image of the Soviet East. At the same time each of the film studios was entrusted a specific role in the Soviet cinema. In the conclusions some myths about the Soviet Transcaucasian cinema are mentioned, myths already demystified. The Transcaucasian cinema from 1920s and 1930s was not a result of free and creative exchange of knowledge and experience but it was created in a capsulated world under the control of the Soviet power. That is way the whole story of this cinema from the beginning of the 20th century is full of examples for its use for narrow political aims.

Interest in Transcaucasian¹ cinema in the early 20th century has been focused on the origins and specifics of Georgian, Arme-

¹ Widespread typo names with the prefix “trans” in the Russian language are applied to territories in the developed areas – Trans-Urals, Transcaucasia, Trans-Carpathians, and others. They denote the acquired places relative to central Russia. After the collapse of the Soviet Union,

nian, and Azerbaijani cinema, initially within the Russian Empire and later as part of the Soviet space. The chronological boundaries coincide with the period of silent cinema. In the wide range of cinema (understood as cinematography, film production, film distribution) answers to only two questions will be sought: the first - how and from where did the miracle of the 19th century, called “cinematograph”, penetrate the Transcaucasian region? For this purpose, some of the first films/ chronicles shot there (themes, plots, their creators) will be schematically presented. The second question concerns the next stage of cinema development in Transcaucasia. It is associated with the Soviet conquest of the cultural dimension and the creation of “national” cinematographies in the Soviet republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. As a result of the patronage (propaganda) policy and control of the Soviet power over cinema, each of the three “national” cinematographies received a certain role in Transcaucasian cinema and obeyed specific prescriptions in film production. The themes and plots are predetermined and agreed upon. That is why it is important to reveal the extent of the Soviet government's dependence, imposed on Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani cinema. What myths characterize the cinema of the 1920s and 1930s, and to what extent has the specificity of the “national” cinema of each of the republics been preserved or erased.

The answers to these questions require a more detailed look at the region of Transcaucasia and the state-political associations that were created in the first third of the 20th century.

Transcaucasia was more often defined by the synonym South Caucasus, but both designations coexist to this day. In the present text, the preferred use of Transcaucasia is related not only to the period to which it refers but also to emphasize the Russian/ Soviet perspective on the region.

Transcaucasia as a crossroad (internal interconnections and external influences)

“Transcaucasia” means “The area behind/ beyond the Caucasus Mountains”, which implies the Russian view of the region. It is located south of the Main Border Ridge (which divides the Caucasus into the Ciscaucasia – or North Caucasus and Transcaucasia – South Caucasus).² As a region of important geopolitical importance, Transcaucasia was a crossroad of interests of three empires – Persian, Ottoman, and Russian. After the end of the Russo-Persian War (1828) and the Russo-Ottoman War (1829) and after the conclusion of the Peace Treaties of Turkmenchay and Edirne, respectively, the outer Transcaucasian frontier became part of the Russian Empire. From that moment on, from a “neighboring patron state”, the empire became the “ruler” of the local (Transcaucasian) population, living in the principalities and kingdoms of Georgia, the khanates on the territory of Azerbaijan, and Armenia (Zul'kharneyev 2008, 73-74). The Christian population (Georgians and Armenians) and the Muslims (Azerbaijanis), who until then coexisted inseparably in the two cultural worlds, are already facing new challenges. The imperial policy of integrating this population is inconsistent. As early as the 1920s and 1930s, projects for the acquirement of the Transcaucasia began to be developed, some of them with the decisive role of state institutions and others of private agents. At the heart of many of the projects is the idea of the rich natural resources in the Caucasus, which, however, cannot be assimilated by the locals due to their “Asian” way of thinking and living. Other projects are based on the policy of educating the “barbarian” mountaineers (Ibid., 79). However, the goals and results of the different projects do not differ and lead to the ac-

² Today, the South Caucasus (former Transcaucasia) borders the Russian Federation to the north, Turkey and Iran to the south, the Black Sea to the west, and the Caspian Sea to the east. Armenia and most of Georgia and Azerbaijan are located in the South Caucasus.

quirement of the territories and placing the locals in dependence and subordination.

Therefore, with the advent of cinema at the end of the 19th century, which is still silent, its potential to serve as a new “language” of communication in the multinational and multi-confessional Russian Empire was highly appreciated.³

How and from where does cinema reach Russia?

A few months after the first cinema screenings of the Lumière brothers' early movies (28 December 1895) in Paris, the cinema reached Russia. The earliest films were shown in St. Petersburg (4 May 1896) and in Moscow (5 May 1896). On 14 May 1896, a French cinematographer shot the first moving images in Russia – the coronation of Emperor Nicholas II and thus began the official newsreel there. In 1904, the leading film company until the First World War, *Pate*, opened offices in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and three years later in Rostov-on-Don, Kyiv, and Warsaw.

When the shooting of “Russian” films began, the plots were from Russian life and played by Russian actors, but the directors and cinematographers were French. That is why the earliest Russian films are a careful imitation of the French style, they were even shot with two cameras and in two versions – for the Russian and the French market. The cameras, the tapes, the first cinematographers, and filmmakers came from France. The founders of Russian cinema – Alexander Khanzhonkov (1877–1945),

³ The role of cinema in the region is illustrated by the example that in Tiflis in 1909 theatrical performances were performed by amateurs and professional actors in 9 languages – Russian, Georgian, German, Polish, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Ukrainian, Ossetian, Assyrian. Another later example from the beginning of 1926 is the performance of Gabriel Sundukyan's (1825–1912) comedy *Pepo*, staged in three languages – the first act in Armenian, the second in Georgian, and the third in Azerbaijani (Rizayev 1972, 44).

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Joseph Ermolev (1889–1962), Alexander Drankov (1886–1949), and other pioneers began their careers by the “owners” in French companies. It is no coincidence that the first 12 years of the history of Russian cinema are defined as the “French period”, and the French are perceived as the bearers of the cinema civilization in Russia (Grashchenkova 2005, 29). Early Russian cinema did not go beyond the framework of theatrical-illustrative films, mainly with historical and historical-literary themes, by genre – drama.⁴ Of a total of 1,716 silent films released from 1907 to 1917, about 30% were film adaptations of literary works (Vishnevskiy, 1945).

The cinema goes to and beyond the Caucasus

Visual modernity reached Transcaucasia indirectly through Russia and with a certain delay compared to the center of the Russian Empire. Cinema and cinema distribution in Russia is carried out by two different categories of companies. The first, in addition to the already mentioned *Pate*, includes large companies – *Khanzhonkov*, *Hapsaev*, *Transatlantic* and *Biofilm*. They centrally control the processes in the Russian Empire. The second category is companies that cover film production and film distribution in different regions (including several provinces). Transcaucasia falls under the management of the Belgian Joint Stock Company *Film* of the Pirone brothers, which is in the second category (Belen'kiy 2008, 152-153). That is why the earliest screenings of the Lumiere brothers' films in Tiflis (considered the cultural capital of Transcaucasia) were only on 16 November 1896 – i.e., half a year later than in Moscow and St. Petersburg and nearly a year after Paris. Much later, the earliest screenings took place in Baku (6 August 1898) and Yerevan in 1899. At that time, different citizens, not only of ethnic origin but also religion, coexisted in good neighbor-

⁴ At the same time, world cinema reached a level that allowed the director to express his ideas. It is believed that with Griffith's films *The Birth of the Nation* and *Intolerance* in 1915 and 1916, cinema became an independent art.

liness in these cities. Therefore, in each of these three cities (which later became the capitals of the republics), these first screenings were watched by a mixed audience consisting of Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Russians).⁵ The first photographers in Transcaucasia were Armenians.⁶ From the Transcaucasians, the Georgians leave the earliest traces in cinema. The Georgian cameraman Vasil Amashukeli (1886–1977) worked as a mechanic in the theater in Baku. In 1907–1908 he filmed chronicles in Baku about the Caspian Sea, and oil production. His earliest films were *Work of the Caspian Printing House*, *Walking on the Beach*, *Work at Oil Derricks*, and others (Amiredzhibi 1978, 6).

At the same time, the earliest chronicles in Echmiadzin (a religious and cultural center, a holy place for Armenians) were created and sealed the solemn burial of the highest clergyman - Catholicos Mkrtich (1907). In 1911 the funeral of Catholicos Matheos II was filmed, and some of the shots are preserved to this day. Here, too, the chronicles were shot by the Georgian cinematographer Alexander Digmelashvili (1884–1958) and also by the Russian cinematographer Nikolai Minervin (1884–1959).

In the Azerbaijani historiography, the earliest are the movie chronicles with Baku plots, which were shot by the French photographer, journalist, editor, and publisher Alexandre Mikhailovich Michon, who lived in Baku from 1879 to 1905. Among them

⁵ For example: in 1897, 40,341 Azerbaijanis, 19,099 Armenians, and 37,399 Russians lived in Baku. In the same year, 12,523 Armenians, 12,359 Azerbaijanis and 2,765 Russians lived in Yerevan. And in 1895 55,500 Armenians, 38,000 Georgians, and 36,000 Russians lived in Tiflis.

⁶ Karl Kaser writes about the Armenians – pioneers of photography in the Balkans and the Middle East. The author explains the relatively early spread of photography among Armenians in the region with religious reasons and the relative insignificance of the image in religion, which frees up space for the penetration of secularized photographic practice. (Kaser 2013; Kaser 2014, pp.334-335)

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are the films screened on August 2, 1898 *The Oil Gush Fire in Bibiheybat*, *Farewell Ceremony for His Majesty Emir of Bukhara on 'Velikiy Kniaz Alexei' Steamboat*, *The Folk Dance of Caucasus*.⁷

Summarizing the review of Transcaucasian cinema before 1917, it is important to emphasize that it is the result of free movement and exchange of experience and knowledge between the Armenians, Georgians, Azerbaijanis, and Russians living there. The natural connections and mutual influences between them are a consequence and continuation of their common past and coexistence in the Persian, Ottoman, and Russian empires. And since at the time of discovering the “cinematograph” Transcaucasia was already in the Russian Empire, early Transcaucasian cinema is associated with early Russian cinema, and through it with Western.

What happened to Russian cinema after the “October Revolution” in 1917?

Nationalization and control

By decree of the Council of People's Commissars of 27 August 1919, the cinematographic activity was nationalized. In 1922, a body for centralized management of Soviet cinema was established – the State Committee for Cinematography (*Goskino*). In the Soviet space, cinema, as well as culture in general, were forced to develop according to the ideological prescriptions of the government. The principles of this culture are defined in a narrow circle of ideologues and party officials, and the “power” departments impose them not only on the authors but also on the public. The established obligatory principle, later called “socialist realism”, pushed the creative and artistic tasks into the background, and the ones that are in the interest of the one in power came for-

⁷ For more details on the first film screenings and the penetration of cinema and photography in Baku, see (Gutmeyer 2021).

ward – “agitation and propaganda”. Attempts to avoid ideological pressure are not long in coming. The first is by evacuating cinematographic activity to the south, to the Crimea, known as the “White South”.⁸ Another more successful attempt of pre-revolutionary filmmakers in Russia to evade the control of the new government is by emigrating outside the country, known as the “Russian Diaspora of the 1920s” (Grashchenkova 2007, 18). Its centers were Berlin, Paris, Prague, as well as Belgrade, and Sofia. It is accepted that the ‘Russian Diaspora of the 1920s’ is not a political phenomenon, nor a geographical area, but a living, moving process of European cultural dialogue (Ibid., 9).

Where is Transcaucasian cinema at that time?

Two different Transcaucasian federations after 1917

Immediately after the October Revolution in 1917, an attempt to overthrow the new government of the Soviet People's Commissariat headed by Lenin was made in Transcaucasia. To this end, opponents of this government – representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Georgia (Menshevik Party), the *Musavat*⁹ Party (Azerbaijan) and the *Dashnaktsutyun*¹⁰ Party and the

⁸ This is the name of the territories controlled by the ‘White Guard Volunteer Army’, and during the Russian Civil War 1919–1920 by the Armed Forces of South Russia (AFSR). In different periods, the composition of Southern Russia includes: Kuban, Crimea, Eastern, Central and part of Western Ukraine, Novorussia, the North Caucasus, and other geographical and administrative units of the former Russian Empire. Despite the difficulties, theaters and even cinemas continue to operate in these areas. Until 1920, the directors – Dmitro Kharitonov, Yakov Protozanov, Alexander Volkov and Alexander Khanzhonkov and the actor Ivan Mozhukhin have worked there.

⁹ Azerbaijani party, founded in Baku in 1911 with the name: Muslim Democratic Party *Musavat*. In all governments of the independent Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan, party representatives hold leading positions. Soviet historiography describes the regime of the independent republic as *Musavat*. After the establishment of Soviet rule in

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right-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries (Armenia) created the Transcaucasian Federation (1917–1918)¹¹. The federation was impermanent and disintegrated on 26 May 1918. A period of nearly two years followed from 1918 to 1920, when the three Transcaucasian republics existed as independent republics: Armenia (26 May 1918–1920); Georgia (28 May 1918–1920), and Azerbaijan (28 May 1918–1920).

The second attempt for state-political integration in Transcaucasia is the complete opposite. It took place after the Red Army entered Transcaucasia (in April 1920 in Azerbaijan, in November 1920 in Armenia, and in February 1921 in Georgia) and resulted in their permanent Sovietization. The Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (TSFSR) was created, which included all three republics (1922) and through which together, as a whole, they became an integral part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). But in 1936, when the federation was liquidated under the USSR Constitution, each of the three republics became part of the USSR as an independent Soviet socialist republic.

During the short, almost two-year period of independent state structure and development of the three republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia (1918–1920/21), the cinema in them did not receive noticeable results and development. After the loss

Azerbaijan, *Musavat* members were persecuted, and the party went underground and emigrated.

¹⁰ *Dashnaktsutyun* was founded in 1890 and its original program provided for the autonomy of Western (Turkish) Armenia. In 1917, it played an important role in the formation and management of the independent Armenian Republic until 1920, when it came under Soviet rule. Since 1921, its activities have been forgotten in Armenia and its members persecuted.

¹¹ The Transcaucasian Democratic Federal Republic is located on the territory of five provinces – Tiflis, Kutaisi, Erivan, Baku, Elizavetopol, one district – Kara, and one county – Zakatal.

of their independence and the accession of the republics to the Soviet space, however, began their progressive and systematic subordination to the new government and the creation of national (but in fact Soviet) *cinematographies*. Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan were among the first Soviet republics to organize their own film production, during the silent cinema period and create films dedicated to the history and way of living of their people (along with Ukraine, Belarus, and Uzbekistan)¹².

Due to its propaganda potential, Transcaucasian cinema became a priority of the Soviet government, which at that time encouraged the creation of movie myths about the Soviet reality, and the historical past or screen transcriptions and paraphrases of myths were composed mainly by the state itself (Kalantar 2004, 11).

As components of the Transcaucasian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic from 1922, the three republics and separately and together began to execute commissioned productions. The Film Committee of the USSR People's Commissariat exercises general control and coordinates the interconnected activities of the three film studios.¹³ Movies made in film studios in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan in the 1920s and 1930s can be described as Transcaucasian cinema, which under Moscow's rule became an example of “national in form and socialist in content”.

¹² An idea of the situation can be obtained with the example of Baku, where in 1928 there were only 4 cinemas, which by the end of 1932 are expected to grow with 3 new. At the same time, the Baku Film Factory produces 1-2 feature films a year. See *State Archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan*, f. 2926, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 5.

¹³ *State Archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan*, f. 2926, op. 1, a.e. 6, l. 178.

In the beginning are the agitation and propaganda films Georgian Soviet cinema

The earliest movie section¹⁴ founded in Transcaucasia was the one of the Georgian SSR (11 April 1921) in Tiflis, headed by Amo Bek-Nazarov¹⁵ (1891–1965). Born in Yerevan, an actor with more than 70 roles in early Russian cinema, he remained in the history of Soviet cinema with his key role as the “father of Transcaucasian cinema”. After the October Revolution of 1917, he moved from Moscow to Tiflis, where the Mensheviks ruled at the time and where many artists sought refuge, but in 1921 Bek-Nazarov was given a task by the Bolsheviks, by the People's Commissariat of Education (*Narkompros*), to organize the movie production of Georgia.

It is no coincidence that the first film of the Georgian cinema section was the propaganda movie *Arsen Georgiashvili* (1921). The director is Ivan Perestiani (1870–1959). A historical-revolutionary, edifying narrative of a 1905 skirmish between Georgian strikers and Russian troops, sent to suppress the strike. This is, in fact, the earliest “Transcaucasian Soviet film”, defined by Soviet historiography as the first “Soviet feature movie” dedicated to “revolutionary” themes. It is provoked and connected with the events of 1905–1907.¹⁶ The film is a propaganda response

¹⁴ In 1923, the cinema section was reorganized into the Goskinoprom Cinema Trust of Georgia.

¹⁵ Ambartsum Ivanovich Beknazaryan, also known as Amo Bek-Nazarian, or Hamo Bek-Nazarov.

¹⁶ This was the time defined as the first Russian revolution, which was characterized by mass revolts of the citizens against the state authority in the Russian Empire. One of the results is the proclamation of civil liberties, the creation of a Russian parliament. The basic state laws changed by Emperor Nicholas II laid the foundations of the first Russian constitution. At the same time, the policy of the Russification of the Caucasus creates tension and faces resistance from the local population. Interethnic collisions also took place, some of which led to bloody

to these events and shows the assassination of the Chief of Staff of the Caucasus Military District (16 January 1906) General Fyodor Gryaznov by the worker in the railway workshop Arsen Georgiashvili.

However, the spectator interest leads to the emergence of another type, the so-called “mass movies”, that at first glance are not propaganda. Fascinating stories, adventure films defined as a kind of “breakthrough” in Soviet cinema and most often copying foreign genre schemes (cowboy films). Such is the Georgian adventure film *Red Devils* (1923), also directed by Ivan Perestiani. It tells the story of several teenagers who fight the gang of Ukrainian anarchist Makhno (presented grotesquely and as a negative figure)¹⁷. The film was met with great interest and therefore only in 1926, Perestiani had to shoot a sequel of four series.

Despite the first “correct” Georgian (Soviet) films, the head of the Georgian film studio Bek-Nazarov in those years was defined by Soviet historiography as still unable to distance himself from the spirit of pre-revolutionary films, “presenting Georgia as an exotic country inhabited by romantic characters preoccupied with love and jealousy, wine and lezginka, fights and daggers”.

clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Baku on 15 February 1905. The Armenian clergy objected to the secularization of property of the Armenian-Gregorian Church; petitions demand the return of the right to study in Georgian in schools, as well as to speak and write in judicial and administrative institutions; another petition attempts to equalize the rights of Caucasian Muslims with the rest of Russia's population. In order to control the situation, Emperor Nicholas II issued a decree on February 25, 1905, restoring the position of vicar of the Caucasus. Attempts to ‘pacify’ the Caucasus with the help of liberal reforms followed or policies aimed at the non-Russian population on the outskirts of the empire.

¹⁷ Ukrainian anarchist who commanded the Revolutionary Army of Ukraine during the Russian Civil War, an ally of the Red Army, and later an opponent of the Bolsheviks.

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Bek-Nazarov himself, in his memoirs of the 1960s, described his early films about the *Old East* as imitative and without contributing to the development of Soviet national cinema. Among them are *Patricide* (1923), *Lost Treasures* (1924), and especially the film *Natela* (1925) (Bek-Nazarov 1965, 123). The action takes place in Mingrelia (Western Georgia) in the 19th century and, according to the cliché of the exotic East, includes scenes of dancing girls, girls sent to harems, bearded pashas and also scenes of the insurgent “locals against their exploitation by the princes and the Turks”. *Natela* is one of the many village girls, who are sent to the harems.¹⁸

According to Soviet critics, it was not until 1928, when the first “realistic, historically authentic” Georgian movie came out – *Eliso*, directed by Nikoloz Shengelaia (1903–1943). It describes “one of the episodes of the struggles of the North Caucasus mountaineers against the colonial policy of the tsarist autocracy” and therefore it affirms itself as “realistic tendencies defeat false romance” and thus “historical credibility” is achieved. The film begins with an excerpt from an official address by the Commander-in-Chief of the Terek Region, General Loris Melikov of Vladikavkaz to the Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasian Army, Grand Duke Michael Nikolaevich, in May 1864:

In order to strengthen our government’s power, I consider it necessary to apply the tsarist system of transplanting Cossacks along the frontiers of our country. In order to make the project successful I urgently recommend removing the Chechens to Turkey to make room for Cossack settlements.¹⁹

¹⁸ Such scenes are repeated in many other Soviet films of the time, such as *Legend of the Maiden Tower* (1923), *The Minaret of Death* (1925), and *The Muslim Woman* (1925).

¹⁹ Facsimile of the document, which was shot at the beginning of the movie

In the plot of the movie as secondary (according to the director) is interwoven the love story between the Muslim/ Chechen Eliso and the Christian/ Georgian Vazhiya. When the tsarist government began evicting the Chechens to replace them with Russian Cossacks, Eliso could go to Georgia with her lover, but she decides to stay with her people and even sets her home on fire “so as not to fall into the enemy”. She says goodbye to both her homeland and beloved one. That is why Eliso became an example of an archetypal female figure in Soviet cinema, for which social functions are above personal experiences.

The general idea of the earliest Transcaucasian cinema (Georgian) gives rise to the earliest propaganda film to glorify the Soviet republic and the struggle of the oppressed (*Arsen Georgiashvili*), as well as to the real blockbuster of the 1920s, which is the first heroic-adventure (cowboy) movie *Red Devils*. But the film *Eliso* stands out as a significant success and a model. In general, Soviet historiography strongly argues that Georgian cinema of the 1920s failed to break out of the old framework in which the East was presented as exotic.

Armenian Soviet cinema

On 29 September 1922, by a government decree, the cinemas in Armenia were nationalized, and on 6 April 1923, two years after the establishment of the Georgian film studio, the state cinema institution *Goskino* was founded in Armenia. It is headed by party worker Daniel Dznuni (1895–1967), for whom it is said to have not even known how to hold a camera at the time. At his insistence, the experienced in early Russian cinema and Georgian cinematography Bek- Nazarov is appointed as a director, and soon after as head of cinematography in Armenia. The invitation was made at a time when Bek-Nazarov had not yet finished his film *Natela* and therefore he had to simultaneously start work on his first Armenian film *Namus* (Honor) (1925). He managed to write the screenplay for *Namus* in just a few days, basing it on the novel with the same title from 1885 by Alexander Shirvanzade (Movsesyan) (1858–1935).

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The action is taking place in Shamakhi (now in Azerbaijan) in 1860–1870. After a devastating earthquake, in which the daughter of Barhudar (Susan) and the son of Airapet (Seyran) miraculously survived, the parents swore that they would connect the life and the fate of the young. But a kiss of the young, who are not enslaved to the petrified notions of impossible intimacy before the engagement, causes a dramatic outcome. Susan's father breaks the oath and marries his daughter to another – Rustam. But Rustam, learning about Susan's love for Seyran, kills her, at which sight Seyran commits suicide. Bek- Nazarov's *Namus* movie was highly praised and two laudatory articles were published in the party's newspaper *Pravda*. The *Ducat* cigarette factory is launching a new cigarette brand *Namus* in honor of the movie. According to Bek-Nazarov himself, with his film, he aimed to put the “honor of the father” (Barhudar) on the pillar of shame. And according to Soviet historiography, *Namus* not only marks the beginning of Armenian national cinema but also of movies with a “realistic view of the East”, showing “The East without makeup” (although he created the film *Namus* in Georgian studios and mainly with their counterparts in Georgia). At the same time, credits are attributed not to the dramaturgy, or the acting, but to Bek- Nazarov himself. “With this film, Bek-Nazarov removes the chador from the face of the East, showing to the whole world the face covered with ulcers from the centuries-old oppression” (Zakoian 2005, 9).

There is a paradox: the same director Amo Bek-Nazarov, at the same time 1925–1926 while shooting the criticized in the Soviet press and historiography Georgian film *Natela* (presenting the East in the old frame of Russian pre-revolutionary cinema as exotic), received the highest rating and praise for his Armenian film *Namus*. What is the reason for this perhaps overexposed success at that time? One possible answer lies in the replacement of honor with “adeta”. *Namus* is mistakenly advertised as a movie against “adeta” (adet – from Arab, local traditions and customs in Muslim communities in the North Caucasus, Central and Southeast Asia). According to the norms of “adeta”, were usually decided cases of

blood revenge, theft of a bride, and civil cases remained for sharia).

According to Karen Kalantar, the film's contemporaries have not yet distinguished between Armenians and Dagestanis (or other Muslims from the Caucasus), misled by the typical Caucasian dress – Circassian. Mistakenly, *Namus* was recognized and used as a propaganda film against “adeta”, because of the director's and screenwriters' desire to receive praise for political valor (Kalantar 2004, 66-68). That is why in the evaluations of the movie, Soviet historiography metaphorically refers to the “chador” and attributes the merits of removing “the chador from the face of the East” to non-Muslim Armenia. The ideological, propaganda significance is above all, and historical authenticity turns out to be less important.

Thus, the “right” Armenian movie about honor is credited with the breakthrough in the established in the mid-1920s world cinematography view²⁰ of “the east as an exotic world with sherbet, rahat-lokum, hookah” (Bek-Nazarov 1963, 128).

In their attempt to explain the contrast between *Natela* and *Namus*, contemporary researchers from the National Research Center in Paris (CNRS) point out some differences that they see as more visible. Referring to Bek-Nazarov's memoirs, they emphasize that he deliberately shot the commercial film *Natela* in Georgia, to provide funds for the modernization of the outdated film studio (Pozner and Uzbachian 2006, 135). The return on funds is defined as the greatest success in the 1920s. On the contrary – through *Namus* Bek-Nazarov aimed to make himself appear as a “creator of Armenian cinema” and thus enter history. The difference is also explained by the unequal position of the director concerning both films. In *Natela*, Bek-Nazarov views Georgia

²⁰ *The Thief of Baghdad* (1924) by Raoul Walsh, *The Sheik* (1921) by George Melford. The same ‘misconception’ about the exotic East is thought to have also been made by the 1925 Central Asian movies *The Minaret of Death* and *Muslim Women*.

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through the prism of a foreigner and therefore sees it as an exotic country, also meeting the expectations of the Russian public. On the contrary, in *Namus*, knowing the natural landscapes, people, and traditions, he does not allow clichés (Ibid., 146-147).

After his Georgian period and after setting the “correct” beginning of the Armenian national movie, Bek-Nazarov (as a real “father” of Transcaucasian cinema) also lent a hand to Azerbaijani cinematography. And since in Armenia he has already begun to remove the chador from the face of the East, in Azerbaijani cinema he is expected to finally “break with the image of the exotic East”. To this end, he embarked on his last silent film, the joint Armenian-Azerbaijani *The House on the Volcano* (*House in Zarbat*) (1929). It is dedicated to “the uniting to the two nations of Transcaucasia theme of the struggling proletariat”. The screenplay is based on Shirvanzade's most famous novel – *Chaos*. The three workers were transferred from the novel – Russian Volodya, Armenian Petros, and Azerbaijani Hassan. The last representative of Transcaucasia also appears in the film – Georgian Georgi. The action takes place in 1905–1907 in one of the settlements of the Zarbat oil industry in Baku province. Workers are subjected to inhuman exploitation, and their families live in barracks on oil-cracked land. An Azerbaijani worker dies in an explosion and on his deathbed begs the Armenian to raise his underage son. Years later, the workers, with guns in their hands, rebel against the exploiting oil producers. The revolutionary struggle leads to the establishment of Soviet power in Azerbaijan. The love between the adopted son (Azerbaijani) and the daughter of the Armenian flares up – this is how the topic of friendship is resolved. According to Soviet film critics, with this film, Bek-Nazarov finally breaks with the image of the exotic East.²¹

²¹ However, as the real peak in Bek-Nazarov's directorial achievements, is considered his first Armenian sound film *Pepo* (1935). It was released a year after the recognized as the best film of ‘the socialist realism’

Another major topic to which Bek-Nazarov is devoted is related to the life of the Kurds²² – a “nation” who, in his words, has no literacy and about whom very little is known (Bek-Nazarov 1963, 128). In order to study their way of living and culture, he lives in Mount Aragats and with a prepared in advance survey seeks answers to questions about their beliefs, rituals, ideas about the world, food, clothing. There is no doubt that even before the two-month study of Kurdish life, he knew that the purpose of the future film *Zare* (1926) was to show the Kurds as unenlightened, primitive inhabitants of the Russian Empire. Therefore, ethnographic characteristics were needed rather as a background to contrast with the “establishment of Soviet power in the mountains”. For its time, the film was recognized for its historical-ethnographic and historical-revolutionary contribution (Zakoian 2005; Rizaev 1963, 94). A peculiar continuation of the theme is the film *Kurdish-Yazidi* (1932) by Amasi Martirosyan (1897–1971), which “tells about the social upsurge of the Kurdish village” (Kalantar 2004, 145). According to Beck Nazarov, this film shows the next stage in the life of the Kurds from the early 1930s,

Chapaev (1934) by the Vasilevi Brothers and was defined as the ‘Armenian *Chapaev*’.

²² The Kurds are an ethnic group with different religions, but most of them are Sunnis. The Yezidis are a Kurdish ethnoreligious group that professes Yezidism (Angelova 2015). The migration waves of Yezidis to the South Caucasus date back to the 18th century, intensifying in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the early 1920s, Kurds in the Soviet Union were recognized as “nationalities” because of the executed at that time policy of “indigenization” in the Soviet state. The building of a “Kurdish nation” begins. Armenian Yezidis are represented as “Kurds” and less frequently as “Kurdish-Yezidis”. In Russian Orientalism, the second half of the 19th century was considered by the Yezidis in the context of the Kurdish community, and thus the name “Kurdish-Yezidi” arose, which was also adopted by Russian Kurdish. Soviet policy viewed the Yezidis as part of a Kurdish community that differed only in religion (Angelova 2019).

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when they had already settled and organized livestock collective farms, and when they received literacy (Bek-Nazarov 1963, 133).

According to Soviet historiography, the spectrum of Armenian movies with “contributions” includes such that condemn the short period of independent Armenia, ruled by the *Dashnaktsutyun* party. Above all, they are used to humiliate and ridicule the Dashnak regime. An example is the film *Karo* (1937) by film director A. Hay-Artyan (1899–1978), dedicated to the communist worker. According to Soviet historiography, the artistic image is authentic, and the image of the enemy, which are the members of *Dashnaktsutyun*, is shown not as stupid and funny as before, but as strong, insidious, cruel (Rizaev 1963, 202). In Transcaucasian Soviet films, the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflicts of 1905 and 1918 are attributed to the machinations of the bourgeoisie and *Dashnaktsutyun*. According to the regulations, the conflicts are shown as a result and an echo of the policy of the Russian Empire. Both the films and the historiography conceal the fact that the “Great Russian Bolsheviks” verbally denounce autocratic colonialism, and in deeds with satanic jealousy they continue the same imperial-colonial “tradition”, whirling “red terror” (El'chin 2002, 27-28).

The generalized idea of Armenian cinema creates the assigned role of non-Muslim Armenia and the Armenian film studio to contribute to remove the chador from the face of the East, to set the stage in debunking the image of the exotic East. Another task that Armenian cinema is very successful at is to ridicule and belittle the rule of the independent Armenian Republic by the government of *Dashnaktsutyun* 1918–1920.

**Azerbaijani Soviet cinema
Bek-Nazarov removed the chador completely,
not with the Armenian *Namus*, but with
the Armenian-Azerbaijani film *Sevil***

The film studio (film factory) in Baku was founded just like the Armenian one in 1923. Its role in Transcaucasian cinema is specific and even in a certain sense goes beyond the borders of Transcaucasia. Due to the connection of Azerbaijan with the East,

due to religion, as well as due to the unique nature, ethnographic and cultural environment, the Baku Cinema Studio is perceived as ‘a center for making movies with special power for ideological and artistic impact on viewers of Azerbaijan, Dagestan, Persia, Turkey, and other eastern countries.’²³

The first Azerbaijani movie, *Legend of the Maiden Tower* (1923), was declared a failure by Soviet critics because it was in the spirit of films emphasizing the ‘exotic East’. In contrast, *In the Name of God* (1925) is an Azerbaijani film loudly advertised by the Soviet government as a contributor to exposing the “reactionary nature of the Muslim clergy”, a movie that fitted in the spirit of anti-Islamic propaganda. The film is directed by Azerbaijani actor Abbas Mirza Abdulrasul oglu Sharifzadeh (1893–1937), who later fell victim to Stalinist repressions. But according to Soviet historiography, the feature movie *Sevil* (1929) was elevated as one of the most accurate Transcaucasian films. The film is a joint one of the two film studios in Baku and Yerevan, which bear the names of the creators of *Sevil* to this day. The screenplay is by J. Jabarli (1899–1934) based on his play of the same name (1927) and the director is Amo Bek-Nazarov. The main theme of the play, as well as the film, is “the emancipation of women in the East”. It is important to note that the film was released during the unfolding movement to remove the chador, which was organized and led by the CPSU. Since the autumn of 1928 in each issue of the body of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan newspaper *Baku Worker* are published materials on the topic: appeals, explanatory texts on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, aiming at “liberating the Turkic women”²⁴, organizing a movement to remove the chadors and abolish the slavery of Eastern women, led by the Communists and Komsomol

²³ *State Archive of Republic of Armenia*, f. 2926, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 11.

²⁴ In Soviet Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijani population began to be defined as Turkic. In the first census of Soviet rule in 1926, Azerbaijanis were presented as Turks.

members. Material incentives for the removal of chadors are announced. Russian women are urged to teach Turkish women to sew their dresses and lingerie. There have even been calls for a decree banning chadors. Penalties and sanctions are also envisaged for men who prevent the removal of women's chadors.²⁵

The staged at the time play *Sevil*, is praised as very successful and as an infectious example for Azerbaijani women. In response to the thrown on the stage chador by the main character Sevil, there was a mass reaction of young girls, who turned into “Sevils” and threw chadors even on the streets. The film was not without reason expected to have an even more massive and influential effect and more followers. It is also important to emphasize that the film *Sevil* is released and in line with the plans for the development of cinemas in the USSR for 1927/1928–1932/1933. According to the explanatory note of the five-year plan, the main topics for Azerbaijani movies in relation to the most important cultural, social, and economic problems of the East are:

The emancipation of women, the fight against religious fanaticism and prejudice, the new way of living, the collectivization of the village and topics from the history of the revolutionary struggle of Azerbaijan and other eastern countries.²⁶

In the movie, the Azerbaijani woman Sevil, who had received her education in Moscow, and had written the book *The Road to Emancipation of the Azerbaijani Woman*, opposes to the negative figure of the “secular” lady, who had completed a mani-

²⁵ *Bakinskii rabochii*, №268 of 1 November 1928, №269 of 2 November 1928, №273 of 7 November 1928, №274 of 11 November 1928, №281 of 19 November 1928, №295 of 5 December 1928, №296 of 6 December 1928, №297 of December 7, 1928, №298 of December 8, 1928, №300 of December 11, 1928, January 10, 1929, №56 of March 13, 1929, and others.

²⁶ *State Archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan*, f. 2926, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 11.

cure course in Paris. The film is full of quotes from Sevil's book: "A woman from the West does not know what a chador is, yet she is not free. In the first place, a woman needs economic freedom"; "Forward to the factory, to socialism"! A generalized idea of Azerbaijani cinema creates the assigned role of the Baku Cinema Studio to be a national proletarian center for the export of socialism to "foreign countries in the East" and the distribution of cinema in other republics with Muslim populations. The anti-Islamic Soviet propaganda for exposing the "reactionary nature of the Muslim clergy" is being pursued through Azerbaijani cinema. In that sense, the movies *In the Name of God* and *Sevil* play a significant role.

Conclusion

The emergence of cinema in the late 19th century coincided with industrial modernization. The technologies, equipment, cinemas, producers, cameramen, professional directors, actors, and the very investments that the cinema needs are possible in industrial societies. As a product of these societies, cinema started from the West and reached Transcaucasia with an understandable delay.

Determining for cinema in Transcaucasia was the political dependence in which the region fell in the 1920s when all three independent republics successively lost their independence and became part of the common Soviet space. And if at the very dawn of cinema, it was created as a result of free movement and exchange of experience and knowledge between Armenians, Georgians, Azerbaijanis living in the South Caucasus, after 1920 a radical change occurred. From that moment on, the relations between the filmmakers in the already Soviet Transcaucasia were subordinated to the ideological goals of the Communist Party and were governed by party decrees. In March 1928, the first All-Union Party Conference on Cinematography was convened in Moscow. As a result, according to the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b), along with the forthcoming strengthening of the party's role in cinema and increasing the "ideological endurance" of the movies, the commercialization of Soviet cinema

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was also envisaged. The “cinematograph” is recognized as a “cultural and commercial enterprise” which is “an instrument for organizing the masses for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, for socialist construction and a means of agitation” (Yudin 2018, 58).

Along with the generally valid Soviet space prescriptions for the development of cinema, Transcaucasian cinematography is given specific tasks and roles. In general, they must “shatter the myths of the exotic East”, “remove the chadors from the face of the East”, and “laugh and belittle” the short periods of independent governments in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia. Although schematically, from reviewing Transcaucasian cinema, some myths suggested through Soviet Transcaucasian cinema in the 1920s and 1930s are revealed, which time has successfully debunked.

An example could be the role that the Soviet government attributes to itself for the development of the “East” and, of course, for cinema in it. To emphasize this role, Transcaucasian films feature half-destroyed mosques, desolated lands, and steppes of the Caucasus, ignorant Muslims, fanatical and lustful Muslim clerics, despotic beys, suffering women, and children. This contrast reinforces and suggests the visual image of the very backward eastern nations, who cannot cope on their own without the help of Soviet power. But, as it is well known, by orders of the Bolsheviks, the movies show a reality that must be presented and suggested in terms of propaganda purposes, and not what it really is.

Soviet historiography and film criticism suggest that Transcaucasian cinema cannot emerge (without Soviet help) from the “old image of the East” and the “exotic East” and therefore it is a cinema without contribution to Soviet cinematography. In fact, it is held back that the “fault” is not in Eastern and Transcaucasian cinematography. Transcaucasian films from the 1920s and 1930s were made in coordination with Moscow. Often directors from the capital were sent to Transcaucasia and through the work on producing the movies, they trained their Transcaucasian and Eastern

colleagues. Therefore, the “exotic of the East” in Transcaucasian films should not be considered a weakness of early Transcaucasian cinema, on the contrary – it is present because it was needed by Soviet propaganda and because it was liked (and sold well) by Russian and foreign audiences. In addition, control over the subject matter, content, genre of the movies, and even over the author's teams is exercised by Moscow. Furthermore, in the mid-1920s, communist ideologues began to legitimize “Oriental exoticism” as an aesthetic component supporting the Communist Party's line for national policy purposes. Eastern nations became a convenient “ethnographic and folklore material” that illustrated the “progressiveness” of Soviet power, which is the only one that could help the progress and change of the East.

Another primary task and function of Transcaucasian films, according to Soviet historiography, is to emphasize the role of the Soviet government in freeing Eastern women from male domination and in providing conditions for their education. But it should not be overlooked that women in Transcaucasia, as well as in Soviet cinema, were used as a potential of propaganda and in the fight for atheism and against Islamic religion and culture. To this end, the role of women is “deliberately underestimated, belittled and they are presented as involuntary, passive, confused, suffering’ (Rizaev1963, 58). The chador is used as a metaphor for their dependence, and so the gradual image of the “liberated” women begins with the removed chador and passes through the working woman, the heroine woman, and reaches the woman leader who is building the communist society.

Without a doubt, in the 1920s and 1930s, silent Transcaucasian cinema could serve as a good example of film production, which was created not as a result of free exchange of knowledge and experience, but in an encapsulated world under the control of themes, genres, content and even of author's teams. Appreciated by the government, cinema and its potential for influence are instrumentalized for the purposes of state propaganda. Transcaucasian cinema from the beginning of the 20th century is one of the

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indisputable examples of the use of cinema for political purposes of the Soviet government.

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IV. FROM TRADITIONS TO THE GENDER ISSUE: THE CASE OF AZERBAIJAN AND BULGARIA

“ELIMINATION” OF ILLITERACY AMONG WOMEN IN THE SOVIET AZERBAIJAN SSR IN THE 1920s AND 1930s AS A PART OF SOVIET LITERACY POLITICS

Shamil Rahmanzade

Abstract: The article presents the history of politics to eliminate illiteracy among women in the Soviet Azerbaijan in the 1920s and 1930s as a part of Soviet “cultural revolution”. This process took place in the context of the so-called “early modernization strategies” of the Soviet authorities, aimed at the formation of a new sociocultural reality. The modernization reality of the 1920s and 1930s gave rise to a new type of Azerbaijani woman: military-sports, strong-willed, technically oriented, responsive to the latest achievements of world practice. Measures for the development of women's education were coupled with efforts aimed at the emancipation of women, at introducing them to socially active life. In fact, Soviet cultural practices destroyed the traditional gender order based on the unconditional total dominance of men (such dominance was considered as socially determined inequalities to be eliminated), as well as contributed to the transformation of women into the actively creative subject of Modernity. The solution of the female problem in Azerbaijan was overshadowed by the mass repressions carried out in the country at the end of the 1930s, as a result of which many leading women of Azerbaijan, who stood at the origins of the female movement in Azerbaijan, were arrested, expelled and executed.

According to generally accepted terminology, the “cultural revolution” is a process of radical restructuring of the cultural and ideological life of society during the period of building socialism in the Soviet Union. It is, along with industrialization and collectivization, the fundamental direction of modernization achievements in the USSR, designed, in essence, to transform an agrarian (traditional) society into an industrial (modern) one:

Industrialization, collectivization, the creation of a new army – all these were parts of a large program of modernization of the USSR. The main thing in it was the transformation of a person with a peasant type of thinking [...] into a person [...] similar in a number of ways to a person of modern industrial society. (Kara-Murza 2008, 383)

The transformative efforts of the new system can be described as “revolutionary” (and therefore authoritarian), forced, large-scale. Revolutionary, since they were carried out by radical methods, sometimes suppressing the resistance of numerous traditional elements of society; thereby, the reforms also showed their authoritarian characteristics. At the same time, “cultural reform” efforts were accelerated, because it was necessary in the time pressure mode to quickly introduce innovations that totally rebuilt the cultural image of the broad masses of the people and the entire society. Finally, these efforts can be characterized as large-scale, taking into account the fact that they have drawn into their orbits both broad social strata and vast regions that were completely different in sociocultural terms.

In the “cultural revolution”, fundamental importance was attached to the “elimination” of illiteracy of the population, among whom women were in a special disempowered position. “Universal” education was called upon to play one of the key roles in the social engineering undertaken by the authorities. It is necessary to note the connection between the emancipation policy of the Soviet authorities and the formation of a new Soviet gender order, defined by Russian sociologists E. Zdravomyslova and A. Temkina as “ethnocratic and patrimonial”. In their opinion, the creation of the “new” Soviet gender took place within the framework of the policy of involving women in social production and political life, state regulation of the family, and the formation and change of official discourses that interpret femininity and masculinity. The Soviet state acted as the main agent in creating and maintaining the new Soviet gender order, regulating relations between the state, citizens and female citizens (Zdravomyslova and Temkina 2003, 324).

Azerbaijan approached fateful in nature and comprehensive in scale changes at the intersection of the second and third decades of the 20th century with very unfavorable indicators in terms of population literacy. In the 1914-1915 academic year, there were 976 state comprehensive schools in Azerbaijan, in which 73 000 students were enrolled. The training was carried out in Russian. Azerbaijanis accounted for about 23 000, or 35.2% of the total number of students, and there were less than 2,000 girls (Musaeva 1979, 26). It should be noted that the bulk of Azerbaijanis studied in “maqtab” and “madrassahs”, the total number of which reached 786. However, traditional Muslim educational institutions, at least the main part, did not really take into account (or, by their objective characteristics, were not able to take into account) the requirements of the “New Age”. In traditional Muslim educational institutions could not occur the emergence of modern man – the personality of a new type (Rahmanzade 2019, 195).

It should be noted that by the beginning of the 1920s, the literacy rate in Azerbaijan barely reached 9.3% (GAAR, f. 114, op. 1, d. 1901, l. 21). And the percentage of illiteracy of Azerbaijani women was 96.7%, and according to some sources, it was 99% (*Kommunist*, 7 October 1920). In tsarist Russia, the problems of education in the national suburbs, especially issues of female education, were not the subjects of special concern for state institutions. That is why in the Muslim regions of the empire, women's education was in the care of individuals, public educational and charitable organizations. The most striking example of such an institution is the Baku Women's named after Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, a Russian-Muslim school, established at the expense of capital donated by renowned philanthropist Haji Zeynalabdin Tagiyev. However, the fact that Azerbaijan was part of the Russian Empire largely determined the transformation processes, which gradually undermined the traditional value-semantic world, its established ideas and archaic perception of the world through new institutions, and contributed to the formation of a different spiritual and intellectual atmosphere. According to figurative remark M.E. Rasulzade, a public and political figure who played a

prominent role in the establishment of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, by the beginning of the 20th century, “Azerbaijanis realized themselves as a social phenomenon, a society with its own cultural traditions” (Rasulzade 1990, 49).

It is during the half-century preceding the emergence of the Republic of Azerbaijan that the formation of the ideological and semantic landmarks of the Azerbaijani modernity falls. Within its framework, we find a desire for an all-encompassing modernization of all aspects of socio-political and social life through a critical rethinking of the value-normative principles of traditionalist society. The Azerbaijani modernist intelligentsia, relying on European ideas of progress, essentially dealt with the definition of basic concepts and values of national (Turkic-Azerbaijani) identity. “Progress through enlightenment” – such is the formula that structures time. And the idea of gender equality has firmly established itself in the worldview system of Azerbaijani modernity. The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR, May 28, 1918 – April 28, 1920) is the first republic in the Muslim East by the type of state structure and the first democratic system by the type of political regime. In the ADR, women were granted the right to vote for the first time in the Islamic world. The Azerbaijani modernist project in 1918–1920 is a phenomenon that did not manage to reveal itself fully and deeply, as in Kemalist Turkey in the 1920–1930s, but it was present in the practice of government offices of the republic.

By the beginning of 1919, there were only 23 state secondary schools within Azerbaijan, namely: 6 male gymnasiums, 4 female gymnasiums, 5 real schools, 3 teacher seminaries, 3 female secondary schools of St. Nina, Polytechnic and commercial schools (*Adres-kalendar' Azerbaïdzhanskoï Respubliki*, 54). Among the women's gymnasiums were: Baku Mariinsky, Baku 2nd, Baku 3rd, Baku 4th. By the end of 1919, the number of active female gymnasiums reached 10 (*Azerbaïdzhan*, 1 November 1919). The Baku women's teacher's Seminary and St. Nina's educational institutions (in Baku, Ganja and Nukha) also operated. August 11, 1919 women's educational institutions of St. Nina was

renamed: the first (Baku) – in the Azerbaijani first national female gymnasium, the second – in Ganja, and the third – Nukha girls’s gymnasium. However, the vast majority of female students in these institutions were non-Azerbaijani (Nazarli 2008, 116).

During the period of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, a lot was done for the development of female education in the country. For example, two-month women's pedagogical courses were opened in Baku and Ganja. In the autumn of 1918, four female Turkic and several non-Turkic primary schools were functioning in Ganja. Due to the lack of an educational institution of a higher rank, girls were deprived of the opportunity to receive completed primary education. At the request of the inspector of public education Juvarlinsky, a special commission on 11 October, 1918, decided to transform one of the women's lower primary schools into higher primary school (GAAR, f. 2803, op. 1, d. 20, l. 3, 5; d. 25, l. 41).

On October 24, 1919, the ceremonial opening of courses for girls at the Azerbaijan National Gymnasium took place. The opening ceremony was attended by 120 Azerbaijani women (*Azerbaïdžhan*, 28 October 1919). In these courses, classes were held 3 times a week. The courses were divided into 3 groups: for the illiterate, for the semiliterate, and for the literate, where they studied national literature, history, etc. In January 1920, 200 Azerbaijani women attended them (*Azerbaïdžhan*, 10 February 1920). At the request of the women of the village of Keshlya, in October 1919, a lower female elementary school was opened here. Thanks to the care of the attorney of the Keshlya women's Society, Izzat Khanum Rasizade, the school won the sympathy of the residents. In November, the school was attended by 100 students (Nazarli 2008, 77). On February 8, 1920, in the presence of a representative of the Muslim clergy, the district chief, the head of the garrison, the mayor, representatives of the military and civilian departments, a female school was inaugurated in Guba (*Azerbaïdžhan*, 13 February 1920). By the end of 1919, female classes were opened in the Gazakh district at two existing men's schools. In all

schools, only 1,238 students studied, of which 988 were boys and 250 girls (Nazarli 2008, 84).

From April 1, 1920, evening women's courses were opened specifically for Azerbaijani women who wanted to expand their knowledge of the language. Teachers who had been called from Turkey and agreed to teach the courses for free were invited as lecturers. Classes were held in the premises of the 2nd female Turkic school (*Azerbaïdzhan*, 31 march 1920). In the same school women's courses of needlework and literacy began to operate. All the teachers were Muslim women. Emina Khanum Batirshina, a well-known doctor, taught hygiene (*Azerbaïdzhan*, 19 March 1920).

It should be noted that after graduating from male gymnasiums and real schools, it was possible to enter higher educational institutions. And female's gymnasiums did not give a complete education, and therefore their graduates could enter universities only on the condition of preliminary exams in a number of subjects for male gymnasiums. Proceeding from this, the government carried out the corresponding reform. At the beginning of the 1918/19 school year, the programs of female secondary schools were equalized with male ones (GIAAR, f. 395, op. 1, d. 369, l. 8, 9).

During the independent existence of the Republic of Azerbaijan, there was an influx of Azerbaijani girls in the gymnasium. For example, in the Ganja Gymnasium alone, in the 1919/1920 school year, the number of Azerbaijani schoolgirls was 296, while in the 1918/1919 school year 4 Azerbaijani girls studied here (Nazarli 2008, 122-123). Partial (unforced) nationalization of educational institutions was carried out. For example, in the Baku educational institution of St. Nina opened the national branch of the first class with teaching in the Turkic language. In the Baku 2nd female gymnasium, lessons of the Turkic language and Muslim creed were introduced (GIAAR, f. 395, op. 1, d. 318, l. 83). In October 1919, a minister's order was followed to transfer all Azerbaijani girls of junior, senior preparatory and first classes of the Baku 2nd female gymnasium to the national classes of the

Mariinsky female gymnasium GIAAR, f. 395, op. 1, d. 396, l. 13). In the latter, along with national classes, classes with teaching in Russian also functioned, because for financial reasons it was not possible to create a Turkic gymnasium, supported by the city. In October 1919, elementary classes with teaching in the Turkic language opened in the Lankaran female gymnasium, headed by M. Bayramalibekova (Nazarli 2008, 105).

However, the short existence of the First Republic, limited resources, and especially the cautious government policy on the women's issue, dictated by the fear of confrontation with conservative circles, did not allow us to begin a fundamental solution to the problems associated with women's education.

A radical change occurred after the Sovietization of the republic. First of all, we should note that the political realities of Azerbaijani modernity had a clear background, predetermined by two dates – May 28, 1918 and April 28, 1920. These two events gave rise to the context of newest Azerbaijani history, expressed in political Modernity. If the secular, as well as the étatist practice of the *Musavatists* rooted the idea of a modern nation-state, then the subsequent practice of the Communists deepened its modernizing resource, in many respects embodied the progressive aspirations of the entire previous cultural elite – from M.-F. Akhundova to M. E. Rasolzade. Both the Azerbaijan Bolsheviks – the *Gummetists*, and the *Musavatists*, in fact, were carriers of two (parallel and often converging) lines of the Azerbaijan Modernism; they were united by many ideas of a progressive and enlightening nature, which should include: secularism, reconstitution of power relations on the basis of democracy, the total education of the people, the emancipation of women, etc. All of the above fit into the project of systemic transit from a traditional society to a modern society. In this plan, the preferred ones were *Gummetists*. Firstly, their intentions were intertwined with the fundamental strategy of the Bolsheviks on the systemic transformation of all aspects of social life; in other words, their efforts were objectively incorporated into a large project common to the Eurasian peoples, and thus proved to be more effective. Secondly, thanks to such integration,

Azerbaijan, under the rule of the Soviets, managed to carry out modernization more forcefully.

The modernist aspiration of the new system was also manifested in the steps taken in resolving the women's issue. For 1920–1922, the Government of the Azerbaijan SSR on the issue of women adopted more than 20 decrees and decrees. These included legislative acts such as the “Decree on the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy in Azerbaijan”, “The Order on the dismissal of all women workers on March 8”, “Decree on the prohibition of movements, business trips of pregnant women without their consent and overtime for pregnant and lactating women”, “On the transformation of the Azerbaijan Institute of Preschool Education into the Azerbaijan Women's Pedagogical Institute”, “Regulations on the Committee on improving the living conditions of working women” and others (Sultanova 1970, 43–44). It should be mentioned that in 1920–1922, during this period full of congresses and conferences, the Russian Communist Party (RCP (b)) and the Azerbaijan Communist Party (ACP (b)) made decisions that reflected the concept of the implementation of the women's issue. The main feature of the adopted resolutions was that in the Marxist ideological tradition, the female issue cannot be considered as self-sufficient. At the same time, the communist elite relied on the fact of the mass socialist movement of ‘millions of women workers who are victoriously fighting under the common proletarian banner’ all over the world.

As a result, it should be emphasized that in 1920–1922 new forms were found in the involvement of women in public life. On the one hand, they involved them in public life, and on the other, provided them certain knowledge and social skills. Another thing is that later, under the conditions of the formed totalitarianism of the 1930s, they instilled in people such qualities as formalism, soullessness, indifference and cruelty. As a result of the implementation of these acts, many issues related to women's equal rights, as well as to ensuring women's participation in government bodies, were legislatively resolved. Adopted in May 1921, the first Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR granted women broad rights.

Article 79 of this fundamental law officially proclaimed the equal rights of women with men in all areas of economic, state, cultural and socio-political life. The constitution also guaranteed women the same rights as men to work and rest, equal pay, social insurance and education. Polygamy and forced marriage of girls were prohibited, the marriage age was set for girls from 16 years old instead of 9 according to Sharia, and measures against violation of laws on equal rights for women were envisaged. Thus, in the 1920s, laws were implemented to modernize life in accordance with the progressive attitudes of the pleiad of Azerbaijani enlighteners. The deprivation of Sharia legal status, fixing the age limit for girls to marry, the ban on wearing a veil, and liberation a Muslim woman from the shackles of a traditional society is always a drama, a conflict with unpredictable personal consequences. Post-revolutionary reality invades the sphere of personal relations, radically changing them. However, the adoption of decrees, laws and ordinances did not yet mean the realization of the de facto equality of women. The vast majority of women were still withdrawn from active socio-political and cultural life. For a long time, such patriarchal survivals as polygamy, early marriage were preserved in the republic. But, despite this, there was an increase in the consciousness of a woman to an understanding of her place in family life and in public life.

In solving the female problem, a special role belonged to the so-called “Zhenotdel” (women's departments), created everywhere in the republic since November 1920. Such departments existed under the Central Committee, the Baku Committee and the district party committees. They were created, as was noted in official documents of that time, “to work among working women in order to educate them in a communist spirit and attract them to socialist construction” (Sultanova 1966, 14). Beneath the layer of official ideological discourse lay a social phenomenon: women’s departments – the party-state policy makers acted both as a form (unprecedented and unthinkable before) of work among women, and as a kind of tool for their socialization. In fact, these institutions involved many thousands of women in social processes, for

whom participation in events, courses, artels, etc. was the first experience of socializing. Within one year from the date of the organization of the women's departments, 20 thousand women united around them, 75 women's employees were trained, half of whom were Azerbaijani women (Guliev 1972, 380). Women's departments paid special attention to work among Azerbaijani women. The 2nd All-Azerbaijan Congress of Soviets (1922), for example, adopted the following resolution: "It is necessary to fully support and provide Muslim women's clubs, libraries and other cultural and educational institutions for Muslim women". Women participated in the 1st Congress of the peoples of the East, held in Baku in September 1920 – 55 women from Eastern countries participated in the congress, and three women were elected to the podium, including Haver Shabanova from Azerbaijan. For the first time, an Azerbaijani woman not only participated, but also spoke at a forum of international importance (*Pervyi s"ezd narodov Vostoka* 1920, 216).

In January 1921, the 1st Congress of heads of women's departments and women activists was convened in Baku (APDUD-PAR, f. 1, op. 260, d. 2, l. 51). At the congress, chairmen of the women's departments of various cities and counties of Azerbaijan made reports on the work done. It was noted that in most counties, women's departments began to be organized only by the beginning of 1921. In a report by Leiman, a representative for work among women of the Baku department, it was noted that women's departments primarily dealt with organizational issues: opening clubs for Muslim women, women's participation in Council elections, women's participation in the arrangement and organization of nurseries, schools, canteens, attracting women to party organizations by political literacy, attracting to trade unions, etc. The local women's departments faced serious difficulties. It happened that men, not only non-partisan, but sometimes even party members, very often were unfriendly about the work of women's departments. They did not want to let their wives go to work, citing the fact that she needed to babysit children. Particularly great dif-

difficulties in working among women were encountered in counties, where the rural population mainly lived.

The 1st Congress of women of Azerbaijan, held in February 1921 in Baku, was of no small importance in the public life of Azerbaijanis for the first time in Azerbaijan, such a forum was held, which attracted 1,188 delegates. Among the delegates, Azerbaijanis made up 41.8%, Russians 36.7%, Armenians 13.8%, and representatives of other nations – 7.7%. The ideological and political guidelines of the congress meant:

“In the foreground – the organization of Muslim women, their education in the Communist spirit and their involvement in practical party, Soviet and professional work” (Muradova 2007, 43).

Generally, it should be noted that the 1920s were characterized by the rich practice of Soviet “collectivist democracy” – holding congresses and conferences, in particular the Communist Party's desire to simultaneously identify, pose and solve all the known problems of women's emancipation, firmly linking them with the strategic objectives of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. In general, over the indicated years, women's activity in Azerbaijan has reached a qualitatively new level that has never been seen before. The assessment of the Secretary of the Transcaucasian Regional Committee Ordzhonikidze, made by him in a political report in 1923, is known: “The women's movement in the Transcaucasia is strongest where it would seem more difficult to conduct this work, in Azerbaijan” (Ordzhonikidze 1956, 279).

In January 1923, the “Committee for the Improvement of Women's Labor and Welfare” was established in Azerbaijan – the first such institution in the Soviet Union. The Committee was headed by Koylu kizi Gulara (Kadyrbekova), who later became the editor of the first in the Soviet East women's magazine *Sharg Gadyry* (*Woman of the East*) (Imanzadä 1957, 25). The Committee launched work to implement measures to improve the economic and living conditions of Azerbaijani women, protect their rights and freedoms, provide them with work and organize institutions for the protection of motherhood and childhood. The committee

has also contributed to the elimination of illiteracy among women. The magazine *Sharg Gadyny*, which began publishing in October 1923, played a huge role in attracting women to the socio-political and economic life of the Republic. The magazine brought together literate and educated women, and was a good school for preparing women for public work. The magazine printed all the party and government decisions related to the women's movement, clarified their essence and purpose. Prominent writers and poets often appeared on the pages of the magazine, devoting their works to women. Among them are J. Mammadkulizadeh, S. S. Akhundov, A. Shaig, S. Huseyn, Y. V. Chemenzeminli, T. Shahbazi, G. Javid, Kantemir, B. Talibli, G. Nazarli and others. Since 1938, the magazine was renamed and became known as *Azerbaijan gadyny* (*Woman of Azerbaijan*). Thus, *Sharg Gadyny* constructed a public discourse that translates the official program settings of the party and state to the masses. In the framework of this discourse, women were presented as a backward and at the same time oppressed element, requiring targeted state protection and influence, and on the other hand, as potential mothers and builders of a socialist society. As the latter, they constituted an important mobilization resource of the Soviet state.

However, despite the promoted success in the field of women's emancipation, nevertheless, this work had weaknesses, vulnerabilities, in particular, the involvement of women in public and political life and in production was not ensured by the creation of sufficient conditions, such as facilitating housework, caring for children and their public education in preschool institutions. In the early years of Sovietization, gross errors and distortions were made. Caring for women workers and peasants, representatives of the new government grossly violated the rights of women from the propertied classes. Very often under the guise of requisitions, property of the middle layers of Azerbaijani families was confiscated, leaving women and children homeless, daily necessities and food. But all this does not detract from the great importance that women's policy in Azerbaijan had at the indicated time.

The new “revolutionary reality” brings to the agenda, among others, the issue of cardinal transformations in the field of female education. Even in the first statement of the People's Commissar of Education D. Buniatzade (May 12, 1920), it was emphasized that the main goals in the field of education are to create a unified, state, labor, two-stage, polytechnic, atheistic school, and that “the teaching will be conducted in the native language, training will be joint whenever possible” (*Narodnoe obrazovanie v Azerbaïdzhane* 1928, 19).

In the first years of Soviet power, cultural and educational activities were actually concentrated under the People's Commissariat of Education (*Narkompros*). This commissariat was the main headquarters of cultural construction in the republic. The first results were achieved already in 1920, i.e. during the first months of Soviet power in Azerbaijan. Summing up the results of work among women in the field of education for 1920, the newspaper *Kommunist* noted that women attend schools satisfactorily, that there are approximately 445 of them, 40 of whom are Azerbaijani (*Kommunist*, 22 December 1920). In 1921, the Main Political and Educational Committee (*Glavpolitprosvet*) was organized at the People's Commissariat of Education, the educational department of which was entrusted with the leadership on the eradication of illiteracy. According to the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of June 14, 1921, the eradication of illiteracy was recognized as the “shocking part of the work of the *Glavpolitprosvet Narcompros*” (GAAR, f. 411, op. 7, d. 3, l. 29). The goal was also set: “along with the elimination of elementary illiteracy [...] vigorously and persistently eliminate political illiteracy”. (*Rezoliutsii i postanovleniia s'ezdov* 1961, 29)

In May 1922, under the chairmanship of S. Agamalyoglu, the Committee of the New Turkic Alphabet was established under the Azerbaijan Central Executive Committee (AzTsIK); it was supposed to draw up a new alphabet based on Latin graphics. On October 20, 1922, a decree was issued on the equality of the Latinized alphabet with the old Arabic. With the translation of the committees for the elimination of illiteracy (*likbez*) into the Latin

alphabet by October 1925, 32,774 people eradicated their illiteracy in the new alphabet (Muradova 2007, 106-107). The creation in December 1923 under the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR of the Committee to Combat Illiteracy led by G. Musabekov gave activities in this area an orderly, planned character (Musaeva 1979, 55). Initially, self-education circles and women's literacy schools were organized. In 1923 there were 15 of them, where more than 400 female Azerbaijani women studied (Musaeva 2015, 181). In the cities and villages of the republic a wide network of points on the eradication of illiteracy and lack of literacy was deployed (GAAR, f. 379, op. 4, d. 265, l. 14). Moving from one village to another, these mobile schools made a huge contribution to the spread of education among the most backward sections of the population.

An important role in the fight against illiteracy was played by the decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR of March 18, 1924, "On the eradication of illiteracy among the population of the Azerbaijan SSR", which set the directive task of compulsory literacy of the entire illiterate population of the republic from 15 to 25 years. To eradicate illiteracy of the population, education bodies were granted the right to use schools, people's houses, clubs, vacant rooms in factories, factories, institutions, etc. (GAAR, f. 57, op. 1, d. 21, l. 71). A lot of work was also done by the voluntary society "Down with illiteracy", which was established on July 17, 1924. The task of society was the wide involvement of workers in circles and educational programs. In 1925, in the districts of Azerbaijan, it was possible to organize 10 branches of the "Down with illiteracy" Society. By the same time, 16 branches with 10 thousand members functioned in Baku and its districts (GAAR, f. 379, op. 4, d. 265, l. 23-24).

In 1921, the Women's institute of preschool education was also formed, which, on the basis of a decision of the Azerbaijani government in November 1922, was transformed into the Higher Women's Pedagogical Institute. This institute, which trained up to 90 Azerbaijanis, was of exceptional importance in the training of

Azerbaijani women teachers (Musaeva 1979, 95). In the 1926/27 academic year, 737 Azerbaijani girls studied in the pedagogical technical schools of the republic.

The number of *likbez*s increased every year. So, if in the academic year 1921/22 there were only 298 schools and educational courses in the republic, in the academic year 1926/27 there were already 1,185 of them. Between 1921/22 and 1926/27, 102370 people passed through the points of the *likbez*, of which Azerbaijanis were 65,607 people, of whom 3,666 were Azerbaijani women (*Vos'moi s'ezd* 1928, 44). The rate of illiteracy eradication was low; in 1926, literacy among the population of the republic was 18.5% (Musaeva 1979, 192). However, given the weak material base, lack of personnel, general economic chaos, and a huge number of illiterate people, these first steps were of fundamental importance. It should be noted that the literacy process was very difficult. It was necessary to overcome the resistance of the obscurantist elements, the patriarchal environment. These forces thwarted classes at literacy centers, set fire to premises where classes were held, persecuted, and sometimes killed educators (GAAR, f. 1114, op. 1, d. 1881, l. 46). But, despite these difficulties, 166 437 Azerbaijani women became literate thanks to attending short-term courses, evening schools, and circles.

Attracting girls from the local (Muslim) population to school was also complicated by the lack of female teaching staff, since in Azerbaijan, despite the policy of co-education, at first only female teachers were required to teach girls in some areas. In these conditions, overcoming exceptional difficulties, public education bodies achieved significant success: the number of Azerbaijani girls studying in first-level schools increased from 6148 in the 1920/21 school year to 14189 in the 1926/27 school year (*Azərbaycan tarixi* 2008, 223).

An important role in the restructuring of the system of work to eradicate illiteracy was played by the party decree of May 17, 1929, *On the work to eradicate illiteracy*, in which special attention was paid to the national republics, where eradication of illiteracy was put forward as the main and most “important task of

all cultural work” (*VKP (b), Sovetskaia vlast', Komsomol i Profsoiuzy* 1930, 342). In order to eliminate shortcomings and improve the organization of the elimination of illiteracy, in October 1930, a special Council for Cultural Construction was organized at the People's Commissariat of Education of the Republic (GAAR, f. 57, op. 1, d. 144, l. 11).

Azerbaijani women without agitation themselves with interest went to literacy schools organized by local women's departments. The reports of women's departments indicated that even in rural areas, where working with women was difficult, there was a “great desire of Azerbaijani women to read and write”. This took place in Salyan, Gazakh, villages of the Baku district, Djevanshir district, etc. In the Terter district, many Azerbaijani women asked to enroll them in courses of the *likbez*. In Turkan (village near Baku) have opened special courses for women. Among those who signed up were women aged 55–60 years (*Gənj ishchi*, 24 October 1929). In 1930, 38 971 women, of whom 16 203 were Azerbaijani, were enrolled in the courses of the *likbez* throughout Azerbaijan. By the end of 1931, 62 203 women were studying at literacy centers, and 21 223 women in higher groups. In addition, in the summer, 12 919 women were taught to read and write on ‘yaylaks’ and nomad camps (GAAR, f. 379, op. 1, d. 4710, l. 6). In this period, in addition to these schools, various forms of education were used. Among them, various courses organized for women were especially popular. They were trained in vocational schools, factory schools, telephone operator courses, midwifery courses, etc.

In the early 1930s, despite the efforts made, the number of illiterate women in the Azerbaijani village was still large. In order to rectify the situation, the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Central Executive Committee (AzTsIK) on December 10, 1932 adopted a decree *On the progress of eliminating alphabet illiteracy and conducting universal literacy in the Azerbaijan SSR*. It proposed to various Soviet bodies to create the most favorable conditions for the elimination of illiteracy among women, organize independent women's groups, attach teachers to these groups, provide text-

books and teaching aids, organize children's rooms at liquidation centers, start training women at home, etc. (Muradova 2007, 108-109). Baku workers, *Komsomol* members and students provided some assistance in eliminating illiteracy among women in the regions of Azerbaijan. About 300 students of the Azerbaijan Pedagogical College in 1933 during the summer holidays traveled to areas where they worked to eliminate illiteracy among women (*Bakinskiĭ rabochiĭ*, 4 June 1933).

Women's clubs also contributed to the eradication of illiteracy, which played an important role in awakening the initiative and activity of the most backward female sections of the population. Women's clubs in Azerbaijan, in contrast to general clubs, were a kind of complexes of cultural and educational, production and medical educational institutions intended only for women and building their work taking into account the national, domestic and religious conditions of life of Azerbaijani women. Clubs were one of the first and most suitable forms of work among Azerbaijani women, who were difficult to involve in general cultural and production centers. As early as November 1921, *Glavpolitprosvet* allocated 10 million rubles for the organization of Muslim women's clubs.

The first institution of this kind was the “Ali Bayramov” club established in Baku in May 1920. Such prominent activists of the republic as Aina Sultanova, Jeyran Bayramova, Khaver Karayeva-Shabanova, Mina Jafarova, Gulara Kadyrbekova, Khanymnaz Azizbekova, Khokuma Mammadova, Melik-Nisa Orujeva, Amina Gasimova, Sona Jafarova, Sara Talybova, Begim Rajabova, Govhar Akhundova, Fatma Hajieva, Khadija Babayeva, Zeynab Rizvanova, Sona Sadikhova and others took an active part in its work. If in the early years the club employed 30 women, then by April 1930 there were over two thousand women at the club (*Zaria Vostoka*, 9 May 1930). In general, during the years 1926-1932, the “Ali Bayramov” club covered up to 150,000 Azerbaijanis with its cultural and educational work. The club organized exemplary workshops, as well as a library, a reading room, a drama club, a choir, and a ballet group. Here, in addition to labor,

women were engaged in mass work: meetings of club members were held, lectures, reports were given, etc. A prominent figure in the international workers' and communist movement, Klara Zetkin, who visited Baku in 1924, called the club "the assembly point of the revolutionary forces". Later, in her book *The Caucasus on Fire*, she spoke of the Ali Bayramov Club:

The Mohammedan women's Club [...] is the brain-child of the proletarian revolution, its living embodiment. In eastern women, despite the dulling living conditions for many centuries, consciousness of human dignity and the desire to acquire human rights begin to awaken. (Tsetkin 1926, 92-93).

Similar clubs were created in the counties of the republic. By April 1922, there were 11 county and 6 district women's clubs, and by 1926 their number had reached 42 (Musaeva 2015, 174-175).

The party-state's strategy to eradicate illiteracy was closely intertwined with a decisive struggle against the so-called "remnants of the past", in other words, with certain elements of the symbolic world of traditionalism. So, for example, in the 1928–1929s, a campaign was carried out in Azerbaijan to "remove the veil" (chador). The chador as a value (symbolic capital) was endowed with a special meaning in the Islamic spiritual and worldview picture; it seemed to represent the place and status of women in the gender and social hierarchy of Muslim society. It is not surprising that Bolshevism, as the most radical embodiment of the enlightenment secularist project, saw the symbolic meaning of the veil. It, symbolizing the female inequality of Islamic traditionalism, was subject to eradication from the point of view of Bolshevik ideologists. By the way, in the views of female activists themselves, the veil was a metaphor for ignorance, backwardness, and oppression. Here is what we read in the letter of one of the women to the women's department:

But behind this veil, we Muslim women have another, more dense veil, which our souls have been enveloped for centuries. This veil is ignorance. It's not so easy to

dump, and therefore I turn to the women's department and ask first of all to teach us to read and write. Only then will we be able to get out of darkness onto a new bright path. (Sultanova 1970, 68)

On the other hand, the struggle against the chador presented another opportunity to activate the “inert female masses”, to attract them into public life, especially in the provinces, where the strength of archaic customs and concepts was most powerful. Here is how the party press articulated the motives of the participants in removing the chador of the city of Nukha:

At a time when the cultural revolution is deepening in our country, when we, despite the attempts of mullahs and effendi, eliminate our illiteracy and have been participating in socialist construction for 10 years of our country, the black chador is an obstacle in our path. Today we are throwing the chador, calling on the same to all working women. (*Zaria Vostoka*, 26 October 1928)

About 270 000 Azerbaijani women took off their veils in Azerbaijan during 1928–1929 (Musaeva 2015, 190). It implied that by abandoning such a fundamental element as the veil, the woman thereby seemed to choose a different life strategy with completely different ethical and worldview principles. Such a step, therefore, had the character of an existential choice; the woman gave up her usual way of life, broke with the previous paradigm of social being, joining a new mode of existence with absolutely unknown opportunities and risks for herself.

Educational practices of the state were accompanied by increased representation of women in government. In the result, from 1920 to 1928, over 6 000 workers and peasant women were involved in the apparatus of the Soviets of the republic, 19 Azerbaijani women were elected chairmen of the district executive committees, 26 women became members of the government of the Central Executive Committee, Transcaucasian Central Executive Committee and Central Executive Committee of the USSR (*Vyshka*, 1 November 1928). On March 19, 1930, the CEC of the USSR adopted a special resolution *On the female cadres of mem-*

bers of the Soviets, requiring women to be promoted to leadership positions in the Soviets. Based on this decision, 324 women were nominated for leadership positions in Azerbaijan, the majority of which were Azerbaijani. In the 1930s, in the Azerbaijan SSR, a total of 1 178 000 people were covered by various methods, courses and schools of literacy. In 1934, 387 107 children studied in primary and secondary schools, including 99 242 Azerbaijani girls. More than 3 000 girls studied at higher educational institutions of the republic (Muradova 2007, 79).

In the late 1930s, a new stage began in the eradication of illiteracy. From 1938 to June 1940, 530 000 people were trained in literacy. In 1939, the literacy of the entire population of the republic was 73.8% compared to 18.5% in 1926 (*Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo SSSR* 1940, 7). Literacy among Azerbaijani women from 1926 to 1939 increased from 3.1% to 54.7% (ATsSU, f. 1, op. 3, d. 24, l. 90-91). An important achievement is the fact that in the 1939/40 academic year there were 16 higher education institutions in Azerbaijan with 14.6 thousand students, including 4887 women (Musaeva 2015, 93).

During this period, there was a rapid increase in the number of Azerbaijani women specialists in various sectors of production, management and science. If in 1927-1928, out of 1498 women working in the main industries of the republic, only 494 were Azerbaijani, then in 1928-1929 out of 1742 women employed in industrial production, there were already 870 of them. By the end of 1932, the number of women employed in production was 23 412 people (Imanzade 1954, 16). Among the first graduates of the Baku Industrial Academy named after S.M. Kirov, established in 1930, were F. Kerimova, R. Ragimova and others. From among the Azerbaijani girls, the first oil engineers grew up – Sugra Gai-bova, Sahila Kulieva, Taira Tairova, Medina Vezirova, who managed to become worthy managers of production.

Among the representatives of the scientific intelligentsia who grew up during these years, there were also Azerbaijani women. Among the first women scientists should be called ophthalmologists – Umnisa Musabekova, who was one of the first

graduates of the medical faculty of ASU, subsequently known throughout the world for her scientific and social activities, Sona Ragimova (Velikhan), who first studied at Lausanne University (Switzerland), and then graduated from female Medical Institute in St. Petersburg. In 1932, Izzet Orujeva graduated from the faculty of petroleum technology of the Industrial (Petroleum) Institute. Having entered the Oil Refining Research Institute that same year, she forever connected her life with science, having traveled a long career from a laboratory assistant to an academician. In the same year, after graduating from the geological faculty of the same institute, Dunya Agalarova came to science – the first woman geologist, who later became an outstanding paleontologist, doctor of geological and mineralogical sciences, professor. In 1930, defended her doctoral dissertation in Kiev and received the title of professor Adela Shahtakhtinskaya. Then she headed the department at the Azerbaijan Medical Institute, was the dean of the faculty. In the same years, after graduating from Azerbaijan State University in 1930, Sara Ashurbeyli, a well-known historian, researcher of the history of medieval Baku, began her scientific and pedagogical activities. In 1936–1939 in Moscow, at the postgraduate school of the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy studied, a graduate of the Ganja Agricultural Institute, Valida Khasbulat kizi Tutayuk, who became a doctor of biological sciences at 35 and the first woman to be an academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan SSR, (Musaeva 2015, 225-226).

The growth of literacy among Azerbaijani women, the emergence of a significant number of specialists who have received higher education, have increased the number of Azerbaijanis in the highest authorities. So, for example, among the 310 deputies elected to the Supreme Council of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1938, there were 72 women, including 52 Azerbaijanis. In December 1939, 26 057 deputies were elected to the local Councils of Azerbaijan, 8 943 of which were women. And the Supreme Soviet of the USSR included 6 Azerbaijani women deputies (Muradova 2007, 98-99).

It should be noted that the solution of the female problem in Azerbaijan was overshadowed by the mass repressions carried out in the country at the end of the 1930s, as a result of which many leading women of Azerbaijan, who stood at the origins of the female movement in Azerbaijan, were arrested, expelled and executed, including Ayna Sultanova, Koylu kizi Gulara, Medina Giyasbeyli, Khadija Gaibova and others.

Summing up, we can note that in the new Soviet school, a new person was developing, oriented towards the benefits of science, enlightenment, and technological progress. This process took place in the context of the so-called early modernization strategies of the Soviet authorities, aimed at the formation of a new sociocultural reality. The modernization reality of the 1920–1930s gave rise to a new type of Azerbaijani woman: military-sports, strong-willed, technically oriented, responsive to the latest achievements of world practice. Measures for the development of women's education were coupled with efforts aimed at the emancipation of women, at introducing them to socially active life. In fact, Soviet cultural practices destroyed the traditional gender order based on the unconditional total dominance of men (such dominance was considered as socially determined inequalities to be eliminated), as well as contributed to the transformation of women into the actively creative subject of Modernity.

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THE MOVEMENT FOR NEW EDUCATION IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD. WOMEN'S ACCESS TO SCIENCE AND CULTURE

Anastasiya Pashova and Petar Vodenicharov

Abstract: The authors trace the establishment and development of the International New Education Fellowship (NEF) highlighting the role of women whose basic faith was theosophy, and their basic pedagogical ideas were related to free pedagogy. The Movement was the most powerful international educational organization between the two world wars, it cooperated with UNESCO and the League of Nations. It attracted mostly pedagogues and psychiatrists dealing with experimental pedagogy, as well as psychoanalysts and sociologists. The study is based on the content analysis of the Bulgarian edition of *Svobodno vŭzpitanie* (1922–1944) (Free Education), which presented the basic ideas of the movement, as well as the Russian journal *Svobodnoe vospitanie* (Free education) (1912–1913), the research of Dimitar Katsarov' life and some archive documents regarding the Bulgarian branch of the NEF. The basic scientific ideas of the movement are outlined by presenting key articles in the journal as well as articles related to the movement's basic humanistic pathos – the fight for peace and democracy.

Our study started with searching for the answer to the question: why was the international New Education Fellowship (NEF) in Bulgaria so popular? Bulgaria was the first country in the world which published the national journal *Free education* (1922–1944) as part of the NEF with 10 issues per year. The journal presented the chronicles of the most important events of the World Fellowship headed by Beatrice Ensor (1885–1974) and published papers translated into Bulgarian of the most prominent representatives of the movement, and original papers as well. The

editor-in-chief of the journal Dimitar Katsarov (1881–1960) graduated Philology and Social Sciences from Geneva University where he attended courses in Pedagogy closely related to Child Psychology; he was assistant of doctor Édouard Claparède (1873–1940) (neurologist, specialist in experimental pedagogy and psychology of children with interest in psychoanalysis) and was chosen as honorary Vice-president for life of NEF.

Our research is based on the content analysis of the journal *Svobodno vŭzpitanie (Free Education)* taking into consideration the dominant topics and ideas; as we expected, the leading topic was the education in favour of peace and democracy in order to prevent future wars and to oppose to the increasing authoritarian tendencies – Bolshevism in USSR, national socialism in Germany and fascism in Italy. According to the statute, the NEF was not political and non-denominational organisation which made possible its legalization in many countries over the world with different religious denominations and political regimes. Still, the authors tackled some topics concerning policy and religion. Another source of information was the Russian journal *Svobodnoe vospitanie (Free education)* (1912–1913), the research of Katsarov's life and his basic ideas (Terziŭska 2013) and some archive documents concerning the Bulgarian branch of the NEF.

Origin of the NEF Theosophy

At the beginning of the 20th century the theosophical ideas of Helena Blavatsky (1831–1891) (from Russian-German origin) which were influenced by Christian Neo-Platonism and Buddhist and Hinduist mysticism (Blavatska 1993) became very popular in Western Europe and USA. Theosophists believe that there is a divine absolute which has different manifestations in different religions; there is secrete esoteric knowledge best preserved in Indian Budism. Theosophy postulate that scientific rationality and mysticism do not contradict each other, all religions have common basis and a dialogue between them is possible and desirable. Blavatsky published in German, English and French. In 1875

together with Henry Olcott she founded the first Theosophical society in New York aiming at forming the core of future World Brotherhood of no difference in race, creed, sex, caste, colour. As a school inspector in Cheltenham, Ensor got to know the educational ideas of Maria Montessori. In 1908 she joined the Theosophical society. She together with Alexander Neill published the journal *Education for the New Era*. Theosophists believed in progress, individual efforts, political liberalism, they supported the independence movements in the colonized countries and feminism. In England there were strong links between theosophy and the first-wave feminism:

For theosophists the new age was to be a new state of human development and a new education was both to prepare for and adapt a new generation to its requirements. The growing millenarian belief among Theosophists in the early 1920s, that the coming of a world teacher was imminent and that the chosen vehicle was Jiddu Krishnamurti, was added to this general expectation. (Brehony 2004, 738)

The foundation of the NEF is closely related to the English New Educational Fellowship and the Theosophical society. In 1915 at a conference of the group *New Ideals in Education* in London, Ensor founded the *Theosophical Fraternity in Education* according to which the problems of the civilisation were rooted not in the human nature but in the difficulties of the human interrelations which could be overcome by new education. On 6 August 1921 in the town of Kale, NEF was founded based in London and headed by Ensor with the main task to educate a new human race for a new historical era. Following their aim, the NEF began publishing its official international journals in England *The New Era*, with Ensor as editor-in-chief, in France *Pour l'Ere nouvelle* – Adolphe Ferriere, and in Germany *Das Werdende Zeitalter* – Elisabeth Rotten and holding international congresses every two years. The first national journal and the fourth in the world was the Bulgarian journal *Svobodno vŭzpitanie* (*Free education*) with editor-in-chief Katsarov. The attempt to merge the

NEF and the Progressive Education Association of America in 1925 failed, but in 1932 it became the American section of the NEF.

In America, the attempts to modernize the education dated back to the late 19th century, the most striking example was John Dewey's Experimental School (1896). J. Dewey (1859–1952) was the most famous philosopher, psychologist and educational reformer from the first half of the 20th century, an active contributor to the NEF. In 1919, a group for progressive education was founded in America, schools for parents were opened:

Ensor was a lay person but with educational and organisational experience. At the end of the World War I, Ensor was involved in caring for Austrian and Hungarian refugee children in schemes organized by the Famine Area Children's Hospitality Committee, she was its secretary. This activity required her to travel extensively in Europe and she was able to build up a number of contacts [...] Elizabeth Rotten had a similar habitus. A pacifist campaigner, and from 1930 a Quaker, Rotten worked during the World War I and its aftermath for the Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee of the English Society of Friends. In 1915 she was a representative of the German league for human rights at the International Congress of Women in The Hague. (Brehony 2004, 740)

What is specific about the NEF was the combination of mysticism with tendencies towards positivism and empiricism, which was perceived not as contradictory but as complementary. Some elements of the "New Psychology" were used to grant the legitimacy of science to the "basic faith" and the "shared beliefs" that were sufficiently ambiguous to permit many different readings of them:

The NEF attracted people from the academia who did not share the basic faith of theosophists but were attracted to it because of its international network, the credo of pacifism and democracy, and because it promoted a discourse favourable to research and experiment in

The Movement for New Education...

education, the immediate beneficiaries of which were psychologists and the mental testers but, in the longer term, all educational researchers probably benefited. (Brehony 2004, 755)

Until 1936 NEF was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation that provided considerable sums for the League of Nations, too.

The original theory of free education was developed by Maria Montessori (1870–1952), the first woman in Italy to obtain a degree in medicine and to specialize in psychiatry. She worked in a psychiatric clinic, taught at the University of Rome, had a PhD in philosophy. In 1907 the first Montessori school was opened – *Casa dei bambini*, in one of Rome's poor neighborhoods (Montessori 1932). She was particularly interested in the psychology and pedagogy of developmentally and mentally disabled children. While working in psychiatry she was very compassionate to the patients' children and started to educate them. In 1889 she established the Orthophrenic School and elaborated a special methodology for educating disabled children developing their sensor perceptions and using practical games in the educational process. She believed that, first, children should adjust to life through their motor activity which is inherent, not through intelligence. The examination tests showed better results than normal children, later she developed a methodology for normal children. She became one of the most prominent philosophers of education not only in her time. Her anthropological, didactic and pedagogical ideas were studied in specially established institutes and academies in Europe, America and Asia and were successfully implemented in the education of millions of children. She was nominated twice for the Nobel Peace Prize. Because of her pacifistic convictions she had to leave fascist Italy. The Theosophical Society whose member she was since 1907 motivated her to educate poor children in India. From 1939 to 1946 she taught in India. Montessori supported the international movement for women's emancipation.

Montessori paid attention to the fact that the child is not a small adult, but a particular form of life with different stages of development, with different creative activities (Montesori 2017). At the core of development she identified the “sensitive periods” that are the most favorable for the development and acquisition of the necessary knowledge, skills and behaviours: from 0 to 6; from 6 to 12; from 12 to 18 years. Though, the highest intensity is from 0 to 6 years. The purpose and work of the child is within themselves, in building their own personality, based on their inner potential. The task of the adults is to create an appropriate environment for the free and full development of the child - from the surrounding subjects and social environment the child collects “building material” for self-education. The essence of upbringing is helping the child’s mental development from birth, what is meant by upbringing is not teaching but supporting the child’s mental development. The main goal of education is to achieve world peace harmony. She introduced the term cosmic education: an approach to children aged 6 to 12 years that emphasizes the interdependence of all the elements of the natural world.¹

In her speech presented by Katsarov in the Chronicle *Towards New Education* on the occasion of the 5th NEF Congress Elizabeth Rotten (1882–1964) in *Each Era with Its Own Curriculum*², also drew attention to the holistic character of the child psyche. Each era has its own curriculum. The child’s consciousness is not a white sheet of paper, it is driven by the genetic laws of the child’s spirit, the continuous formation of the living human-being happens by virtue of the laws of the cosmos already written in their heart. In addition to the development of the intellect, she also recommended participation of the artistic mind that sees the wholeness of being in the smallest things and provides a creative and organic element to education.

¹*Svobodnoe vospitanie*, 7, 1912/1913 pp. 2-16.

² *Svobodno vŮzpitanie*, 9/10, 1930, pp. 321-397.

Helen Parkhurst (1886–1973), American educator and the originator of the Dalton Plan and follower of Jean Piaget developed a progressive education philosophy emphasizing the development of the “whole child”. She recommended that education should be as one whole – without separate subjects, they are all included in the natural course of work in separate centers of interest or projects. It also includes the art as a form of creative self-expression; teaching must use both: the methods of the scientist and the methods of the artist, in this way science will combine with holiness.³

Leo Tolstoy and the journal *Free Education* in Russia

The movement for free education, especially in the Slavic countries, was influenced by the ideas and pedagogical practice of Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) who advocated nonviolence, vegetarianism, antimilitarism, civil disobedience in his works and in the school of Yasnaya Polyana. Tolstoy defended the principles of particular religious humanism, according to which “true worship is possible only by honoring God in ourselves and in other people. The worship of God in people consists in the recognition of the same God in each person as we are conscious of him in ourselves”⁴. Therefore, in the pursuit of union with each person, only the motives of love are revealed. Tolstoy maintained an anthropocentric understanding of God, of religious sentiment and religious upbringing, which appeared very close to the views of Protestantism. In this connection, the fact that his pedagogical views, outside Russia and the Slavic world, were valued and popularized most in countries with a strong Protestant religion, such as Switzerland, Germany and the USA may be taken into consideration as well. In Bulgaria the ideas of Tolstoy became known at the end of 19th century but became very popular after the

³ Ibid. 9/10, 1930, pp. 306-318.

⁴ Ibid., 5/6, 1924, p.142.

World War I (further: WWI). The Bulgarian periodicals were infiltrated with information about Stalin's repression of the followers of Tolstoy and their emigration in Palestine. In Bulgaria Tolstoist journals were published, an attempt was made to establish a Tolstoist commune (1901), the renunciation of military service was popular (Katsarov 1919). Tolstoy published in the Russian periodical *Free education* (1907–1917) edited by Ivan Gorbunov Posadov, his friend and supporter. Tatiana Sukhotina Tolstaya (1864–1950), Leo Tolstoy's daughter, an artist, memoirist and educator, published a study on Maria Montessori's Educational Ideas *Maria Montessori and Free Education in Free Education*⁵, with which she connected her to father's ideas. The journal observed and presented the work of the most prominent education reformers in Europe and America, and dealt with current issues such as suicide and alcoholism among students relating them to the retrograde teaching methods at school.

Tolstoy was into almost every trend in new pedagogy. His principles – pedagogy of love, experience, activity, interest – led to the basic ideas of NEF:

I consider the non-coercion and naturalness of teaching to be the primary and only measure of good and bad learning [...] Only the freedom of learners to choose why and how to learn can form the basis of any learning. (Tolstoy 1984, 322-323)

Being a Christian philosopher, Tolstoy was also influenced by Buddhism and Confucianism (Terzieva 2004).

Out of the 63 authors in the journal in 1912/1913, 13 of them were women. Most of them were from the working, commercial or priesthood class and left-wing. One of the symbolic figures among the authors in *Free Education* was Vera Mihailovna (1868–1918), daughter of a priest. She graduated with honours from the first Moscow Women's High School, and then she stud-

⁵ Svobodnoe vospitanie, 7, 1912 /1913, pp. 2-16; 8, 1912/1913, pp. 3-15; 9, 1912 /1913, pp. 70 – 84.

ied natural sciences on her own. She took part in Leo Tolstoy's voluntary campaign to provide food for the starving Russian villages. Her friendship and correspondence with Tolstoy lasted for many years. In 1892, Vera Mihailovna went to Switzerland to study at the Medical Faculty in Zurich and Bern, where she met Russian political immigrants – socialists. In Russia, she was under police surveillance, arrested, imprisoned but amnestied. She worked as a doctor assistant and was involved in cultural and educational work. She graduated her medical education from the University of Bern with honours, gaining experience in a children's clinic. She published articles on health topics in *Free Education*, and translated Western authors. Before returning from Bern to Russia, she spent 13 months in Canada, working as an assistant doctor helping the Duhobortsi (a Christian sect that renounced military service because of the doctrine of non-violence) exiled by the Russian empire. Leo Tolstoy organized a broad campaign in the Russian and the international press to protect the Duhobortsi, comparing their persecution to the persecution of the first Christians. On the initiative and with the financial contribution of Tolstoy and the overseas Quakers, the Duhobortsi were allowed to emigrate in Canada. When she returned to Russia, she engaged in educational and revolutionary activities, supporting the Bolsheviks. Since 1907, together with her husband, Vera Mihailovna was the head of the Marxist publishing house *Zhizn' i znanie* (*Life and Knowledge*). She served as a physician in WWI and was honoured with medals for bravery. After 1917, until her death in 1918, she was involved in the problems of school medicine and child protection.

Followers of NEF and Their Basic Scientific Ideas

Psychoanalysis and Psychology

The movement for new education was a result of the internalization of the exchange of knowledge and ideas not only from the West to the East, but also from the East to the West; of the increasing role of women in science, culture and policy; of the development of interdisciplinary types of research. For the first

time the child and childhood were put in the centre of scientific interest of pedagogues, psychologists and psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, phisicents, sociologists and philosophers. Édouard Claparède pointed out that the pedagogue should have knowledge not only in the psychology but also in the anatomy and physiology of the child. As Dr Jacobus van der Leeuw (1893–1934), a Dutch theosophist and friend to the Indian philosopher and educationalist Jiddu Krishnamurti, pointed out “Modern physics overcame the old dualism of force and substance, energy and mass. In such unity the material and the spiritual life, materialism and idealism should be considered”⁶.

The movement for new education originated in many countries after the WWI as a reaction to the militant nationalism, racism and vulgar materialism. The ideal was to teach and educate the new generations in the spirit of pacifism and internationalism by researching all aspects of child personality and providing adequate practical tools for this task. In the different countries the new pedagogy was called new, free, active, functional, reformatory, self-governing, progressive. At the beginning, the subjects of the new pedagogy were “difficult children”: workers’ children, children from orphanages, “abnormal” ones (children with special educational needs).

Shocked by the bloodshed and mass destruction during the WWI scientists and intellectuals faced the problem whether the war was an unavoidable evil, whether humans were aggressive by nature, what was hidden in the human unconscious. According to Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) two are the basic drives of the unconscious (It) – Eros (love) and Thanatos (death drive) (Freud 2014). When the illusions of the civilized and rational international order crushed during the WWI, the interest in the unconscious, paranormal, abnormal, pathological increased.

⁶ Svobodno vŭzpitanie, 3/4, 1932, p. 106.

A prerequisite for the movement was the advance in experimental and genetic psychology and psychoanalysis. According to Carl Jung (1875–1961), a Swiss psychoanalyst who was among the Fellowship's inspirers and supporters, in the human psyche apart from the Ego (consciousness) an important role plays the individual unconsciousness (suppressed thoughts and emotions) and the collective unconsciousness – the inherited potential which is actualised when the archetypes enter the consciousness as images. The unconscious is a heritage of generations of predecessors, it is individual but also group, family, national, racial, human. The archetypes are manifested through myths, stories, art, religion, dreams. In his therapy he used art, associative tests, interpretation of stories and dreams. Jung was interested in Buddhism, theosophical literature, spiritual phenomena and sessions, occult theories which he tried to explain in scientific terms (Jung 1994). Concerning the education, he outlined the importance of aesthetic and spiritual insight into reality by intuitive participation in it. Psychoanalysis gave impulse for researching children's phobia, neurotic children, stuttering, but also paid respect to sexual life instead of shame and hypocrisy. As a psychoanalyst he advocated co-education of boys and girls so that they can get used to living together.

The first congress of NEF was held at Calais in 1921. The topics discussed by the speakers reflected the eclecticism that characterized the New Education.

Noticeably, however, much consideration was given to psychology, which in England as in Switzerland, was already becoming hegemonic in the disciplinary field of education. Elsa Waters spoke on intelligence testing and Alexander Neill's lecture characteristically managed to include references to both the Jungian unconscious and masturbation. Neill's lecture reflected the interest at the time in psychoanalytic approaches and Dr James Young, a student of Jung and a contributor to the modernist, socialist, literary journal, *The New Age*, spoke on "The cultural value of analytical psychology". (Brehony 2004, 740).

In *Psychology of the unconscious*⁷ Oskar Pfister (1873–1956) argued that the sense of freedom in children should be given religious (not denominational) importance:

Internal obstacles that prevent them from acting consciously lead to pushing the strong desires and ideas into the subconscious; through them an impulse, tendency are prevented from manifesting openly, which leads to the splitting the personality into conscious and unconscious, and under certain circumstances to exaggeration of conscious aspirations.⁸

The school should promote a gradual transition from self-centeredness to conscious freedom and solidarity. Examining the psychology of the subconscious, he pointed out that moral and religious sentiment can sometimes be driven away by the conflict with the low passions of the human nature. Thus, later on other formations emerge which have replaced the ideas and desires below the threshold of consciousness. The subconscious is not an omnipotent guiding power, but it manifests in painful developmental defects which may hinder the normal functions of the soul. Waking dreams (daydreaming) should not be suppressed, but experienced especially in the game. The human being is in their essence a being of impulses aroused by unknown motives, but they can be sublimated to the benefit of the individual and the society. Such education, which is based on the connection between the internal subconscious impulses and their external expression, is holistic (Gestalt). The wholeness is formed by the interaction of the individual and the appropriate environment.

According to Harold Rugg⁹ (1886–1960), an American education reformer, the ethical basis of education is to build the right conditions for developing the capacity for love – from child

⁷ Ibid., 9/10, 1927, pp. 252-261.

⁸ Ibid., p. 258.

⁹ Ibid., 9/10, 1930, pp.263-271.

autoeroticism, through narcissism to objective love. The general development must follow the transition from the principle of pleasure to the principle of reality, the development from the power of the impulse to the power over the impulse, from obedience to the educator to self-control and responsibility. At birth, children have three formed instincts – fear, anger and love, and gradually love must become a guiding instinct. Discussing Freud's psychoanalysis, he pointed out that the method of retrospection can also be applied to the normal individual, taking into account the great role played by preceding life (not only the conscious) in the form of accumulation of desires, relationships, opinions, etc., and the drive of these desires to appear in the behaviour. The psychology of the whole mental states (Gestaltpsychologie) strives to find out all the connections between the elements in a given problem, while admitting intuitive knowledge as well.

Ovide Decroly¹⁰ (1871–1932), a psychologist and educator at the clinic for handicapped children in Brussels, distinguished psychological types through tests: physical (health and physical strength), nerve factor (speed of reaction and persistence, centripetal or centrifugal nerve activity), affective (dominance of self-centrism or exocentrism and that of gender and maternity), intellectual (practical or verbal, specific or global, intuitive or analytical-synthetic).

Jean Piaget (1896–1980), also a student of Claparède and an active participant in NEF, was the author of genetic research on morality and cognitive processes of children. In the spirit of Jung he accepted that children have genetically encoded schemes (schemata), which form the basis for perception – motor activity and acquisition of knowledge, but the conditions which could allow the moral and cognitive possibilities to be fully unfolded are also very important. In his paper *The spirit of solidarity in the*

¹⁰ Ibid. 9/10, 1930, p. 340.

*child and the international cooperation*¹¹ he highlighted that the school class should be a true society where the students should freely and objectively discuss all the matters they are interested in. The high ideals of solidarity and justice should be experienced personally before being object of reflection in order to be more effective. Active means of self-governing and collective work are the best means of cultivating the spirit of intellectual and moral solidarity in the child. Piaget distinguished outside solidarity – children obey to an outside rule which is absolute and intangible (up to 10–11 years). In the case of inner solidarity individuals themselves make the rules which are subject to continuous revision and additions. Accordingly, there are two types of respect: one-side respect when somebody respects another person without being respected, then the will of the second is a duty for the first, but the child remains egocentric; the mutual respect which does not require subordination but is the starting point of cooperation contributes to a democratic spirit and altruism. Mutual respect that does not require any spiritual subordination, which is the starting point for cooperation, builds a democratic spirit as opposed to ruling coercion. In children, as in the people called ‘primitive’, outside solidarity is expressed in conformism, fear of any novelty, sense of collectivism and tradition. The inner solidarity of the adults is the democratic spirit with all its dangers, the constant menace of breaking the social connection itself. Paradoxically, the outside solidarity in children is accompanied by self-centered behaviour, insofar as the rule remains alien to the child’s personality because they did not participate in its elaboration. In inner solidarity, the rule is the product of a contract between the individuals and every child can feel it as their own, this is why it is part of the individual’s personality and the discipline that they exert is perceived by everyone. Intellectually, one-side respect for the word of the adult does not exclude self-centered ways of think-

¹¹ Ibid. 7/8, 1930, pp. 282-298.

ing (children are not able to argue and do not know elementary ways of intellectual cooperation). With mutual respect, recognition of the authority gives way to an exchange of thoughts on the basis of free criticism, cooperation and understanding between different mentalities. This is how mutual control is exerted in search for the truth. Similarly, national self-centeredness must give way to mutual respect and international solidarity.

In *Freedom in Education from Psychological and Methodological Aspect* Katsarov¹² tackled the issue of co-teaching boys and girls. In doing so, training must take into account physical differences (means and mode of growth), affective differences (boys' instinct to fight and girls' mother instincts), intellectual differences expressed in variations in mental capacity as a consequence of different direction and type of interests instead of directly resulting from the gender. According to him, the individual differences between the representatives of the same sex are bigger than those between the two sexes, so an educational organization that allows boys with different intellectual development to learn together is also good for co-teaching boys and girls. Collaborative learning softens boys' morals and promotes girls' intellectual ranges; the collaborative work refutes the claim of the girls' alleged weakness; fear that boys will become feminized and girls will become rude. The good friendship between the boy and the girl in co-education, the open and healthy companionship relations displace the false shame and flirtation and also prevent the sexual and love feeling from taking "abnormal directions".

Sociology

The interest in children was urged by some social factors as well. In the Modernity the birth rates were reduced and the relation between children and adults were emotionalized and intellectualized. The national states and the national and

¹² Ibid. 5/6, 1928, pp. 139-146.

international charity organisations were engaged in Child protection and Family protection. Special cares were appropriated for poor children, developmentally disabled children, mentally disabled children, morally endangered children and special methodology for their education was developed in order to be useful for themselves and for the state. In modern pedagogy a special branch was developed – paedology, concerning measuring by tests the physical, intellectual, emotional, volitional qualities of children in order to outline gifted, normal, “abnormal” ones and to provide appropriate educational methodology for each type.

The relationship between the family and the school is studied through sociological questionnaires. In *International Federation Home and School IFHS* Ivan Skachkov¹³ presented the *International Bureau of Education* in Geneva that sent a questionnaire concerning the home-school cooperation to 35 nations. In 1928, international committees were established for permanent work between the biennial congresses: information about health care, parental education, rural life, home improvement, and children’s leisure time was collected. A central information bureau was established: intelligence services, information collectors (New Scouts) regarding the initiatives between the home and school were hired in all the 35 countries. Information sheets were issued to prepare parents to understand and respond rationally to the needs of the children in the relevant age range (34 countries and Bulgaria). Katsarov was elected as one of the members-administrators (Directors) of the Bureau.

In *The Task of Education in a World Crisis*¹⁴ Jacobus van der Leeuw, drew the attention to the new social conditions of education. The task of education is not to save the old world from ruining, but to help the reviving humanity to build a new world. The technical unity binds peoples into one organism, but retains

¹³ Ibid. 7/8, 1929, pp. 262-270.

¹⁴ Ibid., 3/4, 1932, p. 106.

their individuality due to the diverse functions in that organism. Mechanization of life separates the person from their inner spiritual world and fixes them to the outside. The social foundations of the new education are a reaction against the enslavement of the individual by industrialism and the mechanization of the individual. Children need something more than educating the mind through passive absorption of knowledge and discipline which leads to artificiality and dryness of the old education. The new education requires not only knowledge, but unity of the physical, mental and emotional, because life is a unity. With the collapse of the traditional religion and the state, the lack of moral values and spiritual life can be compensated for by a new religious life through art. There is no inferior and superior, mental and physical work, only work that we are capable of.

In Europe and USA, but also in many other countries, (On the 5th congress of the NEF, Elsinore, 1929 there were more than 2000 participants from 42 countries) hundreds of new schools appeared. Adolphe Ferrie who read lectures at Geneva University on genetic psychology, intellectual and moral education in the new schools described the basic requirements to such schools: to be in the midst of nature but close to town, which is necessary for the intellectual and cultural life of children, the children should live in separate houses as families, co-education of boys and girls, conditions for manual labour to be provided for practising different crafts, developing the intellect not by encyclopaedic knowledge learned by heart but by developing the child's ability to draw from life, nature and books everything which they need, individual approach to each child, developing the innate capabilities of children, elective courses, encouraging cooperation by team work, not by personal competition, unity of artistic, moral and intellectual education (Terzińska 2013).

Katsarov also formulated the main goals of the free education. The author noted that for some, the humanistic educational ideal sounded false at the background of the sense of insecurity and injustice of most contemporaries:

We must stand against all those who make a difference in the economic and social status, race, nationality, language, religion in the field of education. Privileges for individual groups and hostility to others. Along with the awareness of belonging to one's own people, the educator must feel like a citizen of the humanity¹⁵.

The main purpose of the education is to enable the child to develop the habit of thinking and expressing their opinion in an independent way and to seek to establish methods of tolerant debate and persuasion instead of coercive ones. To accept the respect for individual conscience as a value (Albert Einstein, who was one of the supporters of NEF, also said that respect for personal rights should stand above national loyalty). Co-operation between children in school should become a daily routine, to give each child a sense of responsibility to the group, awareness of their share in defining the common life. Thus, the democratic ideal will be a well-known and experienced reality. Katsarov briefly defined the goals of the Union for new education: education is a continuous evolution that lasts throughout the individual's life, development of ideals that stand above the selfish interests and a sense of security, complete and harmonious development of the individual through participation in the collective life, instead of the imperative imposition of curricula, the teaching methods are inspired by the temperament of the child and by the experience, the external discipline is replaced by an internal one, freely accepted one, each child is inspired by the inherent drive to learn. The main goal of NEF is through new education to overcome bureaucracy, scholasticism and the routine in education, one new spirit of international cooperation should overcome the belligerent nationalism and the danger of new wars. The NEF proclaimed itself neutral with respect to political parties and religious denominations, not defend-

¹⁵ Ibid., 1/2, 1937, p. 2-3.

ing strictly a pedagogical method, giving creative freedom to teachers. The basic principles were: superiority of the child's spirit, respect for their personality, free expression of their innate interests, self-discipline and a sense of personal and social responsibility, cooperation instead of selfish competition, training boys and girls together.

The NEF was rapidly becoming one of the most influential international pedagogical organizations in the world and became one of the founders of UNESCO, with which it closely cooperated. In collaboration with UNESCO's Department of Education, three special issues of *The New Era* on youth's education out-of-school, the school inspection and governing, and on the pedagogical problems arising from the East-West relations were issued. The NEF's congresses were held once every two years since 1921 and discussed important educational issues: the educational importance of psychoanalysis, Scouting, self-expression through children's art, democratic citizenship and international youth cooperation, amateur activities and self-discipline, intelligence tests – the normal child and the child with developmental retardation, educating parents, ways of testing, psychological types. Despite the stated neutrality, the content analysis points to some discussions of educational issues related to religion. At the 7th International Congress in Cheltenham in 1936, Professor Pierre Bovet (1878 – 1944) read a paper *Religious education as a factor for enslavement or liberation*¹⁶. In psychoanalytic terms, he pointed out that there are two selves in the child – one aware of their existence, the other not. It was the last who influenced significantly on children's creativity. There is a common basis for every religion. Religious education should not contain fear and coercion, but personal experience. Religion is the way of life, and the ways are discovered, not learned. The religious truth, especially as it is expressed in Christ's teaching, liber-

¹⁶ Ibid., 9/10, 1936, p.381.

ates man, but one must not hasten with religious education. The religious sentiment is genetically based and manifests early. Helen Parkhurst even recommended that up to the age of 10 years Bible stories should be replaced with folk tales. She believed that there are no gifted children, the joy of art is based in all children, the task of education is to awaken the divine that slumbers in every child, to develop their ability to express themselves through art.

Critical views towards the new education emerged. In his article *Internationalism in Education*¹⁷ Prof. Gilbert Murray (1866–1957) pointed out that in the intention to remove the elements of coercion and power that were excessive in some older systems, some new systems came to accept the rule of individual momentary desires by which all values must be measured. This creates chaos - moral and mental. He recommended three major ways of education: by communicating (officially and more intimately) with supreme minds, by communicating closely with great thinkers and artists through their works, and by getting to know one subject closely, which is the fruit of persistent and constant effort because of curiosity and love for it. He critically assessed the League of Nations' initiative for considering the possibility for the teachers' unions around the world to adopt a declaration that views the League of Nations as the most appropriate method of conducting the world affairs, and which had already been adopted in the UK. He recommended an indirect and unconscious way through constant international cooperation, learning modern languages, cultivating common memories, associations and goals, which meant cultivating subjects such as ancient history, Latin, natural sciences that do not have national character.

At the 5th Congress, Elsinore, 1929, Ensor reported that the NEF had already reached maturity and the new education was free from some extremes. In her speech *The Crusade in the Kingdom*

¹⁷ Ibid. 3/4, 1929, pp. 198 -211.

of Education, presented by Katsarov¹⁸ she pointed out that balance is an essential quality for any pioneering movement. According to her, the path of new education moves between: a) those who are afraid of any form and those who are satisfied only with the external form; b) those who believe that the innate capacity of the child should unfold like the buds of a flower and those who being absorbed in the psychological analysis of the smallest details of the child's psyche lose sight of everything; c) those who preach unlimited freedom and no intervention of the adult, and those who believe only in authority, control, and obedience; d) those who hold for a strictly fixed method, system and plan and those who deny any system and plan; e) those whose national selfishness makes them blind to the human brotherhood and those involved in internationalism forget that you cannot be a good citizen of humanity unless you are one for your own country; f) the extreme idealists and conservatives.

In Struggle for Peace and Democracy

The NEF congresses also touched on political topics and, though often indirectly, they criticized the totalitarian tendencies, highlighting the benefits of democracy. William Boyd in *Criticism of Indoctrination in the USSR and Fascist Italy* believed that the most striking of the totalitarian systems was the system in Russia that was trying to create a nation of Marxists:

However, this method has one major drawback - it can help a person become good, but it prevents them from becoming better. The weakness of this way of educating is that it deals with motionless ideals – habits of thought and behaviour that never become more than a habit and therefore tend to hinder the creation and reproduction of institutions and customs that condition progress.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid., 9/10, 1930, pp. 321-397.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1/2, 1933, p. 18

The 6th Congress in Nice was devoted to “Education and social evolution”. The contribution of sociology and psychology to the races’ getting closer to one another, issues of bilingualism and minorities were discussed at the congress. Carleton Washburn (1889–1968) in *Education in What – Nationalism or Internationalism*²⁰ emphasized the advantages of the personal conscience over the state’s opinion, his appeal was that education should deal with the emotional lives of children in order to avoid conflicts, neuroses and psychoses. In his view, the situation in Russia was a consequence of the most terrible of all forms of war – the revolution. In Russia, there was no objective history due to the imposition of only one interpretation – the Marxist one and only one trend – the world revolution, and the teachers had been turned into servants of the state.

Sarvepolli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975), Indian philosopher and politician, stated in *Spiritual Freedom and New Education*, that Europe was living under the threat of another war:

There is something neuropathic. Humankind makes an effort, it is full of vague aspirations, but it looks like a drunkard who wants to give up his passion for drinking, but cannot. Humankind would like to give up the war and does not find any means to do so.²¹

The author criticized the League of Nations and the forces that created it – dividing the world into vanquished and victorious, fueling the desire for revenge and vengeance. With the Treaty of Versailles, with the failure of the disarmament conference, with the collapse of the World Economic Conference, hopes of lasting peace were also lost. The desire for peace was superficial, other instincts – deeper ones counteracted – the desire for conquest and domination. The external conflicts were an echo of internal psychological conflicts – which political organization of the

²⁰ Ibid., 5/6, 1932, pp. 157-164.

²¹ Ibid., 3/4, 1937, p. 81.

society was preferred – communist, fascist, democratic. Only free, democratic societies could put peace on a solid basis. The world demanded an agreement of individual freedoms (socialized individualism) and a social harmony based on reason. Freedom of thought, diversity of opinion was valuable to the free society. When some religions and political organizations demanded complete conformism and forcefully disciplined people in the name of “supreme patriotism”, then they turned people into machines. Physical well-being, mental and technical power were not sufficient to make people free. The nationalists and fascists, the bolsheviks in Russia stated that the purpose of education is proper thinking and discipline, and they had achieved it. But in 1937, the goals they pursued were purely intellectual, not spiritual. They related to external aspects of life, not to life itself. They were based on scientific positivism that led to atheism and the author condemned the social engineering in Russia.

Many authors pondered the practical means through which pacifist education could be achieved. In the rubric “Chronicle”²² there was an announcement about a congress organized by the *Bureau International d’Education* where the issue of peace education was discussed. The Congress was opened by the Minister of Education of Switzerland. Theodore Ruyssen (1868–1967), Secretary General of the International Union of Societies of the League of Nations, recommended that children should become familiar with the activities of the Society, which can be combined with training in other subjects as well:

For the participants in the Locarno congress, the wars with their horrific consequences, as well as the abnormal modern social organization, were largely due to the horrible teaching of history up to that moment: the exceptional place devoted to one’s fatherland’s history, the unreasonable memorizing of historical facts, the dominance of the po-

²² Ibid., 1/2, 1927, pp. 121-129.

litical and military history that developed a harmful chauvinism in the souls of children.²³

The congress also adopted some recommendations – joint study of history, geography and ethics in a single social science course. Jules Prudhommeaux (1869–1948), who was put in charge by the Carnegie Foundation to conduct the post-war textbook survey, reported on an important step by the French teachers' Union to edit or replace history books and school reading books that do not conform to the spirit of the League of Nations and strongly criticized the German textbooks teaching national chauvinism²⁴.

The journal reported on the 2nd Congress of the World Federation of Educational Organizations²⁵, that stood for a sensible and sound patriotism that not only excluded hatred towards other peoples, but also did not hinder the proper assessment of others' dignity. It was necessary to examine the current arguments for war as an inevitable necessity and in connection with it military training at schools with the concept of eliminating the war by creating appropriate public opinion. The Congress recommended investigating the importance of the Hague Tribunal and other similar organizations and including them as educational subjects in the schools' curricula. During the last congress of the Western students, a decision to arrange an exchange of lecturers in order to strengthen the mutual understanding between nations was made. From Bulgaria it was the Student Christian Society who participated in this initiative. With this goal, it was decided to open an international lyceum where young people from different countries could become familiar with each other and build up youthful friendships.

²³ Ibid., 1/2, 1927, p. 127.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 142 – 145.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 297.

Albert Thomas (1878–1932) (director of the International Employment Bureau at the League of Nations) in *Education, Labour and Peace*²⁶ pointed out the close link between the democratization of societies and the peaceful cooperation. In the industrial society, the human factor and their professionalism were becoming more and more important, so early childhood upbringing and education played an increasing role. A prerequisite for peace was the democratization of societies:

The development of education in all countries, the development of higher education, the aspiration for culture in the poor classes are all elements of democracy. Yes, with complete certainty these are also the elements of peace. Yes, the elements of peace, because I believe that peace can be built based on the development of democracy, and on the other hand, democracy can be based on the development of education. The democratic thought can be developed not in an automatic way, but it is the result of reasonable will, a result from education.²⁷

He also pointed to specific steps in this direction, such as critical examination of the causes of the WWI and creating a common history of humanity with an emphasis on the peace initiatives in the human history.

In *Psychological Problems of Peace Education* Helmut von Bracken (1899–1984)²⁸ gave examples from anthropology to defend his thesis that war was not a necessary evil to become accustomed to. He expressed his doubts concerning the claim that human's nature is warlike. If the nature of the human is belligerent, the peoples whose culture is the most primitive and who are accordingly closest to the prehistoric people should be the most belligerent. The Greenland Eskimos described by Fridtjof

²⁶ Ibid., 3/4: 1928, pp. 81-85.

²⁷ Ibid., p.83.

²⁸ Ibid. 7/8, 1930, pp. 299-307.

Nansen testified that tolerance, kindness and solidarity were essential features of these polar hunters. The language of the Greenlanders does not contain a single word about insult and war. These examples among others show that man was created for peaceful co-operation. War is the result of humans' vice in their general conception of the world; it is the result of errors of an intellectual nature. Bracken also offered specific pedagogical approaches. Books about battles and wars make children identify with characters, they experience dangers and achieve glorious victories just like the characters from the books. The function of peaceful education is to turn the fighting spirit of children into another direction: the police, the fight of the detectives against criminals, and especially the fight of technology against the disasters. But the author admitted that there is a latent war spirit in children and adults, which is activated by the bloody drunkenness and the fit of madness in humanity. The need to dominate is associated with the habit of seeing all social events from the perspective of war (social-class and racial). Education is required to eliminate anything that stimulates the desire for domination, anything that encourages selfish ambition, all rude or refined types of punishment.

On the occasion of the Day of Peace, May 18, Ivan Duychev (1907–1986), a Bulgarian scholar of Medieval studies, who graduated from Sapienza University of Rome, stated in his article *Through Peace to Common Human Culture*²⁹, that universality was a major feature of contemporary culture. The human spirit made the final victory over the invisible enemy – space through modern communications and aviation. Humanitarian science aims not at the national person, but the person and the humane through the efforts of artists from different nations and different times. He quoted Goethe saying that there is no patriotic science and no patriotic art, they belong to humanity. For Christianity, there are no

²⁹ Ibid. p. 276-282.

nationalities and races, and there is no nation chosen by God. There is a particularly strong and almost crucial interdependence in the economy. Imperialism is complete internationalism. Cultural development without international co-operation within national confinement is neither plausible, nor possible or fruitful. However, peace is a prerequisite for this collaboration, it ensures the longevity and durability of all creative work. Peace is also particularly necessary regarding the technical progress achieved in the means for destruction and war. He believed that the peace of the world is possible through children and in the name of children.

Dimitar Katsarov

Dimitar Katsarov was one of the most significant figures in the international movement for new education, chairman of the Bulgarian NEF and editor of the journal *Free Education*. Although he graduated from a military school and participated in the Balkan War, he left the military career due to the influence Tolstoy's views had on him and he remained loyal to them for the rest of his life.

There is no evidence whether he was a Theosophist. In Bulgaria, the Theosophical ideas spread widely after 1900, the first circles were established in the towns of Sliven, Vidin, Lovech, Varna and Sofia. The process was stimulated by the strong interest of the intelligentsia in the occult activities. It is known that the first lecture was read by S. Nikov in Varna in March 1900, after his return from India. The first Theosophical Lodge, a division of the French branch, was founded on 12 February 1903 at the home of the family of Captain Alexi Stoyanov in Sofia. The head of the lodge was Captain Dimitar Ftichev and his sisters Maria Fticheva-Stoyanova and Neda Fticheva become the secretaries. The group published the journal "Bulgarian Theosophical Review" (1904–1906), which contained translations and reviews of articles signed with nicknames. For its four-year existence, the Lodge published 30 books of the journal, translated and printed 17 books by theosophical theorists (Annie Besant, Henry Olcott). It might be assumed that some of these

were translated from German by Maria Stoyanova (Grozev 1929, 374-376). There are some indirect evidences that Dimitar Katsarov might have belonged to Freemasonry. He published two books in the *Akatsia* library, which was Masonic³⁰.

In Switzerland, where Katsarov went to study, the new experimental pedagogy was introduced by Claparède, who headed the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology at the University of Geneva. His most talented student was Katsarov. From 1907 to 1910 he was Claparède's assistant at the Laboratory of Psychology. Although he received job offers in a number of European countries, he decided to return to Bulgaria. At the University of Sofia he worked in the laboratory of psychology and laid the foundations of special pedagogy (defectology and problems of the special child – physical disabilities, mental retardation, emotional instability, psychoneurotic and psychopathological, morally defective children, disorders of behavior, etc.). The main objective is to develop the possible literacy, interest in working, the necessary skills to be fit for life, and to free the family and society from invalids (Terziiska 2013). He was head of the Medico-Pedagogical Society that assisted in the opening and managing schools for “abnormal” children, working with the Montessori and Decroly methods. His assistant at the university was Vasilka Manova-Tomova, the first clinical and counseling psychologist in Bulgaria. The first attempt to introduce the Montessori method was made in 1930 in the Department of Retarded Children of Lydia Stoyanova, who also published in the journal *Free Education*. In the same year, a special Montessori preschool was opened at the Italian school. At that time, graduates from the Wilhelm Wundt School of Psychology from the University of Leipzig were enrolled at Sofia University. Katsarov lec-

³⁰ *Spirits and mediums: Psychological analysis and critique of medium phenomena*, 1926; *Suggestion and self-suggestion: Psychological analysis and practical meaning*, 1928. Grateful to Zhorzheta Nazarska for the information provided.

tured in three major courses: Theory of Education, Physical and Mental Development of the Child, Experiential Pedagogy and Child Psychology. He introduced the Montessori methods, the Dalton plan of Helen Parkhurst, Ovide Decroly's psychoanalytic approach, John Dewey's project method, a representative of the American pragmatic school. He published a book devoted to the pedagogical and moral perspectives of Leo Tolstoy, highlighting the three basic pillars of his education – freedom, love, experience (Katsarov 1919). Katsarov experimentally investigated the memory, attention, associative processes and intelligence of children. He wrote about the need of building a strong connection between secondary and university education and the professional formation of the personality. On his initiative, wards and a school for retarded children and a boarding school for morally endangered children were established.

The Bulgarian Section of NEF was established on May 9, 1929 in Sofia on the initiative of the editorial board of the journal *Free Education*. The Statute³¹ defined the following goals: to preserve and increase the spiritual energy of the child, before teaching children, teachers must study in the best possible way and respect the individuality of the children, the freedom to manifest all the spiritual powers and aspects of their nature, personal self-discipline, self-control and self-education of children, cooperation instead of competition and priority of teamwork. These goals could be achieved through the dissemination of the printed journal and the pedagogical library of the section, through surveys of the education and the child, the implementation of new methods of training through the personal practice of its members, and regular meetings. The section was non-professional, non-political and non-denominational, it was only scientific-pedagogical.

The programme provided work for its own members, work at school, work outside the school and in the community. The

³¹ Central state archive, f.264K, op.6, d.3868, l. 1-11.

members considered the section as a work cooperative for self-mastery in the spirit of the new education through regular reports at regular meetings, a sequence of papers, providing didactic sources and materials, a mobile pedagogical library, organizing possible pedagogical trips abroad. The work at school included: turning the school into an attractive, child-friendly environment, maintaining school hygiene and teaching and acquiring health habits, promoting all children's initiatives for living in a group and group activities, close contact of the children with nature and life, providing a wide space and time for children's artistic and creative work (singing, painting, theater), as well as for various forms of manual work (carpentry, pottery, gardening, etc.), building civic and social awareness through self-management and self-discipline, meeting different school needs (school cooperatives, savings banks, etc.), moral education through training for personal and collective charity, extensive use of the game, dramatization of the history education, special care for retarded and talented children, establishing summer camps for the physically weak children.

Extracurricular activities included: giving sufficient pedagogical culture to all children, systematic education courses for parents, setting up parent-teacher committees, arranging the extracurricular life of the child (children's libraries, workshops, playgrounds, children's associations). Cares for physically disabled, mentally retarded and "abnormal" children.

After the communist coup in 1944, Katsarov retired from the university, but he made compromises and accepted the tenets of the Soviet psychology and pedagogy, despite his earlier critical evaluation. According to the Soviet model, the Pedology was proclaimed as bourgeois and racist because of the biosocial direction in pedagogy, which contradicted the extreme ideologization of the pedagogical science and the spirit of the arbitrary social engineering of the communist societies. Katsarov was appointed Director of the Institute of Pedagogy at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Conclusion

Despite the efforts of NEF and other global organizations to secure peace and democracy, it could not combat the militant fascism, national socialism and the Soviet Bolshevism. In Eastern Europe, the new schools remained mainly for the children with special educational needs and for those from the poor working class. In Western Europe, the new pedagogy was applied mainly in private schools which lacked in Bulgaria. The school system in Bulgaria, especially in the 1930s, was highly centralized and normed. The new education was scarcely used in some university circles and in the initiatives of individual teachers. But the advance of the sciences concerning children and the new attitude to them, the international cooperation and the exchange of knowledge became very fruitful in the democratic Western world after the Second World War.

The main contribution of the movement for new pedagogy was that with the efforts of theosophists, educators, psychologists, psychiatrists and sociologists, it overcame the naturalistic positivism and utilitarian rationalism of the science of the last century. By giving the spirit, not the mind, a leading role in the historical process, it opposed the totalitarian naturalistic morality of the struggle for existence and the related ideas of racial or class superiority.

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V. FROM KNOWLEDGE TO
INSTITUTIONS:
THE CASE OF MACEDONIA
AND ROMANIA

EMERGING OF INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD AS PREDECESSORS OF THE MACEDONIAN ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS. THE ROLE OF EMIGRATION COMMUNITIES IN THE KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE

Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska

Abstract: After the World War I, the partition of Macedonia with the Treaty of Bucharest (1913) was confirmed by the Treaty of Versailles (1919). The territory of today's Macedonian state remained within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians/Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Taking into consideration the complexity of the historical situation of Macedonia during the interwar period, the analysis is limited to the knowledge exchange seen from the aspect of Macedonian education and knowledge and emerging of institutional structures of science at the territory of today's Macedonian state during interwar Serbian political domination. A special attention is paid to the role of the Black Sea Region emigration in the knowledge exchange and its impact within the first educational and research facilities.

In 1914 the World War I (further: WWI) began, with consequences for Macedonia such as the confirmation of its territorial division as a result of the Peace Treaty of Bucharest (1913)¹. The

¹ After the decomposition of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), and according to the provisions of the Treaty of Bucharest, the Macedonian territory was divided and entered the neighbouring countries: 51% in Greece (so called Aegean Macedonia), 39% in Serbia (so called Vardar Macedonia), 9,5% in Bulgaria (so called Pirin Macedonia), and 0,5% (so called Mala Prespa) in Albania (Kiselinovski 2000, 29).

period 1913–1919 was a time of peace treaties, adjustments and confirmation of the borders of divided parts by the Treaty of Versailles (1919), regardless of the appeals of Macedonians worldwide, submitted to representatives of the major powers. It was a time of disappointment among Macedonians and demands on reunification, right for self-determination and national statehood in various political variants, while the partitioning states denied existence of distinct Macedonian identity (Rossos 2008, 131-53). From Macedonian perspective, the cultural and national process gained a new content. Until 1913 the activities were aimed at national self-awareness and affirmation (through education and renewal of Ohrid Archbishopric) with ultimate goal of liberating and state-building. A new phase began after territorial division, including a highly aggravating factor – task of territorial reunification.

From WWI to the beginning of World War II (further: WWII), the solution of “Macedonian question” was regulated by international acts within the Versailles security system, by defining borders and displacements of Macedonian population. For example, by the Treaty of Neuilly (1919) for “voluntary exchange” of minorities between Bulgaria and Greece, 86,382 Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia were moved to Bulgaria. Later, by the Treaty of Lusanne (1923) between Greece and Turkey, new “voluntary exchange” was provided again, this time 68,000 people migrated from Turkey to Aegean Macedonia in Greece, at the places of the displaced Macedonians (Ibid., 142). Although the international acts also contained provisions on minority rights, they’ve never been applied to Macedonians, so the liberation idea continued, considering various solutions to reunite the territory and establish a state (Macedonia 1993, 87-90).

The policies of the great powers often sought and created justification for their solutions with the help of science. Speaking of scientific discussion on Macedonian identity and language, it has occupied the attention of Slavistics since the 19th century. Researchers often wrote supported by various parties interested in results consistent with certain state policy, but there were also

researchers claiming the distinctiveness of Macedonian people. These issues became especially relevant in the interwar period. Thus, on the upcoming Slavistic Ethnographic Congress in Prague (4–8 June 1924), Krste Misirkov wrote:

The upcoming Congress of Slavic Ethnographers in Prague, in which Macedonian ethnographers will not take any part, because there is no Macedonian independent and autonomous state and consequently no Macedonian capital with Macedonian government, Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Macedonian University that could send representatives to the congress, however, is a significant interest for the Macedonians [...] Representatives of Balkan Slavism will meet in Prague. The Macedonian Slav will not be represented among them, although there will undoubtedly be words for him and his country and some important decisions will be taken at the expense of Macedonia ... (Misirkov 2008, 308-309)

During time of ethnic cleansing, exodus and assimilation of Macedonians, the cultural-national and political maturation of the nation has intensified. In a situation of necessity of international recognition, the Decision of the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of Comintern (1934) to recognize the Macedonian nation and language as distinctive in the Slavic and Balkan world, was received as an official international affirmation².

² The same year, the philologist S. B. Bernstein found censored copies of the Macedonian-language magazine *Vardar* (Odessa, 1905) in Odessa State Archives and wrote the first text on Macedonian language in *Soviet Encyclopedia* (1938).

Historical context of the Macedonian education during the interwar period

The international definitions of national minorities, designated as groups of people that differ nationally and ethnically from the majority of the population within a state, have designated the Macedonians as minority in all neighboring states. However, regardless of the agreements that regulated the minority rights and obligations of states to enforce them, the actual situation regarding the free national and cultural expression of Macedonians was disregarded (Gaber 2009, 55-77). In that context, the usage of the Macedonian language was banned almost everywhere (Denying Ethnic Identity 1994). It was used in the midst of Macedonian emigration, as well as in some printed books and newspapers. The tendency to write in Macedonian language was visible, but due to the inability to study in the mother tongue, the Macedonians usually received education and wrote works in foreign languages. It was so-called *povekedomnost* (multi-affiliation) or dual affiliation in the creativity was a form of expressing in foreign language depending on place of residence or education (cf. Stardelov 1999, 63-64; Ristovski 2009, 9-93).

Within the Greek state³ mass deportations of Macedonians took place, and all personal anthroponyms and toponyms in the Aegean part have been changed⁴. Thus, 1666 settlements have been renamed between 1918 and 1970 (Simovski 1998, IX-

³ The territory given to Greece was organized as a new province, with a governor of Northern Greece (including parts of Thrace and Epirus), further subdivided into three provinces seated in Salonika, Kavala and Kožani (Rossos 2008, 141).

⁴ The renaming of toponyms was prescribed in a circular letter (10 October 1919), with instructions on how to proceed and how to do so by the Commission on Toponyms of Greece. Afterwards, the Ministry of the Interior issued a brochure *Tips for Changing the Names of Municipalities and Villages* (1920), as well as the series of legal acts, such as the Decree on the renaming of villages, towns and cities (September 1926).

XXVII). When speaking of the Macedonian language, it wasn't allowed neither in the public sphere, nor in the family. Therefore, the opening of Macedonian schools couldn't even be discussed. Even a terror against its usage was carried out by the Greek nationalist organizations, especially after the public call by Elinomakedoniki pigmi (27 January 1926) in the city of Lerin (today's Florina). This regulation was implemented literally, through persons with the task of listening to how people spoke in homes. The punishments for disobedience were draconian (Zografski, et al. 1951, 338-39; Tasev 2011, 25-30). On this Greek politics, Stilijanos Sklavenas (Member of Parliament in Athens) spoke on 25 April 1925:

Another issue that our government wants to ignore in its declarations is giving full rights to the national minorities living in Greece today. I have in mind the Macedonian nation. Anyone who has traveled through Macedonia, especially in those areas where compact groups of Macedonians live, has certainly felt the pressure on them. Their rights to have their own schools, to use their own Macedonian language and customs are strictly forbidden. This situation forced the Macedonians to organize and fight for their rights. (cf. Ristovski 2017, 361)

The only case of supporting Macedonian education was the published primer *Abecedar* (Athens, 1925), written with a Latin alphabet in Lerin-Bitola local dialect (cf. fig. 1). Pressured by European public to fulfill the obligation under the Treaty on Protection of Non-Greek Nationalities in Greece (signed in Sevres, 1920)⁵, the authorities allowed its printing, aimed for teaching Macedonian children in schools,. But, soon it was destroyed, and

⁵ According to Article 9: "The provisions of this Article shall apply only to the territory ceded to Greece after 1 January 1913" (Zografski, et al. 1951, 336-37).

never reached the Macedonian pupils (Dimitrov, et al. 1993; Ristovski 2006, 5-23; Rossos 2008, 143-47).

Macedonians (over 50,000) also remained in the Albanian state, in Mala Prespa region: Golo Brdo and several villages from the Debar region, as well as parts of Lerin and Kostur regions. In the interwar period this population (Muslims and Christians) didn't have national rights. The Macedonian language was forbidden in public, and used in the family only, so there were no opportunities for education as well (Trajanovski 2008, 499).

Macedonians in the Bulgarian state lived in Pirin Macedonia⁶, and also at Bulgarian territory, organizing associations and printing newspapers. Macedonian students were numerous and quite active⁷, and knowledge transfer also took place by participation of Macedonians as school teachers. Given the policy towards Macedonian language was guided by the idea that it was "a dialect of the Bulgarian", speaking Macedonian wasn't banned, but declaring Macedonian identity was persecuted. When it comes to intellectuals in exile building Macedonian academic culture, it can be analyzed through their ideas, works on Macedonian language, identity and history, and especially the cultural organizing.

Societies of Macedonians in Bulgaria were formed on political, revolutionary and cultural grounds. One of the most important was the Macedonian Literary Circle (further: MLC) in Sofia, when young intellectuals and students started organizing

⁶ For example, a "Monument to the Macedonian Unknown Chetnik" was ceremoniously opened in 1933, in the yard of the Reading Room in Gorna Džumaja (today's Blagoevgrad).

⁷ The Macedonian students at the Sofia University published a pamphlet *We can no longer remain silent* (1929), and the Macedonian People's Student Group "Goce Delčev" in Sofia was renewed (1930) – printing the journals *Makedonski studentski list* (1931–1932), *Makedonska studentska tribuna* (1932–1933), *Makedonska mladezh* (1933–1934), and announcing a national program 'Macedonian Student Tribune' (1933) (Ristovski 2017, 356).

with the student movement in Vardar Macedonia (cf. fig. 3). The initial impuls was linked to the Editorial Board of the newspaper *Makedonski vesti*, in 1935 (edited by Angel Dinev). This association included different profiles: writers, journalists, artists, as well as researchers of history, nation and culture. The beginning was noted in *Makedonski Vesti* (5 August 1936) by opening a “regular literary page”, with the news: “Macedonian literary circle has been formed. It aimed to organize the Macedonian literary creators and encourage them to create a broader creativity of Macedonian culture”. However, members of the Editorial Board were arrested and the printing stopped. The following year, Macedonian Literary-Publicist Circle (or Society) “Nation and Culture” appeared (1937–1938), with several unsuccessful attempts to publish Macedonian publications (newspaper *Struma*, calendar of the Association “Nation and Culture”, jubilee leaf *Goce*). MLC was institutionalized only in 1938–1942, so a whole generation of young intellectuals became recognized under this name, aiming to create Macedonian literary language, literature with artistic and scientific character, and culture⁸. For example, they were preparing Anthology of Macedonian poetry by the poets A. Žarov, V. Markovski, Kočo Racin, K. Nedelkovski and N. Vapcarov, titled *Ot “Buriā nad Rodinata” do “Chudna e Makedoniā”* (From “A Storm over the Homeland” to “Macedonia is Marvelous”), with a foreword by A. Popov (cf. Makedonski album 2014, 283). MCL stopped its activity when some members were shot or imprisoned, and some joined the armed struggle (Ristovski 2009, 189-216). The goal of the association was to publish literature, articles and other publications on Macedonian history, and to develop the scientific

⁸ Angel Žarov (Mihail Smatrakalev), Kiril Manasiev, Nikola Vapcarov, Anton Popov, Kiril Nikolov, Ğorĝi Abadžiev, Asen Šurlev, Dimitar Mitrev, Venko Markovski, Kole Nedelkovski, Mitko Zafirovski and others.

thought⁹. It was a continuation of the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society in St. Petersburg (1902–1917), in the series of associations under foreign domination, which directly lead to the official establishment of Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts as a crown institution of Macedonian independent academic culture. Exactly some of these figures were founders of the modern academic institutions.

When speaking of Macedonians in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (further: Kingdom of SCS), at today's Macedonian state territory, Serbian authorities began to pursue education policies immediately after the occupation. The tendency was Serbization through education, even using facilities and staff from the Ottoman period (Todorovski 1981, 293-316). Realizing the possibility of education as a supporting tool, reconstruction of old schools and opening of new schools began, as well as other educational and cultural institutions, where Serbian language was compulsory. After 1922, vocational schools were also organized: trade school and teacher's school in Skopje¹⁰, agricultural and theological school in Bitola, etc. After the Constitution from 1929, when the state was renamed into Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the Macedonian territory entered into "Vardarska Banovina"¹¹, many schools were closed as nuclei for spreading the Macedonian language and culture, and even a Decree on Social Security provided penalties for resistance or organising (Trajanovski 2008, 469-75).

Regarding the students in Skopje, they were mainly children of local officials, and from other parts of Yugoslavia, including refugee children. Following some data from 1931, the

⁹ Several important publications should be mentioned: the collection *Ilinden 1903* edited by Dimitar Gligorov, the book *Makedonski Slavjani* by A. Dinev, the play *Ilinden* by Nikola Kirov-Majski, etc.

¹⁰ On the craft schools in Skopje: Ćurkovska 2013, 117-19.

¹¹ Vardar – river in Macedonia; Banovina – an administrative territory, headed by 'ban'.

number of students from Macedonia was small, and the state prevented students who declared as Macedonians. However, the youth was expressing own opinions and formed study groups: geographical-ethnographic, historical, pedagogical-philosophical etc. (Jovanović 2011, 27-32). The students Macedonians were active in Macedonian People's Movement ('MANAPO') and Student Cultural-Scientific Society "Vardar" (branches in Zagreb, Belgrade and Skopje), which played important role in the process of nurturing the Macedonian culture and tradition.

Taking into account the situation in Macedonia, the academic emigration was present in university centers worldwide, including Black Sea Region (further: BSR). The knowledge transfer mainly consisted of receiving education, but in some cases Macedonians were educators too. They developed cultural and political activity, and the ideas to create conditions for cultural and national development took place exactly in emigration, acting to animate the international public to positively resolve "Macedonian question". The key figures in Russian Empire were members of Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society in St. Petersburg. Both intelligentsia and workers were connected and gravitated to St. Petersburg and Odessa¹² (Ristovska-Josifovska 2018, 139-61). The consequences of the political changes after October Revolution were felt by the Macedonian emigration as well, both in national organizing and personally. For example, Dimitrija Čupovski was forced to move with his family, living five years in Eysk, often travelling to Rostov-on-Don and Ekaterinodar, and returned to

¹² The Memorandum to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs S. D. Sazonov (14 August 1914) was signed by the representatives: Dimitrija P. Čupovski – "Representative of the St. Petersburg Macedonian Colony, who graduated from the St. Petersburg Spiritual Academy, editor–publicist of the "Makedonskij golos" and Krste Misirkov – "Representative of the Odessa and Southern Russia Macedonian Colony, history and geography teacher at the Kishinev male gymnasium of Tsar Alexander the Blessed".

Petrograd in 1923. Soon he renewed Macedonian Revolutionary Committee, with slightly modified goals according to the situation:

[...] to fight for the liberation and reunion of Macedonia, fragmented as a result of the wars of 1912–1913 and 1914–1918. among the Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks and for the creation of independent and complete Macedonian Labor Republic, which will form Balkan Labor Federation together with the other Balkan peopls. (Ristovski 2017, 79–81).

But, he was detained (1934–1935) and lost his right to vote, on charges of “owning a house” and selling 2/9 of it, while in 1936 he was charged because he was “the former owner of a bureau” (Ibid.) However, he worked hard on articles and scientific studies, such as *Macedonian-Russian Dictionary* with an encyclopaedic content and the study “Macedonia and the Macedonian Question”. His son testified that the encyclopedic material and other works were destroyed during the siege and bombing of Leningrad (1942). But, the “Plan for Compiling a Macedonian Dictionary and Syllable” (cf. fig. 4) remained to witness the concept: introduction, geography and ethnography, history, language of the Macedonians, short grammar of Macedonian language, colloquial, folklore, dictionary of commonly-used words, map of Macedonia and portraits of fighters for independence (Ibid., 330–331).

Inter-war academic institutions at today’s Macedonian state territory

Regarding the history of Macedonian academic development, it is inevitable to take into account the institutions established under foreign national domination at the territory of today’s state. It was important in context of the beginnings of organized academic life. Using the education as a propaganda instrument, immediately after the occupation of Vardar Macedonia, the Minister of Education Ljubo Jovanović proposed the establishment of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje (cf. fig. 5) as a branch of the

University of Belgrade, aiming to strengthen the Serbian influence in the newly conquered lands (Putiatin 2019, 313-15). It was founded on the initiative of the Rector of the University of Belgrade, and its first dean was prof. Dr. Tihomir Ostojić. By royal decree, it was formally established on 2 February 1920, with a priority task: “comprehensive research of Southern Serbia”. The university remained as a branch of the University of Belgrade, although with an independent administration. A building, furniture and library were provided as early as the fall of 1920, and the first call for students was announced on 1 November, for several groups: literature, linguistics, history, philosophy, and pedagogy. Formally, the first school year started on 16 December, but the lectures actually started on 21 December in the building of the so-called “Idadia”¹³. The university was relocated to a new building on the Vardar Quay from the next year (cf. fig. 5). The first professors were: T. Ostojić (Serbian and South-Slavic literature), Stepan Mihaïlovich Kul’bakin (Slavic philology), Radoslav Grujić (History of Serbian people), Svetomir Ristić (Philosophy and logic), Mita Kostić (Serbian history), Grga Novak (History of medieval time), Miloš Ivković (Serbian language), Petr Mihaïlović Bicilli (History of ancient and medieval time), and Nikolaï L’vovich Okunev (Archaeology). Until 1926, The Faculty worked with ten departments: South-Slavic Literature, Classical philology, Archaeology, History of SHS, General history, Byzantinology, German language and literature, French language and literature, Theoretical philosophy, and Geography (Jovanović 2011, 23-25).

¹³ The High school for clerks (*idadie*) in Skopje was first opened in 1891 (Gorgiev 2018, 43-46).



Fig. 1. The primer *Abecedar* (Athens, 1925)



Fig. 2. The journal *Makedonski vesti* (Sofia, 1936)



Fig. 3. Members of the Macedonian Literary Circle and visitors – Macedonians from the Belgrade University, in Sofia, 1939

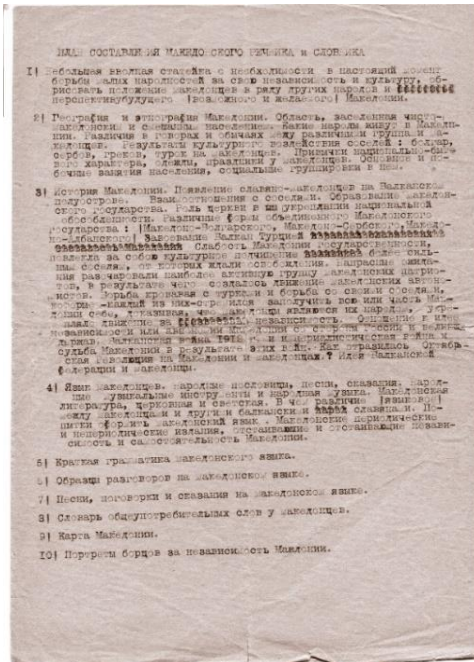


Fig. 4. Plan for compiling a Macedonian dictionary and wordlist (a typed concept). It is a detailed concept-programme for preparation of an 'encyclopaedic dictionary on Macedonia and Macedonians throughout the history and in modern times'

In the context of educational institutions, the activity of People's University in Skopje (since 1922) was aimed at lectures in various scientific fields, sometimes followed by film screenings, lectures for children with film screenings. Also lectures on the history of music, lectures by doctors from the Hygiene Institute, as well as courses in Serbo-Croatian, French, Russian, German, and English. Such public universities were organized in other cities as well: Tetovo, Bitola, Debar, etc. (Jovanović M. 1937, 1014).

Taking into consideration women, who were associating and exchanging knowledge, several women's societies were also established (Serbian Mother, Circle of Serbian Sisters, Princess Zorka, Princess Ljubica, Jewish Women's Charitable Society, Christian-Muslim Women's Association). But, the Women's Movement Society in Skopje (1928) differed by its feminist char-

acter, focused to protection of women's rights. The same year, a subcommittee of the Association of University Educated Women was formed (Jovanović E. 1937, 1038-1046).

The associations of immigrants from the Russian Empire included scientific societies, which united professors and researchers, such as the Society of Russian Scientists, established in Belgrade (1919–1920) (Uliankina 2009, 62-76). Its branches were founded in 1921: in Zagreb, Ljubljana, Skopje and Subotica (Milenkovich 1996, 137). In Skopje, a group of seven scientists was organized in the autumn of 1921, and then transformed into a branch of the aforementioned society, headed by the president Professor S. M. Kul'bakin. The high school teachers were also included as members, and the activities consisted of organizing lectures in Russian language, aimed at increasing the knowledge of the members of the Russian colony on Russian language, literature, history and art, and in general, on Russian national culture. Lectures were given by professors on various topics¹⁴, including those related to Macedonia. For example, in 1921 N. L. Okunev gave a lecture *The Artistic Treasures of Macedonia* ("Ruski naučnici..." 1922, 120).

However, the first established scientific association in Macedonia was Skopje's Scientific Society (founded in 1920, registered in 1925), supported by the Serbian state and being in line of the official policy towards study of Macedonia, with target to prove the Serbian origin of the population, language and culture. The Society was founded by the first Head of the Faculty of Philosophy Tihomir Ostojić, who became first president up to his death in 1921, when Radoslav M. Grujic was given this duty (Miljković 1982, 58). The idea of establishing the Society dated back to 1914, and the founding of the Society for the Study of the

¹⁴ Among the first lectures: *Language and Thought* (by Kul'bakin), *Europe and Asia over the Centuries* (by Bicilli), *Prophecy of the Soviet Poets* (by Mitropan), etc. ("Ruski naučnici..." 1922, 120).

South, but it was formally established on 26 March 1921 (T. Ostojić – first president, S. M. Kul’bakin – vice president, and G. Novak – secretary). The Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was abolished by the Decree of the University of Belgrade in 1941 (Jovanović 2011, 39).

When speaking of humanities, scientific periodicals appeared too, focused to study Macedonia as part of Serbian culture. Thus, the journal *Južna Srbija*, published in Skopje (1922–1925), presented articles from various scientific fields and art literature. In the beginning, it was printed regularly every 15 days, but over time, the dynamics of publishing became limited (Filipović 1932, 123). But, one of the most important publications was *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva/ Bulletin de Société Scientifique de Skopje* (1925–1940), issued as a journal of the Skopje’s Scientific Society, in separate numbers: for social sciences and for natural sciences. The same association also printed the publications: *Zbornik za etnografiju i folklor Južne Srbije* and *Zbornik za istoriju Južne Srbije i susednih oblasti* (Radovanović 1937, 1008–1010). How significant it was for Serbian policy could be judged by the list of its financiers: King Alexander, the Belgrade Cooperative, the St. Sava Society, the National Bank and local government (Jovanović 2011, 36). It was dealing with the history, having the goal to ‘prove’ the Serbian origin of the Macedonian population. Nevertheless, many researchers published their findings in the journal, recording material artefacts from Macedonia, who’s texts became a kind of historical sources, especially today, taking into consideration that some of those findings have been damaged or vanished meanwhile. Already in 1927 *Južni pregled. List za nauku i književnost* was issued in Skopje too.

In the context of development education and science, library activity occupies an important place. It consisted of storage of manuscripts and books in churches and monasteries, Islamic libraries, or private libraries of wealthier families. According to some information, there were already about 20 public libraries in the cities and 27 in the villages in 1937. A library with a reading-room was opened by the City Administration in Skopje (1935),

housed in the premises of the primary school named “Car Dušan”, with a fund of 3,798 books and 46 journals (Jovanović M. 1937, 1013). This library published the first printed catalog in Macedonia (1937)¹⁵. Concerning other cities in Macedonia, Bitola should be specially mentioned, because of its tradition for public and private libraries. During this period, libraries operated within state institutions and companies, private libraries, as well as parallel illegal libraries created by students (at the Student Club, Bitola High School, Trade Academy) (Stefanovska, Ćorgievski 2009, 149-180).

Regarding the book-reading culture, it was especially cherished by the “Russian emigrants”, who brought own books when coming, and also created private and public libraries. Thus, the Russian Colony in Skopje had own Library, constantly enriching the fund. According to the Report of its Librarian to the Assembly of Russian Colony (9 February 1935), there were 2311 books and another 55 were obtained. He recorded: “The books in our library are used by Russians living in Veles, Tetovo, Leskovac, Pristina and Bogomila” (Ruskata kolonija 2015, 49). In the Report from 7 March 1937, the librarian reported a book-fund of as many as 2417 books (Ibid., 68). A library was created for the needs of Bitola Colony as well. Namely, after the construction of Russian Church, the Society “Russian Library” was registered in 1928 (renamed “Russian-Yugoslav Library” in 1929) (Stefanovska, Ćorgievski 2009, 158-65).

The institutions for preservation and study of material culture are also part of the institutional structures. The official organized collecting and holding of archive materials in Macedonia has been introduced by founding the State Archive in Skopje in

¹⁵ Other libraries in Skopje: diocesan library – 1,348 books, bishopric library – about 3,000, private library of Metropolitan Joseph – around 4,000, library at Friends of France Society – about 4,200 (Dojčinovski 2003, 174-75).

1926¹⁶, administrated by the State Archives in Belgrade. With the change of authority after the beginning of WWII and the entry of the German, Bulgarian and Italian armies, voluminous archival resources have been moved to the Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia in Belgrade or subjected to destruction (Aleksov 2006, 12-13). Equally important for the academic culture were the museums¹⁷, which began with the collection and preservation cultural and natural heritage, which further led to their scientific study. The establishment of a museum was initiated after establishment of the Faculty of Philosophy, which's collection was first housed in its building. The Historical-Archaeological Museum¹⁸ was established in 1924, and the other departments: Ethnographic-Anthropological (1925), Zoological (1926), Geological-Petrographic (1927) – creating the Museum of Southern Serbia (Miljković 1982, 40-41). This was followed by formation of Church Museum in Skopje (1931)¹⁹, City Museum of Bitola (1934), City Museum of Skopje (1935) etc.

Activities of the authorities in Macedonia were directed to its Serbization, but also to international scientific verification of those policies. An illustration could be the visit by a group of European Byzantologists (19–20 April 1927). The guests were taken to visit the monasteries in the vicinity of Skopje and the church “St. Spas” with its famous iconostasis. Most likely the Serbian views on the identity were presented to the guests, judging by the

¹⁶ A Church Archive in Skopje was established in 1913.

¹⁷ A Museum of Ohrid Archbishopric was documented on a seal from 1516 (taken to Sofia in 1916 by the Bulgarian authorities), Trade-Industrial Museum in Skopje (1907–1908), Romanian Trade Museum in Thessaloniki (1907), National Museum in Skopje, established by Serbian authorities (1914) (Miljković 1982, 15-36).

¹⁸ Lapidarium of the Archaeological Museum was housed in Kuršumli An, up today (Josifovska 1961, 5).

¹⁹ Its organizing began in 1930, in the church St. Mina (Miljković 1982, 69-75; Radovanović 1937, 1010-1011).

record in *Almanac of Municipality of Skopje*: “[...] and on that occasion they were convinced and manifested that Skopje and all southern Serbia is a treasury of endowments from the time of Serbian glory and greatness from the time of the famous Nemanjich” (Almanah 1928, 149).



Fig. 5. Building of University Library, where the Faculty was formally located



Fig. 6. National Theater in Skopje

The emigrants from the Russian Empire and the knowledge exchange

The influx of migrants from Russian Empire into the Kingdom of SCS was due to its anti-Bolshevik orientation. The biggest step was the official recognition of All-Russian Provisional Government in Omsk (April 1919), making it the only country to do so (among last to recognize the Soviet Union, June 1940), and establishing diplomatic relations with its representatives (J. D. Milanovic in Omsk, V. N. Stranddmann in Belgrade). Even after the defeat of Admiral Kolchak, Strandtman was still on the diplomat's list and played an important role regarding migration (Īovanovich 2005, 33-34). Several waves of migrants took place (1919–1923),

and some of them across the sea-roads where the defeated soldiers withdrew via Odessa and Novorosiisk to Turkey and beyond. The Kingdom was responsible for their accommodation and employment. One of the main routes for refugees to enter the Kingdom was Thessaloniki-Gevgelija. Since June 1919 there was a Committee for Reception and Assistance of Russians, in Skopje (Goševa 2010, 114). According to the 1921 census, there were a total of 20,568 people who identified themselves as Russians by speaking language, and 176 were registered in Vardar Macedonia, mainly in the cities, of which 103 in the Skopje district (Ibid., 116-118).

The activity of emigrants in the field of science in the Balkan countries, according to M. Jovanović, had three branches: “the formation of scientific associations, work in universities and schools in the Balkan countries, the organization of Russian scientific life (holding various lectures, the establishment of folk universities, etc.)” (Jovanovich 2005, 327). That statement is valid for Macedonia as well. The immigrants were organized in colonies, leaded by president. Their role was not only collecting finances and help, but also to facilitate their life and inclusion into the society. Although the name “Russian colony” was in use, the immigrants originated from all territory of Russian Empire, from different nationalities: Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Cherceians, Armenians, Georgians etc., with various occupations (officers, monahs, teachers, lawers, ingeneers, doctors, but also craftsmen, workers, etc.)²⁰.

The biggest colonies at the territory of today's Macedonian state existed in Skopje, Bitola, Štip, Tetovo, Radoviš, Kumnovo, Gevgelija, Prilep, Veles, Ohrid, Struga, Strumica, Berovo, as well

²⁰ According to some data, about 70,000 refugees fled to Yugoslavia after WWI (about 35% were civilians), and 65 percent were intelligentsia. In 1922, there were 836 engineers, 108 agronomists, 88 university professors, 370 high school teachers, 185 doctors, 401 judges and jurists, 133 lawyers, 150 musicians, painters, artists and other artists (Milenkovich 1996, 136).

as the villages Harnievo and Trubarevo near Skopje. The number of immigrants cannot be determined. According to some information, there were about 2000 in the beginning of the WWII. The most numerous was the Russian colony in Skopje, formed in 1920 (Ruskata kolonija 2015, XVII-XXI). The colony developed its activity, forming civic associations for help and support, as well as cultural and educational animation of the emigration members²¹. As the largest colony, it united immigrants of various profiles, including academic staff, which is our focus of interest. The Russian colony in Bitola began its constituting as early as 1916, due to the withdrawal of the army from the 'Macedonian front' in WWI – so called wave of "solunci" ("those from Solun", today's Thessaloniki). In the beginning mainly military personnel arrived, and the following period civilians from various professions came, even with the families²². The colony was the most numerous and active between 1920 and 1930 (estimating several hundred immigrants) (Sterjovski 2003, 47-50). Their work was especially noticeable in education, such as the teachers in Bitola high school were: Viktor V. Soljanik - Krasa (drawing), Aleksandar J. Chuhraï (history and Yugoslav literature), Viktor V. Kvachadze (religious studies and theology), Sergei M. Naumov (theology), Gregoriï V. Koshevoï (singing), Maria Muraviceva, etc. (Sterjovski 2003, 72). Equally important was the Russian colony in Stip, formed in 1919. The largest number of 150 people reached between 1920 and 1930, and some of them were key figures in the knowledge transfer. For

²¹ According to the Report of the Russian Colony (9 February 1936), Russian organizations of the City of Skopje (Russian Mother, Russian Credit Union, Workers Union, Department of the Union of Disabled, School Committee, Society for Spiritual Needs, Society of Drama Art Lovers, Cavalry Association, Russian Choir, etc.) began to act jointly with the Colony (Ibid., 45–48).

²² There were waves of emigration later too: during the persecution of the Inform Bureau and after 1956, when the relations between Yugoslavia and USSR improved (Sterjovski 2003, 49).

example, most of the teachers in the new high school were immigrants as well: Sergei Mihajlov, Ivan Feofilaktov, Aleksandar Lukijanov, Count Vladimir Viljkovski, Mikhail Glushenko, Vasil Antonov, M. E. Glinastaja, Nevena Tomlacheva and Lojze Sokolovski (Josimovska 2016, 201-202).

Speaking of the high education, the teaching at Faculty of Philosophy was held by a number of important scientists, who obtained their doctorates in major university centers (Vienna, Prague, Petrograd, Moscow, Kharkov, Paris, Krakow, Berlin, etc.), including professors from the "Russian emigration" (Jovanović 2011, 36). The majority of professors were Serbs, but also from Croatia²³ and from Russian Empire. Accordingly, one of the first lecturers at the Faculty of Philosophy was Petr Mihaïlovich Bicilli (1879–1953), born in Odessa²⁴. After emigrating in 1920, he was appointed assistant professor at the Department of History of the newly opened Faculty in Skopje, but he left for the offered position Head of the Department of New History at Sofia University in 1924 (Gerashko and Kydriavcev 2009, 58). Bicilli's creative and scientific heritage included a great number of printed works (in Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Czech, French, English,

²³ Grga Novak – historian, archaeologist, rector of the Zagreb University; Josip Matasović – historian of modern time, archivist; Milan Prelog – art historian.

²⁴ His ancestors (of Italian descent) came from Albania, one of whom succeeded in obtaining an inherited courtship after taking part in the War of 1812. He began his education at Odessa 11th Gymnasium, and graduated from the Faculty of History and Philology at the University of Novorossiysk (1905), after which he became a scholarship holder for a master's degree at the Department of History. He received his master's degree (1910) and was elected for 'privat-docent' at the Department of History, as well as a history lecturer at the Odessa Higher Courses. After defending his dissertation at the University of St.-Petersburg (1917), was elected for Lecturer and then Professor at the Department of History at the University of Novorossiysk.

Italian and German) and scientific interests from various fields, from antiquity to modern history, from West to East: history of science and education, culturology, scientific emigration, institutionalization of historical science, history of historiography, local history etc. The importance of Bicilli as a scientist led to the formation of so-called 'Bicillistudia', particularly prevalent in recent times (cf. Popova 2011, 16-30).

Nikolaï L'vovich Okunev (1886–1949)²⁵ became a professor at the Seminar on the History of the Southern Slavs at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, after he moved through Constantinople to Kingdom of SCS (1920). He held exercises in the subject of Christian art in the ancient time in Eastern Europe. According to some information, he used to teach in Russian language, because he was of the opinion that it was easier for the Macedonian students to understand Russian than Serbian language (Putiatin 2019, 322). During his stay in Skopje until 1922 (when he left to Karlo's University in Prague), he conducted research in Macedonia at Skopska Crna Gora, Marko's Monastery, the churches along the river Treska, in Nerezi, Staro Nagoričane, Psača, etc. (Vujnović 2014, 43-47).

Stepan Mihaïlovich Kul'bakin (1873–1941), born in Tiflis – a philologist, slavistics, paleograph, historian, and philosopher²⁶, was appointed as a Professor in Skopje (1920) due to his close ties to the Serbian scientist Aleksandar Belić – a former colleague

²⁵ He graduated and received a master's degree from the Faculty of History and Philology at St. Petersburg University. In 1913 he left for the position of scientific secretary at the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, as well as head of the archives and library, but the following year he returned as a research associate at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. In 1916 he taught History of Art at St. Petersburg University, and from 1918–1919 stayed in Odessa.

²⁶ He graduated at the Novorosijskiï University in Odessa, where he became Assistant Professor, then Associate Professor (1905), and a Full Professor at the University of Kharkov (1908).

from the studies in Odessa (Gudkov 1996, 168–70). In 1924, he received the title of chief professor by order of King Alexander Karadjordjević, and the following year moved to the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade (Putiatin 2019, 326).

Since the same 1924, two university professors born in Kiev began teaching at the Faculty of Philosophy. The first one was the philologist-slavist Vladimir Alekseevich Rozov (1876–1940), who was teaching Russian language till his transfer in Zagreb (1930). Speaking of the historian Alekseï Kirillovich Elachich (1892–1941), after he defended PhD thesis at the University of Ljubljana, began to teach in Skopje until his death (Putiatin 2019, 327). In 1926, Evgeniï Vasil'evich Anichkov (1866–1937), originating from the village Borovichi, began teaching several subjects: Comparative Literature, Medieval European Culture, French Literature of the 19th Century, and for Russian students – the subject Russian Literature from the Second Half of the 19th Century (Ibid., 327–28). One of the lecturers with the longest stay at the Faculty was Petr Andreevich Mitropan (1891–1941) – teaching Grammar of the Russian Language (1931–1941). Since 1920, he taught Russian language and literature at the Teachers' School in Skopje also, and was in the administration of Russian colony (Ibid., 328).

The one who remained a trace in the further development of academic culture and especially in founding the first generation of paleographers of Macedonia, was Vladimir Alekseevich Moshin (1894–1987), and was only briefly a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in 1932. He himself said that in the autumn of 1930 a competition was announced for the subject Byzantology in Skopje, and got two positive reviews, so he already taught History of Byzantium and the Roman Empire in the autumn semester. However, he was soon forced to leave, after which he returned to Skopje

only in the period from 1938 up the fall of Macedonia under Bulgarian rule (Put̃atin 2019, 328-29)²⁷.

In the context of the main topic of research on knowledge exchange with BSR, a special attention will be paid to two persons as examples. They remained in Macedonia for the rest of their lives and their influence was permanently embeded in the Macedonian culture. d-r Nikola Nezlobinski (1885–1942) – a native of Pyatigorsk (a balneological resort of the Caucasian Mineral Waters Region), a doctor who became the founder of the Natural-Scientific Museum in Struga (a historically significant Macedonian cultural center at the Lake Ohrid)²⁸. After the victory of the October Revolution, he emigrated together with his wife to the Kingdom of the SCS, and worked as a doctor in the Serbian town of Niš (1920), and municipal doctor in the Macedonian town of

²⁷ He was an academician, Byzantologist, medievalist and Slavist – born in St. Petersburg, in a family of literary and aesthetic professors. Beginning his studies at the History-Philology in Petrograd, but only after the demobilization (1918) continued studies in Kiev and joined the Volunteer Army in the Civil War. He completed his education as an emigrant in Belgrade, and his doctoral thesis in Zagreb. He transferred to the Archives of Macedonia in Skopje (1967) and stayed until his death, engaged as a Professor at the Department of History of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje (1969–1975), and a member of Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts since 1974 (Nikolovska 2009, 992).

²⁸ He was born in the family of Anton Nezlobinskiĭ – distinguished forest engineer, geologist and mineralogist (Vazagov and Sidorenko 2003, 343-99), awarded by the Orders: “St. Stanislav” 3th degree (1885) and ‘St. Anne’ (1895) (Cvetkovski i Joseska 2012, 9). The family house in Pyatigorsk was a memory place (Hachikov 2015, 8). Cf. fig. 9. N. Nezlobinskiĭ, after graduating from the Yekaterinburg real school, became a student at the Imperial Military Medical Academy in St. Petersburg and received a scholarship from the War Ministry, even awarded by the Gold Medal for his scientific work. He graduated in 1912 and began working as a doctor in the Black Sea Fleet in Odessa. Then he was first time faced with malaria in Odessa and Crimea.

Kriva Palanka (1921–1924). Only in August 1924 he became head of the “malaria station” in the small town of Struga – with poor hygiene conditions, and the illness “malaria” was a major problem (Cvetkovski i Joseska 2012, 10-20). Dr. Nezlobinsky began studying the conditions and taking measures to improve the hygiene habits of the population, by organizing digging of drainage canals to river Crni Drim in order to reduce the mosquitoes, cleaning the wells with clean water, opening the first Struga’s city bath and first laundry. He also formed an antimalarial dispensary with hospital, becoming the founder of the first medical facility in Struga. Involving emigrants and local people, contributed to knowledge exchange. For the results of the treatment, he was awarded the Order “St. Sava” 4th degree (1929) and declared an honorary citizen (Ibid., 23-32)

Dr. Nezlobinsky strongly influenced the scientific and cultural development of the region, and his merit was undeniable in applying his knowledge, being among the founders of museology in Macedonia. He participated in the collection and preparation of samples of plants and animals, and Nezlobinsky organized the first exhibition of exhibits in 1927, in one of the barracks. His collection was soon enriched, so Dr. Nezlobinsky organized a permanent museum exposition in a hospital barrack (1928), officially recognized as the Museum of Natural History, in 1937. In 1938, he took the initiative to construct a building. After WWII the museum was re-opened in 1950, and named after him up today (Cvetkovski i Joseska 2012, 46-52).

Dr. Nezlobinsky collaborated with other immigrants: Georgi Rudnev (biologist), Mikhail Makarov (electrician), Andrej Lukin (judge), Boris Bode (officer of the Imperial guard), Vladimir Davidenko (musician), etc. Regarding the social and cultural life of Struga, on his initiative, an orchestra of tambourits with 20 musicians was created in 1924 (directed by Davidenko), and later, together with a group of prominent citizens, initiated building a cultural and educational house “Sokolana” (1930). Also, he brought the first photographic camera to Struga and evidenced his scientific research of the swamp, natural landscapes, and everyday

life of people with local traditions (Ibid., 55-59). He died on 17 May 1942 (cf. fig. 7), and was buried in the alley for honorary citizens at the city cemetery.

св. Гѳрги у Струги 30 1942 год.					Протокол умирних списке православне цркве, храм				
Име поштом	Година смрти и датум	Узраст	Породица и име свекочева или свекочева	Да ли је родни поштомба и свекочева	ПРИМЕЧА	Име поштом	Година смрти и датум	Узраст	Породица и име свекочева
Незловински	1942	45	Незловински	Да	Умире у Струги	Незловински	1942	45	Незловински

Fig. 7 The record for Dr. Nezlobinski’s death in the Registry of Deaths of the Serbian Orthodox Church (the only recognized church in Macedonia then), from the church St. Gųrgi in Struga

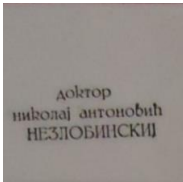


Fig. 8. Business card: ‘doktor Nikolaj Antonovič Nezlobinskij’



Fig. 9 Nezlobinski’s family house in Pyatigorsk, 2017

In the context of the knowledge transfer and development of the musical education in Macedonia²⁹, the work of Sergeĭ Nikolaevich Mihaĭlov (1885–1975) should be underlined. This music pedagogue, composer, arranger, conductor and director was born in Kharkov, in a wealthy family³⁰. He arrived in Macedonia in 1921, first staying in Kavadarci and then as a teacher in Gevgelija. But, his main merit was connected with the town of Štip, where he first arrived in 1924 for the performance of his operetta for children *Ružica*. He developed a rich musical activity, mostly including pedagogical activity for students and teachers (trainings for teachers, instrumentalists, and orchestras). In addition to composing and performing his own personal compositions, he directed operas and operettas (*The Barber of Seville*, *Faust*, *Gaysha*, and *Mazemel Nitush*). Even he set up the first opera in Macedonia (Ruggero Leoncavallo's opera *Pagliacci*), which's premiere happened on 29 August 1925 in the Home of Officers in Štip. S. Mihajlov also collaborated with the mixed amateur choir "Jedinstvo", prepared spiritual academies by choirs from the primary and high school, the orchestra of the high school and the tambourine orchestra "Napredok", and engaged to establish a city orchestra of blowing instruments. Due to his knowledge and experience, he became a manager of the Theater (1929–1936) and director of the Lower music school after WWII. Because of his merits for city musical and cultural life, the Secondary Music School

²⁹ On the development of musical cultural-artistic organizations in the interwar period cf. Didenko 2019, 50-66.

³⁰ He received a musical education at early age, graduated from the private school for piano and string instruments of Eleonora Lesevitska, studied piano with the pianist Boris Varlamov, and for some time studied with the Czech composer and pianist Alojz Jiranek. He received his higher education at the Military Academy of the First Cavalry Guard in Petrograd and graduated from the Higher Music Academic Department of Composition and Conducting in Kharkov (Mladenovski 2011, 277-78).

was named after him, in 2005. In fact, he was one of the initiators of opening the Lower and Secondary Music School, paving the foundation of today's Faculty for Music Art in Štip (Josimovska 2016, 202-208).

Emigration to the Balkans was largely made up of about 70 percent of men, but the remaining 30 percent were women who played a variety of roles. Unfortunately, modern authors have hardly paid attention to them, mainly because of the traditional attitude towards women. There were some specifics of women in exile. Although they were mostly engaged in the traditional roles, due to the changed conditions women were getting employed, forming associations, and engaging in various social activities. In the Kingdom, women were organized in charitable associations with activities related to child and women's care. But, women expressed their emancipation in art and theater, as doctors, owners of small companies, etc. And since most women were members of high society, they brought with them incomprehensible things for the Balkans, such as beauty salons. However, one of the main female role remained teacher and female education in general (cf. Ćovanovich 2005, 406-12).

Regarding women professors and female education, according to some data, the Faculty in Skopje was called "female" due to the large percentage of female students (75–80 percent). Thus, in 1929 there were only 18 male students (Jovanović 2011, 27). For example, Elena Aleksandrovna Oshanina (1905–1992) was a graduate at the Faculty of philosophy in Skopje, who began to teach there from 1930 up to the WWII, when she left to Bulgaria (Putiatin 2019, 328). According to the List of persons (14 July 1930) nominated for lecturers at the Faculty, she was appointed Assistant in the subject General and National History (Ruskata kolonija 2015, 655). Already in the Report for the academic year 1933/34, she was an assistant at several seminars: History of the Southern Slavs, History of the New Century and History of the Middle Ages (Ibid., 683). In fact, she was the only woman among Faculty teaching staff.

Despite the fact that the role of men in all professions and society was dominant, the women also brought an education and knowledge. The roles of refugee women as well as local women have undergone changes in the society. On the one hand, Russian women with higher emancipation have influenced the local traditional women. At the same time they experienced own achievements, so due to the situation of uncertainty, they were forced to start participating more actively in the social life (employment, education, civic engagement). For example, Sofia Nezlobinska (1888–1953) the wife of Nikolai Nezlobinsky, originally from Georgia, was a musicologist, who graduated from the St. Petersburg Conservatory of the Imperial Russian Music Society (1912). Upon her arrival in Struga, she assisted in the Malaria Hospital, but also in the 1930s she formed a vocal choir (operating until 1941). After the WWII she worked as a professor of Russian and French, re-establishing the choir (Cvetkovski, Joseska 2012, 68-72).

Immigrants also included noble women. For example, Elisaveta Savchenko (a noble, well educated, a distant descendant of Catherine the Great) was working as a music pedagogue in Bitola all her life. In 1995 she recalled her meeting the empress Maria Fyodorovna:

She invited me to her lodge and gave me a candy bar, you know, then there were such specially made boxes. She asked me questions and said to the woman who was accompanying me: I want this child, at my expense, to learn music! - She is rich! – they said to her, she comes from Katalinich! Then I began to study with Professor Puhalskiĭ. (Sterjovski 2003, 63-64)

And here is one woman's personal testimony of arriving in Skopje. Lidija Mihajlovna Iraklidi (Soloveva), born in Chisinau (1893), graduated from Odessa University (studying languages and a conservatory) testified:

I was 27 years old – I lived in Odessa. And that city used to go from hand to hand 18 times: the whites, the reds, the Ukrainians, the Germans, the French, the Greeks [...] It's

all impossible for us anymore”. They managed to get on a steamer, thinking it will sail for Malta and Egypt, but they were told that they’ll go to Yugoslavia. Arriving in Skopje, the next day they should leave for Belgrade, but decided to stay due to the loss of the gold and money they brought with them.

We stopped in the middle of Tsar Dušan bridge³¹, and I see: Šara Mountain, all under the snow [...] shining ... the sky is dark blue and sapphirine, the almond blossoms – whole clouds are pink, women with a veil pass by, men in fezes. I was seized with laughter, saying: – Now that we’ve lost everything, let’s stay here, let’s enjoy these beauties!

We lived in Skopje for three years. I was easily employed, as I knew five languages. I served in a bank, and my husband – in a library. (Borisovich 2019, 129-30)

Impact to society and everyday life

The immigrants were integrated in all spheres of everyday life in Macedonian towns, incorporating some lasting values, which are still visible today. This is illustrated by the following two examples. Thus, the building of “Hotel Jadran”, famous as “Arapska kuća” (Arabic House) still stands near the central Macedonia Square (see fig. 12). This facility was owned by the Armenian merchant brothers Dikidjiyan. According to the urban legend, it was built by Agap Dikidjiyan as a gift to his bride Agavani (1936–1938). The design featured a pseudo-Mauro style – facade adorned with decorative plastic, windows with oriental broken arches, stained glass decoration, balconies with staircase captains, two flat roof towers, as well as interior decoration and wrought-

³¹ Serbs call it “Dušan’s bridge”, believing that the medieval tsar Dušan was crowned there after conquering Macedonia. But, it is the “Stone Bridge” from 6th century, an important memory place. For example, the leader of the anti-Ottoman uprising (1689) Karpoš (allegedly appointed king by the Austrian emperor) was killed there.

iron garden at the back of the building. This palace was a work of the architect Ivan G. Artemushkin³², who used to design many private and public buildings.

Another interesting way of influence to the local culture and economy was the so called “Ohrid pearl”. According to the legend, only two families in Ohrid know the secret for its production. It’s claimed that the pearl craft in Ohrid began when the immigrant Jovan Subanovich came to Ohrid, who used to create pearls in the homeland near Lake Baikal in Russia. He managed to convert the old formula for making an emulsion according to the resources of the Lake Ohrid – from the small, endemic fish “Ohrid plašica”. He started making pearls with the Talevi family in 1924 (selling them the secret formula for 25 napoleons), and also gave the formula to the Filevi family in 1928, as a gesture of gratitude (Mitrovik Babe and Miševa 2016, 49-51). Subanovich himself faced financial problems and addressed the Ohrid district chief in 1927, stressing the importance of his invention:

I would like to inform all the authorities that my “invention” of artificial pearl is the most perfect to date – which you can easily be convinced of ... The export and consumption of shells is in great demand in the German, Czech, Italian and French markets. These countries are now supplied by Russia and Japan. If the production of artificial pearls and exports were to be organized on a large scale, the whole of this area would be enriched, as a large part of the population would be employed in workshops. (Ibid., 52)

Unfortunately, the state was not interested in that, but merchants from Skopje and Bitola began to buy and trade, so the name “Ohrid pearl” was formed in the 1930s and remained up today.

³² We find Ivan Artemushkin in a petition to the Court of the Skopje Municipality (12 June 1920), requesting an approval to settle in Skopje and engage in “trade and industrial affairs” (Ruskata kolonija 2015, 303).

The image shows two pages of a handwritten ledger in Macedonian. The left page is headed 'Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija' and lists several entries with amounts in denars (D) and leva (L). The right page is headed 'Biserdzija' and continues the list. The handwriting is in Cyrillic script.

Entry	Amount (D)	Amount (L)
1. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	150	
2. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	100	
3. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	20	300
4. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	450	
5. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	100	200
6. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
7. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	350	
8. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
9. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
10. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
11. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
12. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
13. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
14. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
15. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
16. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
17. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
18. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
19. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
20. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
21. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
22. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
23. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
24. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
25. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
26. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
27. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
28. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
29. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
30. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
31. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
32. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
33. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
34. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
35. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
36. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
37. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
38. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
39. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
40. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
41. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
42. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
43. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
44. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
45. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
46. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
47. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
48. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
49. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
50. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
51. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
52. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
53. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
54. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
55. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
56. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
57. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
58. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
59. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
60. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
61. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
62. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
63. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
64. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
65. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
66. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
67. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
68. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
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71. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
72. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
73. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
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75. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
76. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
77. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
78. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
79. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
80. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
81. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
82. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
83. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
84. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
85. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
86. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
87. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
88. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
89. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
90. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
91. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
92. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
93. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
94. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
95. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
96. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
97. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
98. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
99. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	
100. Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija	300	

Fig. 10 A list of loans (1930) by “Jovo Subanovich Biserdzija” (pearl maker) in the *Trade diary* of Nikola German from Ohrid The records were written in Macedonian language



Fig. 11 The Bookstore of “Kl. Stefanovic and P. Germanovic” in Ohrid, and “Kole German” (a short name from Nikola, recorded on the back)



Fig. 12. Hotel Jadran or “Arapska kuća” in Skopje

Impact to the first generations of Macedonian academics

Regardless of the situation in society and politics towards “proving” the Serbian origin of the people and language of Macedonia, the foundations for the future independent Macedonian academics have emerged. Some of the students from the Faculty of Philosophy became the founders of academic culture in the Macedonian state, such as the case of Vera Kličкова, graduated in 1934, and invited even as a student as a “demonstrator” at the Seminar on Ethnology, was associated with the beginnings of Macedonian ethnology as a museum activity (Malinov 2018, 107-108)³³. Also, creators in the field of music and art appeared and formed the first generations of Macedonian academic artists, choirs and academic choirs were formed. Speaking of cultural institutions, the National Theater “King Aleksandar I” (cf. fig. 6) was established in 1927³⁴. This was the time when modern artists layed the foundations of academic music (Stefan Gajdov, Trajko Prokopiev, Todor Skalovski, Petre Bogdanov-Kočko, Panče Pešev etc.), academic painting³⁵ (Dimitar Avramovski, Lazar Ličenovski, Nikola Martinovski, Toma Vladimirski, etc.), sculptore (Dimče Todorovski) etc. (Trajanovski 2008, 477-79).

The state policy on culture and education was based on the view that the Macedonian language was a “dialect of the Serbian language”, by analogy with Serbian politics since 19th century, so

³³ Some graduates became lecturers and researchers of geography: Atanasije Urošević and Jovan F. Trifunoski, Todor Kondev etc. (Madžević et al. 2008, 28-40).

³⁴ First modern theater in Skopje was built in 1906 during the reign of Mehmed Shefhet-Pasha (educated at the Berlin Military Academy), and the first tenant was an Italian Moreni (Dojčinovski 2003, 180-81).

³⁵ On “zografts” (fresco-painters and icon-painters) and Debar-Mijak School of Zografts cf. Cvetkovski 2018, 89–110. Dimitar A. Papradiški (1859–1954) is the last Macedonian ‘zograft’, and first profane (non-religious) painter.

it was officially in use in public life, including the schools and press. However, the efforts at Sebianization did not influence the emergence of Macedonian literary works, as Victor Friedman claims, “can attest to the fact that their language is extremely close to what became the codified standard” (Friedman 2015, 189-91). Regardless of socio-political and cultural trends, the Macedonians were finding ways to express. In fact, it was a time of breakthrough in the written Macedonian language and also literature created in other languages. Representing the beginnings of contemporary literature, significant authorial works were published, such as printed and staged plays and comedies in Macedonian language (*Runaway Girl* by Vasil Iljoski, *Migrants for Work* by Anton Panov, *The Money Can Kill* and *A Million Martyrs* by Risto Krle, etc.); some anthological poetic works (*White Dawns* by Kočo Racin, as well as *Spring is Coming* and *Macedonian Bouquet* by Volče Naumčeski); as well as those in Serbian language, equally important for the literary history: *Fields of Rise* by Ceko Stefanov Popivanov, *Song-book* by Toma Smiljanik-Bradina etc. The Macedonian language was also cultivated through associations: Cultural and Educational Association “Vardar” in Zagreb, Belgrade and Skopje (1935–1938), Society for Literature, Poetry and Criticism (‘LIPIK’) in Skopje (1927–1929), Literary Group (1931–1933) and Macedonian Youth Revolutionary Organization (‘MORO’) in Skopje (1933–1934) (Ristovski 2008)³⁶.

As a result of the politics in the interwar period, the education of Macedonians continued to take place in different countries and languages. Thus, the tendency and attempts to create conditions for cultural and national development in Macedonia have taken place through the actions of Macedonians mainly in emigra-

³⁶ Among the most important newspapers were *Luč* (1937) and *Naša reč* (1939-1941), with open discussions on socio-political problems, as well as articles on history, culture and art (Mokrov 1980, 384-86, 389-91).

tion. But, when speaking of the question on the emerging of institutional structures of education and science, it concerns the territory of today's Macedonian state. The migration of academic elites in the interwar period produced a flow of knowledge exchange, and this paper was focused to the impact that knowledge exchange with BSR emigration had within the first research and training facilities and the Macedonian academic culture. The role of the immigration was exceptional, and the influence was evident through the first academic facilities, some of them were the first professors and founders of education units, as well as their active involvement in the society. Given the mechanism of self-protection of the native population in contact with newcomers, the immigrants from the Russian Empire were generally well accepted by the Macedonians³⁷. The non-acceptance was mostly aimed at Serbian immigrants within the policy of the Kingdom for colonization (cf. Apostolov 1966) and denationalization of Macedonia. There has been a resistance to institutions and associations aimed at imposing the "Greater Serbia idea". But, regardless of politics, institutional structures of science emerged and could be considered as predecessors of the independent Macedonian academic institutions. Despite the historical circumstances of development under foreign domination and lack of Macedonian state, it was a time of income of knowledge, which became valuable for academic institutions, further having influence after the establishment of the independent Macedonian state and culture.

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³⁷ On the topic of "Russian"/ "white" emigration in Macedonian contemporary novels, cf. Kulavkova 2017, 93-111.

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ROMANIAN NATIONAL MUSEUMS IN THE FIRST PART OF THE 20th CENTURY – BETWEEN WESTERN INFLUENCES AND LOCAL PARTICULARITIES

Maria Mateoniu-Micu

Abstract: The present article refers to how the most important national museums in Romania appeared and developed in the first half of the 20th century, recalling only the events that took place at the end of the 19th century or in the period after World War II, with the establishment of the communist regime. It is the period of national values maximum affirmation, which will also affect the museums' mission and their functioning, the programs for setting up collections and exhibiting objects. Above the centralized and uniform tendency of the new nation-state, the relative diversity of the museographic initiatives is important, belonging to personalities strongly anchored in the cultural and political environment of the time, prepared at the most prestigious western institutions.

Introduction

Among the first national museums established in Romania, the most important socially and culturally were the folk art, ethnographic and social museums. Beyond the common mission of contributing to the affirmation of national identity, the programs of these museums were quite different. We are dealing with a quite large variety of museography understanding ways on domains, indicating relatively different perceptions of the peasant world, of the attributed role to the peasant and the Romanian village.

Two types of museums are distinguished by a first analysis, pavilion and open-air museums. Among the pavilions, we can distinguish the “Association” Museum in Sibiu, established by the ASTRA association in 1905, the Ethnographic, National, Decorative and Industrial Art Museum in Bucharest, established in 1906

by Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaș, subsequently referred to as the National Art Museum and the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania, in Cluj, founded by Romulus Vuia in 1923. The important museums of the second category of outdoor museums are the Ethnographic Park in Hoia, Cluj, initiated by the same Romulus Vuia, in 1929, and the Village Museum in Bucharest, established in 1936, in the Herastrau park “Carol II”, by Dimitrie Gusti.

We will, therefore, try to detail how these museums appeared and developed in the public space, the similarity and differentiation of their museographic programs, the role of the museum founders in the socio – political context of their time. Among the particular aspects pursued is the connection between the central museums, considered of national importance and the regional ones, the relation of the first museum directors with the state’s high-level authorities, the preponderance of the individual creative strategies to the detriment of the collective ones.

Preamble

At the end of the World War I, Romania considerably enlarged its territories by joining the Old Kingdom of Transylvania, Northern Bucovina, and Basarabia. The Romanian state proclamation, unitary and independent, through the popular assembly from Alba Iulia, on December 1, 1918, was a part of a whole series of political achievements: the Romanian Principalities unification, Wallachia and Moldova in 1859, the monastery estates’ secularization in 1863, the peasants’ emancipation and the agrarian reform of 1864, the national independence from the Ottoman power in 1877, the proclamation of Romania as kingdom in 1881. These political achievements were also accompanied by a relative economic flourishing, but especially by a rise in the cultural level in

support of the current of national affirmation. If Spiru Haret¹ was the craftsman of broad reform in education, especially by introducing compulsory primary education, Titu Maiorescu², around the society “Junimea”, created the framework for debating ideas in the cultural field. The national affirmation movement covered all cultural fields, from literature, philosophy, to artistic creations. Towards the end of the 19th century, the late Neo-Romanian style appeared also in architecture, capitalizing on the reminiscences of the specific boyar and monastery architecture. In this cultural turmoil, the idea of a national museum was born, as expected, as a place of preservation and representation of specific national material values. The “ethnographic” museums seem to embody these values, as a natural consequence of the Romanian intelligence contact with the “West”, especially with the academic and cultural environment in Germany, France, England, Italy, Spain, and the USA.

While in France and England, since the late 18th century, museums have appeared with “inherited” art objects from the “old regime” but also antiques museums or those valuing the art of so-called “primitive populations” (Choay 1992), coming from colonies, the antique and folk art museums especially stood out in Germany, as a crown of the valorization of their own culture and the search for ancestral origins (*Volskunde*). The popular culture thus appeared as a distinct field, of “soul” search and understanding of the “German people” by collecting and capitalizing on various cultural manifestations, from songs and dances, traditions and specific customs, to vernacular architecture and objects with artis-

¹ Spiru Haret (1851–1912) was mathematician, astronomer and politician. As politician, during his three terms as Minister of Education, Haret ran deep reforms, building the modern Romanian education system.

² Titu Maiorescu founded the association “Junimea” in 1863, which brought together the most outstanding personalities of the time. The association turned into a real stream of thought around the ideas of preserving national values.

tic valences (Chiva 1993, XI). This domain evolved from the Romantic Herderian vision of the peasant environment, with a greater attention paid to nature and the natural, popular mythology and the picturesque rural landscape, towards an organicist and evolutionary vision of the society, including subsequently the positivist approach of preservation and museification of country artifacts and museums thus the emergence of the folk art sub-domain: Volkskunst (Bausinger 1993). Thereby, the tendency of ‘material objectification’ stood out of what had hitherto been asserted only in the immaterial form of fairy tales and folk songs (Bausinger 1993, 50). In a period when the people were mostly represented by peasants, the popular culture referred exclusively to this category, perceived as carrying ancestral values.

In pre-war and inter-war Romania, eminently rural (over 80% of the population lived in villages), the field of popular culture was imposed by itself as the national idea foundation. For the Romanian intelligence, creator of the national discourse, the peasant appeared as an inner Other (Hedeşan and Mihăilescu 2006, 188), keeper of cultural archaicity and authenticity, and the peasant community as a core, a fundamental unit of the nation. As in the Germanic countries, the archetypal image of the peasant was first to be drawn by capitalizing on the immaterial folklore creations, so that, towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, it will stand out through the artifacts’ collection and the museums’ creation.

The beginnings

The first Romanian museums were not the “ethnographic” ones, but those of antiques collections and natural sciences. The first museographic initiatives were rather oriented to the East and not to the West, appearing at an early age when Romania did not yet exist as a state, and the idea of a nation of its own was still in its infancy. In 1934, the ban Mihalache Ghica, brother of the rulers Grigore and Alexandru Ghica, donated to the state his antiques collection, which had been first exhibited in his houses. Mihalache Ghica was a great past lover, becoming an active member of the

Society of History and Antiques, founded in 1839 based in Odesa. The “Museum of Natural History and Antiques” aimed, as its founder states, “the enlightenment of our nation” was located in the rooms of the Saint Sava College in Bucharest (where the University of Bucharest is today), being placed under the authority of the National School Eforie. His collections included both geological, faunistic pieces including stains, mollusks, teeth, and fossil bones, as well as atheological objects, among which 1258 Roman, Greek, Byzantine coins, but also ancient stone monuments. Being in the need of a “prefect” (“epistate”) to handle the scientific and administrative good work of the newly established museum, The Schools’ Eforia addressed the National School Eforia’s director, Petrache Poienaru, to fill this function as well. He rejected the proposal, Prince Alexandru Ghica appointing Dr. Zukăr as the first curator of the museum (Păunescu 2007).

Two aspects are to be remembered from this first story, firstly the curiosities office character this first museum had, comprising both natural and ancient objects, indicating not only the collector’s concern but also the stage at which the museography was at that time. Then, the ruler’s family role in the museum’s constitution, the highly personalized relations, in which the function cumulation not only did not shock anyone but the taking over of a state function could not be occupied otherwise, except by proposing the most prestigious ones. These aspects are maintained even after the First World War, the museums in scientific fields appeared gradually and with considerable weight.

At one point the Museum of Saint Sava changed its title, beginning to be called the National Museum, relevant in this regard was one of the 1846 reports addressed by the Eforia School of the ruler in which this new title appeared and by which guardian aid was requested as a result of growing collections (Păunescu 2007). A decisive moment for the Romanian museography is November 25, 1864, when, by a royal decree signed by Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the National Museum of Antiques was established, with its headquarters in the University, which gradually began to

collect ethnographic objects, in addition to antiques (Popovăț 1999, 18).

Unfortunately, the National Museum of Antiques was kept until late at a curiosity office stage. Objects from different eras and backgrounds were exposed in an unpleasant way that caused the young museum curator Alexandru Tzigara-Samurçaș, who had just returned from studies abroad, to conclude in one of his first pleadings that “there cannot be a bigger Babylon, nor a more monstrous mixture” (Tzigara-Samurçaș 1989, 171). This seems to be the beginning of Al. Tzigara Samurçaș, the one who later founded the National Art Museum, asserting the public space as a specialist in the field of art and museography.

In 1893, supported by Alexandru Odobescu, Tzigara-Samurçaș had obtained a scholarship that would allow him his first internship abroad, in Munich, “to specialize in the technical side of museum works” (Tzigara-Samurçaș 1991, 105). Odobescu recommended that he should attend the courses of Professor Heinrich von Brunn, an innovator in the field of museums and an “archaeological worthy of the time”. Having the misfortune, as he stated, to no longer be able to hear Brunn, who died a short time ago, he “compensated” by following the courses of Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (Tzigara-Samurçaș 1987, 158).

These details are important regarding Tzigara-Samurçaș training to understand his vision of popular culture. Art historian and director of the National Museum in Munich, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl was the one who laid the foundations of popular culture as an “organic theory of the society” (Bausinger 1993, 54-64), correlating the mythological origins of the nation with the positivist fervor of collecting objects. The “national idea”, as it appeared in the writings of the German professor, does not reside in the search for the abyssal depths of the past but is inscribed at present, as a structure of what he called “the personality of the people” (Bausinger 1993, 54). Riehl was the first to raise the field of popular culture to the rank of “lived science” by which it was possible to examine “from a different angle, the whole of the ecclesiastical, artistic, scientific, political life of the nation, which was reflected

even in the popular tradition (Volkstum)” (Bausinger 1993, 59). This was the vision that Samurcaș will share and which we could find throughout his writings.

After he studied with the German professors, including Riehl, in 1896, Tzigara-Samurcaș held his doctorate, in Art history, at the same university in Munich. Returning in the country, the young Tzigara-Samurcaș could not fail to notice the fall of the National Museum of Antiques. It was the moment when he published the plea in favor of another type of museum, organized by scientific criteria, which would bring to the fore the knowledge acquired abroad. But, being in open conflict with the director of the National Museum of Antiques, his hierarchical head, the archaeological professor G. Tocilescu, Tzigara-Samurcaș chose to resign from his position as custodian and to return abroad to complete his training. After studying trips to Italy and France, he settled for a while in Berlin, where he worked as a volunteer in the largest German museums, at the Kunstgewerbe museum, taking part in the new organization and cataloging collections (Tzigara-Samurcaș 1987, 163-194). Upon his return to the country, Tzigara-Samurcaș was a substitute teacher, first teaching French and later teaching art history and aesthetics at the School of Fine Arts in Bucharest, which, in any case, was below his training level. This would not prevent him from spreading his knowledge by publishing some pleadings in favor of an artistic revival, especially of popular art, and especially in favor of setting up a National Museum following the model of the most established museums abroad, first and foremost, according to the model of the German museums.

As a natural consequence of the repeated pleadings, published mainly in the magazine *Convorbiri Literare* (n.t. Literary Talks), a few years later, he managed, belonging to a current of conservative thinking about the culture, which was dominant at the time, to be named director of the new Ethnographic Museum, of National, Decorative and Industrial Art. The new museum was set up by the decision of the Minister of Cults and Public Instruction, on October 1st, 1906, having its headquarters in the former

state's monetary building (Popovăț 1999, 37). Later the name of the museum was shortened to the National Art Museum, considering the qualification of 'national art' as encompassing all the others (Tzigara-Samurcaș 1987, 164).

The National Art Museum in Bucharest

Shortly after its establishment, Samurcaș opened three exhibition halls, limiting the art to the peasant art "which up to now, he argued, no one had thought of collecting" (Tzigara-Samurcaș 1991, 225): a room dedicated to wooden artworks, having as a centerpiece the house of the peasant Antonie Mogoș from the Ceauru village, Gorj county, a room of fabrics, with bark, carpets, wipes and costumes, and another room with ceramics. The objects were systematized, thus, according to the material from which they were made, coming from several areas of the Kingdom, but also from the other Romanian historical provinces that were outside the then borders of Romania, especially from Transylvania and Basarabia. The big surprise offered to the public was the exhibition of Mogoș's house, a complete construction, exhibited in a pavilion museum. For this kind of exhibition, Samurcaș had as his model "the precious exhibition of the whole altar in Pergam and the monumental Roman and Assyrian gates of the new Museum in Berlin". This was the famous "Kaiser-Friedrich Museum" that Samurcaș knew very well during his internship in Berlin. According to Samurcaș's plans, the three rooms already set up represented only one of the sections of the National Art Museum, the popular culture one, the museum had to "encompass all the artistic manifestations of the Romanian people together". Tzigara-Samurcaș's mission was to demonstrate what many denied, namely the existence of an "earth art", specific to the Romanian nation, which would become an occasion of pride for both the elite and the people (Tzigara-Samurcaș 1987, 324).

Showing the specific artifacts of the Romanian territory and raising them to the rank of artistic works meant the guarantor of the Romanian nation's entry into the select club of powerful, civilized nations. Without this cultural originality and authenticity

certificate, the risk was, Tzigara-Samurcaș kept telling us, to stay at the level of wild populations. The “earth art”, in Tzigara-Samurcaș’s vision, would have included both the architectural elements of the boyar houses, the monasteries murals and the icons, but also the peasant art objects, embodying the talent and perfection of the people from the villages. The collection and exhibition effort made by Samurcaș was a colossal one, given the financial difficulties, but also the lack of staff employed in the Museum. We could understand this only if we analyze the steps taken to purchase Mogoș’s house. The house was dismantled, transported with ox carts to the train station in Tg-Jiu and then by train to Bucharest, later reassembled in the museum by the peasant craftsman himself, the one who owned and built it in his youth, with his own hands. In addition to these difficulties in purchasing the objects, there were even greater difficulties in building a museum-appropriate headquarters. Although from the beginning of establishing the Museum, the authorities agreed on the need to build a special space for it, designating Nicolae Ghica-Budești with the architectural plans’ execution, the works were delayed. In January 1908, in one of the most beautiful pleadings, entitled suggestively “Are we worthy of a National Museum?”, Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaș drew attention to the need for a new headquarters for the National Art Museum, even if a Museum of natural sciences and a geology one had already been built and under the conditions in which our neighbors, the Hungarians and the Bulgarians, were already proud of national art museums (Tzigara-Samurcaș 1987, 203-212).

Another five years from Samurcaș’s plea would pass until the building’s works began. The foundation stone of the National Art Museum was laid on 17.06.1912 (Popovăț 1999, 63). Based on the plans of the architect Ghica-Budești, the building was to be built in a Neo-Romanian style, reminiscent of Byzantine ecclesial architecture. The choice of this style was in full agreement with the specificity of “earthly art”, both ecclesial and popular. But when the works were opened, no one would have imagined that they would not be finished even after 40 years. The “Road muse-

um” will be built hardly, crossing numerous syncope, its destiny proving symptomatic for the whole recent history of Romania. On October 1st, 1930, however, the southern body of the Museum was opened to the public, with three sections: ceramics, fabrics, and wood, which did not lack the famous Mogoș house. The objects exhibited on a surface of 480 square meters represented only 4% of the existing collection amounting to 14.000 objects (Popovăț 1999, 73). On the other hand, one of Samurcaș’s priorities immediately after the establishment of the National Art Museum was the collection and acquisition of objects, only after the elaboration of a management and cataloging system.

Museographic Stringencies

“Most of the great museums escaped from the first phase of gathering or collecting objects”, says Al. Tzigara-Samucăș, “and now they are taking care of the selection and especially of the new exhibition of the objects collected during the time because the museums have changed their meaning completely by now. Instead of museum deposits, which were sometimes merely art cemeteries, modern museums tend to become living organisms, playing an increasingly important role in people’s education. The target of today’s museums is to shape the public’s artistic taste and consequently, the collections must be so constituted, to be able to offer each one something interesting and instructive. To penetrate the beauty of art is and must remain the final purpose of visiting museums. But in addition to tightening the sense of beauty, the objects admired stir other feelings, enriching the viewer’s imagination with many useful lessons. Today’s society, which is so rapidly breaking down, single museums can still hold the uneducated and destructive forces of the human being in their pursuit [...] By highlighting the secular efforts of humanity and the values of continuity and tradition, as well as by developing the local past, museums exalt and even cultivate the national feeling. But in addition to this limited role, the great museums also have an atmosphere of international synthesis, by displaying in the universal art field, the various states of mind and feelings, which brings together even the

most debated politicians. All these high missions, museums can only accomplish them in keeping with the new rhythm of today's life". (Tzigara-Samurcaș 1987, 318-319)

This fragment contains the entire museographic and scientific vision of Tzigara-Samurcaș. It is a vision based on the idea of culture and civilization organicity to be stored in living museums. Museums should no longer be cemeteries for artifacts, but cultural temples, for education and aesthetic and patriotic cultivation, for displaying beauty, but also for the traditional civilization continuity.

What is interesting is the importance of local museums' awareness, the feeling of national imprint appearing not on the evacuation of the premises but by affirming it. On the other hand, the assertion of national values should not divide, but unite, museums being forced to maintain the "atmosphere of international synthesis". And indeed, Samurcaș asserted himself by participating in the highest scientific and cultural events of the time (Tzigara-Samurcaș 1987, 164-165). He enjoyed international recognition, among the cultural events in which he participated were: the international carpet exhibition at the Louvre Museum in Paris from June-September 1927, the First international congress of popular art under the auspices of the League of Nations, organized in Prague, between 7-13 October 1928, the exhibition in Barcelona inaugurated on 4th of October 1929 (Tzigara-Samurcaș 2003, 312). Of the 12 exhibitions organized abroad, Al. Tzigara-Samurcaș considered the one in Barcelona 'the best of all points of view' (Tzigara-Samurcaș 2003, 312). Romania received 62 Grand Prix, 51 honor diplomas, 49 gold medals, 14 silver, 8 bronze and 21 contributor diplomas (Tzigara-Samurcaș 2003, 319). Tzigara-Samurcaș also participated at the Second congress of folk art held from August 14th to September 1st, 1930, in Belgium, in the cities of Brussels, Antwerp and Liège, where he was elected vice-president. On Tzigara-Samurcaș interventions, a section of Romanian folk art was inaugurated in 1933 at the Ethnography Museum in the Trocadero Palace. At the end of the same year, Samurcaș held lectures in the amphitheater of the Institute of Geography in

Paris and the auditor's room at the Ethnology Society led by Levy Brühl (Tzigara-Samurcaș 2003, 319).

The fight that Tzigara-Samurcaș led for the lifting of the National Museum in Bucharest, which was to bring together the most important works of art in every corner of the country, did not prevent him from campaigning for the local museums' support, which he considered extremely important in saving the peasant art (Tzigara-Samurcaș 2003, 321). The successes in the plan of collecting peasant objects, as well as the promotion of folk art outside the country, would not be strong enough to convince the political decision-makers to grant the necessary funds to finish the building's works for the National Art Museum. The causes for delaying these works were diverse, from the difficulties caused by Romania's involvement in the Balkan Wars and World War I, to the controversial person who became Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaș.

Belonging to a boyar descent both on the paternal and maternal lines, Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaș is a philo-german, belonging to the conservative political and cultural group (Tzigara-Samurcaș 2003, 312). During the German occupation, Tzigara-Samurcaș accepted the position of prefect of the capital's police. Despite his active role in saving the capital's assets from robbery and destruction, this function would bring him, after the war was over, the opposition and denigration of his political opponents. Despite accusations of collaborationism, Samurcaș did not give up the post of director of the National Art Museum. The price paid was the *sine-die* delay of the construction works of the building. It is difficult to believe, however, that the situation would have been different if he had resigned from the post of director, had the museum building been lifted faster, or, on the contrary, had he completely abandoned every project of raising a National Art Museum.

The destiny of the National Art Museum is symptomatic for the conflicts and misunderstandings among the Romanian inter-war elites, of the virulent polemics that marked the belonging not only to various currents of thought but also to opposing power groups. Things seem to have been different beyond the Carpathi-

ans, in Transylvania, where, in the museographic field, “the situation, as Al. Tzigara-Samurcaș had noticed, is the exact opposite than in the capital of Romania” (Tzigara-Samurcaș 1987, 315).

The “Association” Museum

We must mention that the first Romanian museum of ‘ethnography’ was not the one inaugurated in Bucharest in 1906, but the Museum in Sibiu opened on August 19, 1905. The initiative of the Association “Astra” – Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People, would remain in history under the short title of the “Association” Museum.

Founded on October 23, 1861, the “Astra” Association was the most active organization of Romanians in Transylvania, which was at that time under Austro-Hungarian ownership. The actions organized by it were among the most diverse, from actions to encourage education in Romanian, to preserve traditions through the organization of exhibitions and festive holidays, to political demands regarding the recognition of Transylvanian Romanians. The museum appeared as a crown of these actions, having as a model the already constituted museums of Saxons, Hungarians, and Szeklers. The proposal to establish a Museum of the Association was made at a general meeting held in Mediaș in 1897. The project was to establish a “National House” that would include “a historical museu””, “an ethnographic museum”, a library, the offices of the association, a festive hall and 6 other rooms for other needs of the association (Voinea 2011, 74-80). They would quickly undertake the collection of donations for the building’s construction and the objects’ procurement.

It is worth noting the speed with which the museum was built. On February 9th, 1903 the competition for the architectural plan was opened, the project of the architects Iosif Schuschnigg and Gustav Maetz was chosen, and in the autumn of 1904, the new construction already housed the offices and the library (Grama 2000, 110-111). The way the works for the rising of the Museum in Sibiu were situated was at the opposite pole to the situation in which things will happen with the National Museum of Art in

Bucharest, a difference that Alexandru Tzigara-Samurçaş himself would have noticed. The speed with which the building for the museum was built was remarkable, but not as remarkable as the action of collecting and presenting the objects from the art historian Samurçaş's point of view (Tzigara-Samurçaş 1987, 315).

Transylvanian "ethnographic" museography was fully affirmed from a scientific point of view after the unification of Transylvania with Romania, leaping national claims to professionalizing the work of museum collection, research, and exhibition.

The Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania and the Ethnographic Park of Hoia

On January 1, 1923, the Ethnographic Museum from Cluj, was established by Romulus Vuia. The museum was based on a collection of objects and a scientific field research program. Born in a village in Banat as the son of a teacher and creator of Romanian school textbooks, Romulus Vuia followed studied in Orăştie, Timisoara, and Budapest, later specializing in ethnography and anthropology in Berlin, where he followed the courses of Professor Felix von Luschan in 1910. He became the assistant of the geographer George Vâlsan, supporting in 1924 his doctorate in geography in Cluj. He was influenced by the geographer Emmanuele Marton who accompanied him on the field in the spring of 1921, focusing mainly on the collection of objects for the establishment of an ethnography museum. This have happened in 1923, with the support of the Prince Carol Cultural Foundation (Păun 2016).

The Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania appeared as a result of repeated research undertaken by Romulus Vuia, the objects being accompanied by descriptions, questionnaires, photographs. He wanted to lay the foundations of a documentary fund, at the same time developing a scientific system of unprecedented scientific records in Romania at that time. Unlike Al. Tzigara-Samurçaş, which gave importance to the artistic valences of the objects, the necessity of the quick collection of the most valuable artifacts, Romulus Vuia emphasized the field research in terms of

preserving traditions, ethnography becoming from an auxiliary discipline of philosophy and geography to a discipline of its own. In addition to the contribution of establishing the first university department of ethnography and folklore in Cluj, training numerous specialists in the field, Romulus Vuia had the merit of having contributed to the establishment or restoration of regional ethnographic museums, such as the Astra Museum in Sibiu, the Tg-Mureș Museum or the Ethnographic Museum of Moldova in Iași. On June 1st, 1929, Romulus Vuia established the first open-air museum as a section of the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania. The Ethnographic Park was designed on an area of 75 ha with households, which would be inhabited by peasants at least partly, engaged in rural economic activities. Between 1929–1940 a house from Vitra (the Apuseni mountains, a sheepfold in Poiana Sibiului with a shepherd and 75 sheep, a crucifix from Lupșa and a peasant household from Telciu (Bistrița), as well as a Hungarian barn were transferred to the Ethnographic Park (Păun 2016). The restaurant of the museum, *Gaudeamus* also opened. The model for organizing the Park was the one offered by the Scandinavian open-air museums, which were in vogue at that time. The Sakansen Museum in Stockholm, founded in 1891 by Arthur Hazelius, was the most popular outdoor museum at that time.

Out of the desire to draw attention to the popular culture threatened by modernity, Romulus Vuia embraced this extremely popular current, something that Tzigara-Samurcaș did not hesitate to disavow. Tzigara-Samurcaș says about Skansen that “it is the characteristic product of the Romanticism from the end of the last century, obsolete in all its many manifestations today” (Tzigara-Samurcaș 1987, 322). Samurcaș considered that “as long as the ethnography is alive to the Romanian people, there is no need to officially parody it. Let's not perpetuate the operetta shepherd of expired romance!” (Tzigara-Samurcaș 1987, 328).

Dimitrie Gusti, the founder of the Sociological School in Bucharest and of the “Village Museum” initiator would be dismantled by the folklore trends that were beginning to encompass the field of museography.

The Village Museum in Bucharest

On May 10, 1936, the National Museum of the Village was to be inaugurated in the presence of King Carol II of Romania. This museum appeared as a natural result of the research carried out by the “Sociological School in Bucharest” led by Dimitrie Gusti, since 1925.

As is well known to many, Gusti studied at the University of Iași and then at the Universities of Linden and Leipzig, where he held his doctorate in Philosophy in 1904. Returned to the country, he became a professor, first, in 1910, at the Department of Ancient History, Ethics and Sociology of the University of Iași, and since 1920, at the Department of Sociology, Ethics, Politics, and Aesthetics within the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Bucharest. He eagerly extended his studies in philosophy, social sciences, sociology, ethics and politics in Germany and France in the first decade of the 20th century, putting them from the beginning “under the sign of integrated research of the nation” (Golopenția 2012, 7-26; Cernea, 2012, 48-58). In other words, the sociology studies he designed had to be for the service of the nation, ideas of national consolidation by finding solutions to the existing problems and by creating local solidarities that strengthen the national identity, the feeling of belonging to the same nation. He was appointed, not by chance, the minister of Public Instruction, between 1931 and 1932, and President of the Royal Foundations “Carol II”, starting in 1934, functions in which he would show a visionary spirit and organizational capacity.

Until the Gusti School, the Romanian village was “terra incognita” for the intellectuals, as Henri Stahl would say, rather a literary and ideological image than a social reality (Butoi, 2012, 124). This optics of the intellectual and political elite often concealed, either the perfect ignorance of the problems facing the village world or contempt for the peasant shared by the intellectuals who considered the agrarian character of the country a historical impediment to development. The village was either the idyllic

image of the romantics or the sowers or land of return, misery, poverty, primitivism, from which Romania had to escape.

The importance of the realistic knowledge of the village became an afterthought after the 1907 rebellion, which produced a reversal of proportions among the elites, put in the situation of an endemic poverty with which the Romanian villages faced, the insufficiency of land, the lack of technology and the exchange between village and city that benefits both sides, lack of education and illiteracy. Gusti offered the authorities, the political actors, the alternative of studying, knowing the villages to find solutions to the existing socio-economic problems. The peasant rebellion of 1907 put the decision-makers of the state in front of the necessity of fundamental reforms of “the rise of the villages”. Sociology, as an “integral science”, as defined by Dimitrie Gusti, “will have the role of x-raying the villages’ present situation” (Gusti 1938, 415).

Between 1925 and 1934 the activity of the school focused primarily on field research with a monographic and multidisciplinary character. Starting with 1934, a fusion between the scientific knowledge and the cultural actions appeared in the school, which turned into real state policy in the school. Sociology was promoted to the rank of “science of the nation”, the sociological School in Bucharest gaining international recognition (Golopenția 2012, 25). The monographic method was studied by mixed, multidisciplinary teams, an extremely wide range of problems, as evidenced by one of the Sociological School’s activity evaluations of 1938:

The control of the land, the breaking down of the property, the budget of the poor peasants’ households, middle and rich, dead and alive inventory, infant mortality, the number of births, nutrition, housing hygiene, increase of book science, passage to secondary and higher schools of children, adult reading. (Gusti 1938, 431)

Among the actions of the Gustian School were also the collection of peasant objects and the organization of ethnographic exhibitions. The exhibitions had the role of displaying the beauty of the objects made in the house, which the peasants made and used in their households, as well as to encourage the organization

of craft cooperatives to produce peasant products for the townspeople. In 1928, the monographs set up their first museum in the village of Fundul Moldovei, in a classroom. On their return to Bucharest, they organized, in the hall of the Sociology Seminar, "the first museum open to the public, with collections from the villages of Nerej and Fundul Moldovei" (Gusti 1968, 223). The objects would be used later in the creation of the Romanian stand in Barcelona, where, as we have seen, Romania obtained an impressive number of distinctions. Following the 1929 research campaign from Drăguș, the "sociological School" crews organized "a Drăguș-type room", also in the hall of the Sociology Seminar, which later was refurbished at the international exhibition in Drezda. Other objects would be sent in 1931 to the exhibition in Tokyo, and in 1934 the first "Exhibition of students' teamwork" was organized. On this occasion, Dimitrie Gusti realized how important an open-air museum might be to keep the "public interest of the village rediscovered" (Gusti 1968, 220).

Thus, the Village Museum was to be created, with the support of the Royal Cultural Foundation "Prince Carol". As the National Art Museum or the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania, the Village Museum appeared as the initiative of a consecrated personality, being directly supported by the Hohenzollern dynasty of Romania. An area of 4500 meters from the National Park "Carol II" was allocated in Herastrau Park for the museum. The museum was built in a record time of only two months, for the desire to be inaugurated on the 70th anniversary of the royal dynasty founding in Romania. The 30 houses, previously chosen according to the representativeness criterion, were dismantled and transported to Bucharest in 56 train cars, 130 peasant craftsmen were required for the dismantling and reassembly works. The museum was conceived by Gusti as a social museum and not as an ethnographic one, the households were selected not only according to the criterion of the local representation but also according to the social status of the former owners. This was stated by Dimitrie Gusti even in the opening speech. In Gusti's opinion, the open-air Nordic museums, like the one in Skansen, Bigdo, Lillehammer, were too

romantic and too ethnographic. The new Museum of the village had to be a real synthesis of all the villages in Romania, “to please not only the eye but also to show true things” (Gusti 1968, 220).

The museum had to be able to mirror better than anything else the richness and variety of peasant life, the often deep ideas of peasant architectural style, the great science of environmental adaptation and environmental processing, originality in decoration and instinctive or weary safety about using the larger space for people, cattle and things; the Romanian art and technique are shaking hands (Gusti 1968, 220).

The museum was regarded as a living place to illustrate a present situation of the Romanian villages, but also as an evolutionary presentation, to present the social transformations of the peasant world. The museum must especially fulfill an educational function, being “a permanent, intuitive lesson, meant to attract the public's attention and to put into circulation a series of thoughts, problems, and explanations regarding our social life” (Gusti 1968, 223).

Unfortunately, the social vision based on the empirical study of the villages would be completely abandoned after 1948, the Village Museum becoming an ethnographic museum, completing a whole series of ethnographic museums that would appear after the Second World War. Where “it had to be a school”, the museum later became “a storehouse of materials” (Stahl and Constantin 2004, 169). Instead of a presentation of the “social situation of the country” that “to change permanently, to have in front of you everything that changes in Romania, socially”, only the ethnographic presentation of old houses remained, perceived as the sign of an ancestral persistence (Stahl and Constantin 2004, 169).

An even more tragic destiny will be the National Art Museum, which was transformed into the Museum of Folk Art and was forced to leave the headquarters from the Street, where the “Lenin – Stalin” Museum (later called the Museum of the Romanian Communist Party) was set up (Gheorghiu and Mateoni 2012).

In 1978, the Museum of Folk Art was combined with the Village Museum, resulting in the Village Museum and Folk Art. Towards the end of the communist period, it was on the verge of being abolished, being perceived by the state leadership as something that not only you should not be proud of, but which must be hidden or even destroyed. Thanks to the interventions of certain cultural people and specialists, the decision to abolish was delayed and the Museum escaped destruction. In 1990, immediately after the fall of the communist regime, the old National Art Museum was restored at the Street headquarters that had been destined for it, under the name of the Romanian Peasant Museum. The creator of the permanent exhibition, the painter Horia Bernea continued the cultural and museographic vision of his predecessors, Tzigara-Samurçaș, in museographic matters, Mircea Eliade, Lucian Blaga, Mircea Vulcănescu, Ernest Bernea, at an ideal level (Gheorghiu and Mateoniu 2012).

Conclusion

The national museography, which appeared at the beginning of the 20th century, but which was fully implemented in the interwar period, proved to be much more varied than one might think at first sight. At least four distinct types of museums could be noted: the National Art Museum, relying mainly on the beauty of the peasant objects elevated to the rank of artworks, with national and at the same time universal values; The “Association” Museum in Sibiu as a vehicle for asserting an ethnocultural identity; The Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania with the Outdoor Park of Hoia, as a remnant of a traditional culture subject to the implacable change of modernity and modernization; The Village Museum, taking harnessing the social states’ diversity, the manifestation frameworks, from the biological one, geographical, to the social and historical-cosmological aspects of the villages.

This relative variety was undoubtedly generated by the belonging to different professions of museum creators, from art history to ethnography and sociology, from the academic and cultural contacts that they established and maintained with the western

academic environment. A common denominator seems to be the basis of three of the four mentioned museums (exception making the “Association” Museum from Sibiu), the notoriety of their founders, their involvement in the construction activity, from the effective rise of the walls, to the assertion of an own museography. This individual spirit would be completely evacuated after World War II, with the advent of communism, which would impose the ethnographic museum as the only way of representing the peasant universe. Such a museum was limited, in the case of open-air museums, to the exhibition of different types of houses, differentiated exclusively regionally, according to certain ethnographic areas, and in the case of pavilion museums, to a teleological presentation of the objects in showcases obligatory, on periods, specifying the areas, materials and how to use them.

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VI. FROM MODERNIZATION TO
IDEOLOGY IN AGRICULTURE:
THE CASE OF
THE 'MODEL VILLAGE' PROGRAM
OF BULGARIA

THE “MODEL VILLAGE” PROGRAM, AGRARIAN SOCIOLOGY AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE PEASANTRY IN BULGARIA – INTERNATIONAL PATTERNS AND NATIONAL SPECIFICS (1920s – 1940s)

Milena Angelova

Abstract: The article analyzes the interaction between the national and international levels of rural modernization as they are shaped by the disciplines of agronomy, sociology, rural planning, public health and more. In Bulgaria, as in most of the states in Eastern Europe, the end of the World War I led to significant changes in the status of the peasantry, altering their social, economic and political roles and their place in the debates about national state modernization. The article examines the role of the agrarian sociology in producing visions of rural transformation in interwar Bulgaria, focusing on the Agricultural Economics Research Institute. The article also engages with the concept of the “Model village” (“Obraztsovo selo”), asking how and why models of rural living were used to produce or manage social change.

Introduction: Rural Transformations and the Idea of the “Model Village” Program in Bulgaria (1937–1944)

The importance of the rural world in the wider processes of modernization is now widely accepted (Muşat 2015, 159; Burchardt 2010, 143–150; Scott, 2001, 14–17). Before the World War II Bulgaria was a typical rural country of small and middle-scale farming and prevailing peasant population. The Interwar period marked a dramatic shift in the priorities of the Bulgarian political elite. In the Interwar period, the Bulgarian state, as most states of Eastern Europe, attempted to integrate the peasantry into an expanded vision of society. The public administration and all Inter-

war governments, regardless of their political affiliation, focused their attention on rural space. The reformatory state policy focused on the social problems which the peasants would experience with emphasis on the roles played by education, agronomy, healthcare and sociology as producers of “norms” and “forms” of rural living.

From the late 18th century to the 19th century, model villages multiplied across Europe, reflecting growing concerns to improve the living conditions of workers and peasants and to counteract the disruptive effects of the Industrial Revolution (Darley 1975, 415). The concept of the “model village” was a popular one, frequently displayed at world fairs and exhibitions and publicized in specialized national and international forums of social reform, affording its spread to many parts of the world. After the WWI, many model villages were built in Southeastern Europe, both as solutions to the extensive population transfers, and as part of state-building initiatives that often involved the re-ordering and modernization of peasant societies. In international forums, model villages were proposed as solutions to concerns about health, hygiene and housing in rural areas (Muşat 2015: 159-160).

The attempts to solve many of the social problems in the rural areas in the 1930s in Bulgaria were formulated in the public projects for “improving the life of the rural population”. At that time the problems of establishing the living standards of the people living in the villages and the issues related to increasing the competence of the peasants in agriculture through practice oriented education were regularly raised. Specific programs for the support and establishment of model farms were discussed. Possibilities for providing affordable credits to farmers were sought (Wolf 1994, 74-76). The focus of these initiatives was on a specific program called “Model village” (“Obraztsovo selo”). At the beginning of 1937, as part of the movement for the “economic and cultural rise of the village”, the “Model village” Project was formally launched in 11 municipalities. Within less than five years, the program had already covered more than 110 rural municipalities on the entire Bulgarian territory, and, until the beginning of 1944, it was at its height. Along with the change of the political regime

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in the fall of 1944, the enthusiasm about the whole “Model village” idea started to fade away (Angelova 2014, 91-92). The importance of the social reform was justified by the actual state of the rural living conditions. By requiring scientific knowledge as a new basis for modern governance, social reformers from different academic fields (such as agronomy, sociology, social work, public health and urban planning) drew attention to the peasants’ lives as an important area in need of intervention. Embodying the idea that a cultural change was essential to any economic or political reform, model villages were first proposed as pedagogical tools in solving the post-war rural housing problem. Building “several model households in each village designed to house a family of industrious locals” would provide examples of good practice for other locals to imitate, becoming the stimuli for cultural change in the countryside (Muşat 2015, 161-162).

The key objective of the program the *Model village* in Bulgaria emphasized the need of the village inhabitants (especially the young people) to adopt the modern hygienic habits, the rules of eating “healthily” and to recognize farm work as a professional activity. The set of measures that would ensure a “better atmosphere” not only in one’s home, but also in the whole village, included improving the infrastructure, providing for sewers and bettering the water supply, exploring the possibilities for at least partial electrification, building public health centers, as well as health consultative stations, bakeries, kindergartens, playgrounds and summer resorts for children (Angelova 2014, 92). These activities were supported by central government institutions (Ministry of Agriculture and State Property, the Ministry of Interior and Public Health) and the active participation of rural municipalities and local “public” organizations (societies, cooperatives, committees). Provisions were made also for the establishment of a practice-oriented educational system in the villages by organizing a network of so-called “Additional farming schools”.

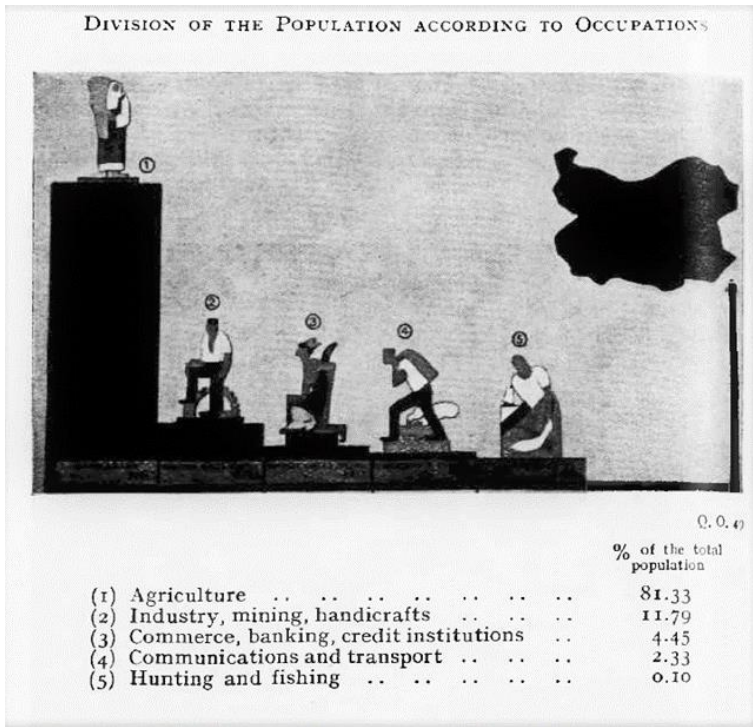


Figure 1. Division of the population in Bulgaria according to occupation, 1939 (Series of League of Nations Publications. *European Conference on Rural Life. Rural Dietaries in Europe. Annex: Report On Bread*, Geneva: League of Nations, 1939, p. 10.

Specialized education was perceived by ideologists of public programs for the village as a significant modernization factor (Wolf, 2001, 111). A good illustration is that if a specific rural municipality wanted to be included in the sample village program, there had to be an additional agricultural school there. The application of legislation in the field of specialized agricultural education from the end of the 19th century to the mid-1920s was relatively limited. The Agricultural Education Act that was in force between 1897 and 1925 did not provide much opportunity for the

introduction of mass-type agricultural schools in the country. What is more, in this nearly 30-year period, they were opened mainly in urban centers. After the WWI, the extension of the agricultural school network began. In 1921 the *Faculty of Agronomy* was established at Sofia University. This provided girls with the opportunity to study there. It is noteworthy that young women from large cities tended to go to higher agronomic education, and mostly girls from villages and small towns studied at the Agricultural Household Institute and the Practical Agricultural Schools (Angelova 2008, 49-50). The more specific regulation of farming-oriented agricultural education in Bulgaria became possible only with the Agricultural Education Act of 1925. It regulated the opening of a new type of educational institutions in the villages – the additional agricultural schools. It is precisely in the expansion of the network of this type of schools that the opportunities for “the most extensive agricultural and household education in the villages were seen” (Angelova 2008, 36-40). In the early 1940s, such additional farming schools were set up in about 240 villages – about 83,000 graduates. These people were also expected to serve as examples for their co-villagers. These schools and also a few Schools of practical agriculture and rural domestic economy, a women’s Higher Institute of Rural Domestic Economy¹ and a Faculty of Agronomy at the Sofia University were operating in different regions of the country “to foster capacity building in agriculture and disseminate agronomical knowledge at the grass roots level” (League of Nations 1940, 5). According to the Bulgarian country report presented at the *Rural Life conference*, organized in 1939 by the League of Nations, the purpose of all those schools and institutions was “namely to impart the necessary knowledge and skills for productive work in farming and rural

¹ The Higher Institute of Rural Domestic Economy was founded in 1920. By 1938, it had trained about 270 agricultural household women specialists who later on worked in the system of the “public agronomy” as teachers in the agricultural schools in the country.

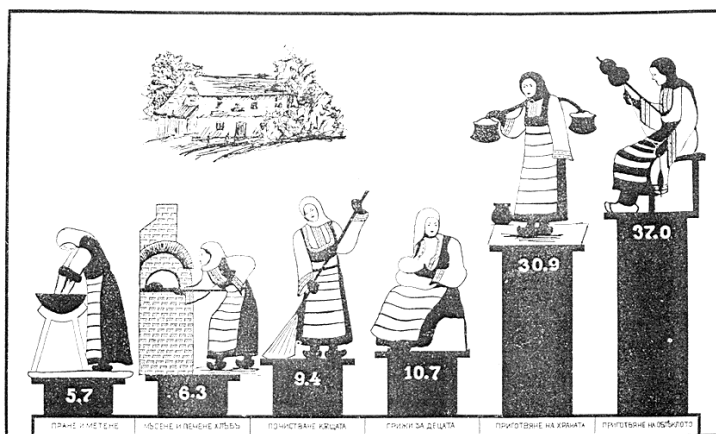
domestic economy, and thus help to increase agricultural production and improve village life” (League of Nations 1940: 32).

The Agrarian Sociology and the “Model Village” in Bulgaria – the Institute for Agricultural and Economic Researches (1935-1946)

Since the mid-1930s, as a result of the first large-scale agricultural and sociological surveys, there had already been some clarity on the specific parameters of the living conditions of the rural population in Bulgaria (Kopsidis 2015, 20-21). In the second half of the 1920s, a group of young agrarian economists and agronomists around Prof. Yanaki Mollov² founded a nascent agrarian sociology in Bulgaria. It was institutionalized with the opening of the *Institute for Agricultural and Economic Research* in 1935. The Institute was organized within the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property. Prof. Mollov was curator and first director of the institute until 1941. In this institute, just as in the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property, a special Department for studying the living conditions in the village was formed. The team working there began conducting the “agricultural and sociological research”. In the next few years, this gave specialists from the new agrarian sociology in Bulgaria the possibility to hold the first large-scale studies on living conditions in villages, on rural household budgets and expenditure of labor in households (Mocheva 1938; Angelova 2014, 91).

² Yanaki Mollov (1882–1947) was one of the creators of official agrarian policy in Bulgaria. He studied agronomy at the Timiryazev Agrarian School in Moscow (1905). He was Professor in Agricultural Economics at Sofia University (1923–1944). Yanaki Mollov was Dean of the Faculty of Agronomy several times (1921–1939) and Rector of the University (1939–1940). He was also Minister of Agriculture and State Property (1923–1926) and Minister of Education (1934–1935).

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Разходъ на трудъ при извършване на различните домакински работи — въ проценти

Figure 2: Cost of labor in carrying out various domestic activities.
Mocheva, Hristina. *Selskoto Zemedelsko Domakinstvo v Bŭlgariia*
prez 1935/36 Godina. Biudzhet, Obstanovka i Razhod na Trud. Sofia:
Darzhavna pechatnitsa, 1938, p.43.

The Institute for Agricultural and Economic Research carried out its research with the assistance of public agronomy services and teachers in additional agricultural schools. The experts tried to study the living conditions of the rural population – housing, their distribution, hygiene, problems related to the nutrition of the rural population, etc. (Mocheva 1938, 147-149). The extremely hygienic pathos of the “Model village” program and the attempts for a change, first and foremost, in the spaces in the village home, defined the rural women, especially the young women in villages, as the object of the modernization policies. In the sociological surveys on the “rural agricultural household” of the 1930s and on the problems with the “Bulgarian peasant women”, the main focus was on “cost of labor” of the rural housewife. In this direction, a representative study was *Rural agricultural household in Bulgaria in 1935/1936. Budget, situation and cost of*

labor (Mocheva 1938). The study was conducted in 1935–1936 and it concerned 199 villages with data of 939 households. This study and its analysis of researchers and agricultural experts involved in the community pointed out that the village was an unhygienic space, threatening its inhabitants and in need of radical reforms. The emphasis of these publications reminded constantly that the “modernization” of villages inevitably required the participation of young girls and women.

External Influences on the Agrarian Sociology and the “Model Village” Program

In the period between the two world wars, the interest in the rural space was manifested both at national level, especially in countries with significant peasant populations, and at international level, where social reformers exchanged ideas about rural development in forums such as the League of the Nations, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Near East Foundation (Borowy 2008, 141–74).

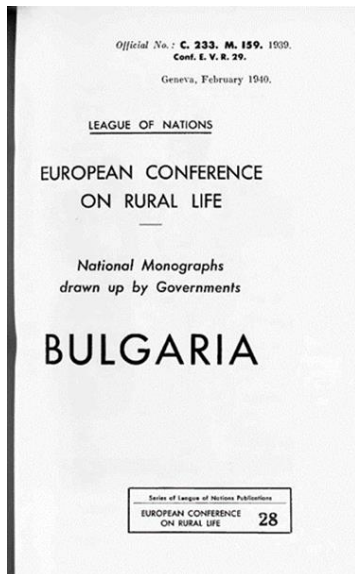


Figure 3: First page of the monograph *European Conference on rural life. National Monographs Drawn up by Governments: Bulgaria, Geneva: League of Nations, 1940.*

The agrarian sociology in Bulgaria and generally the “Model village” program could not avoid outside influences that would come through international organizations functioning in a relevant sphere and through the help offered by Bulgarian experts in rural economy, who knew how to apply specific scientific models (Angelova 2008, 81-85). In his

studies Y. Mollov followed the methods and technics applied by other scholars, such as Frederic Le Play (Molloff 1936, 4-5), the methods applied by Romanian sociological institute of Dimitrie Gusti (Gusti 1937) in Bucharest and the methods of the American agrarian sociology. An interesting example of learning scientific methods from abroad was the case of one of the agronomists in the team of Yanaki Mollov – Hristina Mocheva. In her studies Mocheva used the methods of the American Home Bureaus (Mocheva 1938, 4-6). The project “Model Village” was elaborated together with experts from the Ministry of Agriculture and the Institute for Agricultural and Economic Research and representatives of the American Near East Foundation in Bulgaria (Angelova 2005, 113-115). The Near East Foundation and the Rockefeller foundation in Bulgaria provided scholarships to dozens of experts in the fields of public health, agronomy, sanitary engineering and statistics for specializations at American universities. Hristina Mocheva, for example, received a year scholarship (1939-1940) for the New York State College of Home Economics at the Cornell University (Mocheva 1941, 11-13).

The case of the youngest member of the Institute for Agricultural Research’s team Vera Todorova-Yonceva was similar. She graduated Agronomy at Sofia University in 1936 and began working at the Institute under the direction of Hristina Mocheva. Her interests were also in the field of research and rationalization of women's domestic work. She worked with the methods developed by the Bucharest School of Rural Sociology – especially with the methods of Xenia Costa-Foru (Costa-Foru 1945). By the way, Xenia Costa-Foru also received a scholarship from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1932. Vera Todorova-Yonceva was also familiar with the research of the American sociologist Irwin Sanders (Sanders 1949), who worked in Bulgaria and lectured at the University of Sofia until 1937. Most of all the Bulgarian agrarian sociologists would more often share ideas and experience with their Romanian colleagues, who named their project “Cămine culturale” (“Cultural hearths”) (Todorova-Îonceva 1941). What the two projects had in common was that they both aimed at mas-

tering the strengths of the experts living in the rural areas – teachers, social workers, agronomists, etc. (Angelova 2014, 93; Daskalov 2013, 304).



Figure 4: Poultry Exhibition. Near East Foundation Advisory Committee in Bulgaria (1938). Tsentralen dörzhaven arkhiv, Republika Bŭlgariia, f. 3k, op. 15, a.e. 241, l. 18.

In the late 1930s, the influences of the German program *Musterdorf* and the working methods of the *Reichskuratorium für Technik in der Landwirtschaft* (Reich Committee for Agricultural Technology) at Berlin began to be felt in the “Model Village” and in the methods of agricultural sociology (Petev 1943; Markov 1942; Uzunov 1941; (Wien 2007, 252-253). In the late 1930s and early 1940s, several specialists from the Institute for Agricultural and Economic Research held long-term specializations: Dr. Nikola Kondov – in Bonn, Dr. Georgi Kalapchiev – in Berlin, Dr. Mihail Vitanov – in Vienna (Kalŭpchiev 1946, 9). In the special series *Berichte über Landwirtschaft* (Agriculture reports) in *Zeitschrift*

für Agrarpolitik und Landwirtschaft (Journal of Agricultural Policy and Agriculture) in 1943, there was a special issue devoted to Bulgaria. This issue contained special studies of the major Bulgarian experts related to the “Model village” program and the agrarian sociology: Totyu Branekov – *The Bulgarian agronomist* (Branekov 1943), Dimitar Birnikov – *The improvement of daily life in the village* (Birnikov 1943), Hristina Mocheva *The village household in Bulgaria* (Mocheva 1943) among others.



Figure 5: The front cover of the journal *Obraztsovo selo* (*Model village*), no. 1-2, 1943.

In 1938, the Institute for Agricultural and Economic Research also became a collective member of the *International Conference of Agricultural Economists*, based in Ottawa, Canada. On this occasion, the chairman of this organization, the English economist Leonard Elmhirst visited Bulgaria and got acquainted with the work of the Institute (Kalüpchiev 1946, 10). The activities of the *League of Nations*, and in particular, of the *League of Nations Health Organization* (LNHO), which helped to create a vision for the province as a global space with common problems and solutions (Murard 2008, 145).



Figure 6: Distribution of seedlings. Near East Foundation Advisory Committee in Bulgaria (1938). Tsentralen dŭrzhaven arkhiv, Republika Bŭlgariia, f. 3k, op. 15, a.e. 241, l. 17.

Conclusion

After 1944, in the conditions of imposed Sovietization in Bulgaria, the modernization projects for the village changed sharply their goals and the “actors”. Most of the main experts of the “Model village” program were repressed or forced to change their professions during the second half of the 1940s. After the coup d'état in 1944, prof. Yanaki Mollov was fired from the University and died in 1948. Hristina Mocheva, for example, worked as an English translator at one of the agricultural institutes, and Vera Todorova-Yoncheva moved to a completely different professional field. In the 1950s, following the Soviet mass model process, a large proportion of people who participated in the “Model Village” program were repressed as “enemies of the people” (Gruev 2014, 258-361; Yancheva 2015, 288-291).

After the WWI, the political inclusion of the rural population in the political nation became a key element of the political agenda in Europe and the Americas. This new situation let the Eastern European “experts” to become part of those policies that made rural areas a target for national and international intervention. In Eastern Europe, including Bulgaria, the new situation of the 1920s allowed experts to present their ideas and at the same time to initiate or join wider international discussions. These scientists played an important role in making the rural areas and their inhabitants the target of national and international policies. Social Sciences, including the agrarian sociology played a key role in the “governing of the rural” (Patel 2018) as they became more empirical and increased their applicability to projects for social change in the rural areas.

The Bulgarian modernization project tested a “surprising dynamic framework” (Langthaler 2015, 742) as a result of the work of the first generation of agricultural sociologists. In conclusion, the case of the Bulgarian agrarian sociology during the period between the two world wars is a suitable illustration for the circulation of concepts and methods and development of knowledge networks in this area – the creation and enlargement of international networks of knowledge in social sciences and the diffusion of innovations in the European countryside.

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TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY. THE ROLE OF GERMAN KNOW-HOW AND THE NAZI AGRARIAN IDEOLOGY IN THE BULGARIAN “MODEL FARM” PROGRAM

Markus Wien

Abstract: When the model farm program ‘Obrastsovo Selo’ (Model Farm) was launched by the Bulgarian Agri-cultural Ministry in 1937, it already had a history of discussion and planning dating back to the early 20th century. Apart from the primary purpose of using model farms in order to familiarize the peasants with modern agricultural methods and technologies and, thus, to raise the productivity of the Bulgarian agriculture, the semi fascist monarchic-authoritarian regime tried to use “Obrastsovo Selo” to integrate the peasantry – at that time about 80 percent of the entire population – into what the regime’s concept of a consolidated national community was. This policy, which can also be regarded as a nation building project, was highly inspired by the agrarian ‘Blut und Boden’ (blood and soil) ideology of the Nazi organization “Reichskuratorium für Technik in der Landwirtschaft” (RKTL) – the latter being less influenced by the Nazi world view. The German as well as the Bulgarian agricultural consulting systems – the Bulgarian one ‘enriched’ with German elements from 1942 onwards – can both be regarded as parts of nation building campaigns.

During the interwar period, German economic, political as well as academic elites developed concepts to enable Germany to regain the Great Power status it had lost as a result of World War I. Given the restrictions the Treaty of Versailles had imposed on Germany with regard to its military, the loss of territories, and the reparations payments resting on the German economy as a heavy burden, an active respectively aggressive approach towards a res-

toration of German “greatness” was virtually impossible, at least in the 1920s. It was, however, exactly the economy, concretely the foreign economic relations, which offered Germany a potential way out of this situation. The reason is that establishing trade relations with interested countries could be used to gain economic, but in the long run also political influence without a direct violation of Versailles. Apart from avoiding any open breach of the peace treaty the German elites also tried not to even raise suspicions among the Western Allies that German was attempting to undermine or circumvent the post war regulations (Wien 2007, 196).¹

Therefore, the first steps towards German initiatives to establish or re-establish economic links with other countries after the war were mainly taken on the level of private, i.e. non-governmental organisations acting in close coordination with the ministries of foreign affairs and of the economy, but at the same time avoiding public attention. With regard to Southeast Europe, the most important organisation of this kind was the “Mitteleuropäischer Wirtschaftstag” (MWT, Central European Economic Association). Founded in 1925 in Vienna upon an initiative by the Austrian merchant Julius Meinl and the former Hungarian Secretary of State Elemer Hantos, the MWT was originally devoted to providing a platform for debates concerning a better commercial integration of the “Danube region”, i.e. the countries of the former Habsburg monarchy, which had lost their traditional economic connections as a consequence of World War I and the breakup of Austria-Hungary. Worried about a possible economic re-organization of Southeast Europe without German involvement, leading representatives of the German industries joined the MWT

¹ The notion of “Großwirtschaftsraum” has been labelled as colonial or semi-colonial (Sundhaussen 1983). It seems, though, that in particular the German–Bulgarian relations do not match common colonialism theories, such as the one by Osterhammel (2006, 112–118), since for instance, the German MWT model villages were the result of an initiative taken by the Bulgarian government, not the German one.

in 1926 by establishing a “German Group” within the organization. This group served as an observer of the economic-political discussions happening inside the MWT, but also for the purpose to use it as a tool to realize German interests with regard to the region, or at least to make sure that the MWT would not neglect or even violate such interests.

In 1931, the increasing prioritization of German great power interests by the German Group led to a fundamental organizational shift inside the MWT. Concretely, the German Group was taken over by an alliance between the German heavy industries and the agrarian elites for the purpose of making the MWT into the central agent of a German economic control of Southeast Europe. As a result, the German Group de facto separated from the original MWT and now started operating still under the same name, but with an agenda that was entirely driven by German interests. Within this context, the new German MWT stepped into the legacies of older concepts of a German dominated “Großwirtschaftsraum” (Greater Economic Area) in Southeast Europe. These traditions can be traced back, for instance, to Friedrich List of the 19th century or Friedrich Naumann and his notion of *Mitteleuropa*, published as a book in 1915. The main idea behind these concepts was to make “Central Europe”, which was actually Germany plus Southeast Europe, into an autarchic region, providing Germany with a backbone that was expected to make it economically fit for future wars against the Western Powers (Wien 2010).

Pursuing this strategic goal, the MWT developed policies and programs during the 1930s and 1940s to enable the Southeast European national economies to play their respective roles as part of the anticipated “Großwirtschaftsraum”. One of the first steps within this strategy was to restructure and modernize the national agrarian sectors of the countries of the “Danube region” in a way that would allow them to meet German import demand in terms of quantity and quality. In addition, the MWT aimed at helping the Southeast European states develop and increase their own import demands – particularly for industrial products, which was ex-

pected to open up new markets for German exports. Therefore, the MWT took efforts to support the intensification of the trade relations between Germany and the countries of the region and to raise their agrarian productivity. The most visible results in this respect were achieved in Bulgaria: Here, the MWT established a school for agricultural machinery as well as two model villages, where local farmers were supposed to familiarize themselves with modern methods of production (Wien 2007, 249-257 and Wien 2010).

These measures, however, were certainly not genuine MWT innovations. Instead, they were inspired by longer existing similar projects in Germany, and apart from that, there was also a nationwide Bulgarian “model village” program, launched in 1937, whose origins, however, can be traced back to the late 19th century. Therefore, the MWT model villages should be viewed as part of a twofold tradition: the German as well as the Bulgarian agrarian educational systems. This chapter will try to position them within the contexts of these two traditions. In addition, it will discuss how both contexts influenced each other and what this meant for the status of the German model villages in Bulgaria.

A closer look reveals that the Bulgarian context was actually more important than the German one, and that this is one of the main reasons why the MWT established model villages in Bulgaria, at all, because it was the Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture that took the initiative for this project. Apparently, the Bulgarian government was eager to integrate a German “element” into the existing national model village program. Thus, the MWT was neither the creator nor the initiator of this idea; actually, it played the role of a mediator and, to a certain degree, of the organizer. The German model village concept originated from the “Reichskuratorium für Technik in der Landwirtschaft” (RKTL, National Board for Agricultural Technology) and was different from the concepts developed by the “Reichsnährstand” (RNS), the Nazi controlled national farmers association.

Beyond the question of the position of the MWT organized model villages within the Bulgarian agricultural educational system, it is necessary to study the practical work carried out in the

model villages to find out whether the RKTL methodology was applicable in Bulgaria, at all. The fact, however, that the German model villages operated only from October 1942 until September 1944 makes a substantiated judgement very difficult (Wien 2007, 249-257).

Another important issue is the question of the ideological foundations of the Bulgarian model village program as well as the educational programs of the RKTL and the RNS, and for the attention they attracted in Bulgaria. Within this context, this chapter will discuss to which degree Bulgarian officials were interested in the ideological aspects of the German concepts and whether they planned to adopt and modify them according to the Bulgarian conditions. At least with regard to the RNS, this ideological context included aspects such as the requirement of national respectively national socialist attitudes among the peasantry, who was expected to be aware of its role as a carrier of “racial purity”, or ideologically influenced images of the gender roles in a rural environment (Angelova 2007, 74-81). A question to be raised in this context is whether the Bulgarian agricultural experts clearly distinguished between the concepts of the RKTL and those of the RNS.

Generally, this study will discuss the ideological foundations, goals, and the historical position of the German as well as Bulgarian model village concepts, the collaboration within both of them and the relation of this collaboration with the German project of a “Großwirtschaftsraum”. It will, furthermore, discuss to which degree the model villages were part of a larger modernization process in Bulgaria. In addition, this study will interpret the model villages as tools for nation building, i.e. the idea to use them to influence the peasantry national-ideologically and, finally, to advance their integration within the societal structure of the Bulgarian nation.

The larger plans developed by the MWT to reach its goals included the model villages as mentioned above. They originated partly from the leadership, partly from other members of the organization or from other sources, such as the RKTL and the RNS.

Generally, the MWT relied on support from the economy and from academia, i.e. leading companies that were members of the MWT as well as prominent economists at German universities. During the 1930s, the latter group played a particularly important role, because at that time, the MWT increasingly focussed on the dissemination of knowledge and on academic cooperation with the countries of Southeast Europe. It recruited the respective experts, for instance Hermann Gross, from academic institutes for Central and Southeast European Studies, that had been founded at that time in Breslau, Leipzig and Munich for the purpose of attracting attention for Southeast Europe among the German economic elites as well as for raising sympathies for Germany inside the region. Apart from that, the MWT established foundations that provided academic scholarships, such as the “Deutschland-Stiftung des Mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftstages” (Germany Foundation of the MWT) or the “Südost-Stiftung” (Southeast Foundation), which funded specific courses about Southeast Europe at the Academy for World Trade in Vienna from 1940 onwards (Wien 2007, 242-248 and Wien 2010).

The MWT model villages, which started operating in Bulgaria in 1942, were a result of this new educational focus. This modification had happened at the middle of the 1930s with the purpose of initiating MWT activities inside South East Europe in addition to the original task of motivating German companies for an intensification of their involvement in the region. As a consequence, the MWT launched educational initiatives in Southeast Europe and attempted to exert direct influence on the structure of the agricultural product spectrum in the area, so that it would match German import demands. The first steps in this direction were taken in 1934, when a project to introduce the soybean was launched in Bulgaria by the MWT. Other projects of this kind were the establishment of the “Bulgarische Schafzucht AG” (Bulgarian Sheep Breeding Company) with the help of the “Berliner Wolle und Tierhaar AG” (Wotirag, Wool and Animal Hair Company Berlin), the Bulgarian School for Agricultural Machinery (Buǎlgarsko učilište za zemedelski mašini – BUSEMA), and the

model villages in Mramor near Sofia as well as in Dolni Lukovit near Pleven in central Bulgaria. All these projects started in the 1940s (Wien 2007, 242-248).

The story of the creation of the model villages may contribute to a better understanding of the above mentioned MWT projects. On a visit to the “Deutsche Landkraftführerschule” (Deulakraft, German School of Driving in Agriculture) in Berlin in 1940, the Bulgarian Minister of Agriculture Ivan Bagri̇anov took the initiative for the realization of German model villages in Bulgaria. During their stay in Germany, Bagri̇anov and his delegation studied the methods of agricultural consulting practised by RNS as well as RKTL and took the decision to integrate their concepts into the Bulgarian educational system. The first result of this decision was the founding of the BUSEMA as a joint project of the Bulgarian Ministry and the MWT. While the ministry covered the expenses for infrastructure and maintenance of the school, the MWT took the responsibility for the machinery used for instruction. This, however, did not cause the MWT any expenses, since leading German producers lent a collection of machines to the school for free – probably because they viewed it as a way to advertise their technology. Instruction at BUSEMA began in April 1942, so that a number of courses was completed by 1944. Evaluations of these courses by the MWT were mostly positive (Wien 2007, pp. 252-253).

Contrary to BUSEMA, the MWT model villages in Mramor and Dolni Lukovit did not manage to raise to more than a rudimentary level. Even though they also started operation in 1942, in September 1944 they actually ended as model farms rather than as fully functional model villages. Therefore, it is hard to view their work directly in the context of the educational concepts of the Nazi controlled RNS and the older and more tradition based RKTL, which provided theoretical foundations for the work of the MWT. Since both concepts rivalled each other to a certain degree, the MWT had to choose between them, and ultimately preferred the one of the RKTL over the one of the RNS. There is, however, evidence that high ranking officials of the Bulgarian Ministry of

Agriculture were also strongly influenced by the latter. As mentioned before, though, the practical work carried out in the MWT model “villages” certainly does not provide enough substance to make an estimation to which degree it was actually determined by conceptual and ideological foundations. The documentation of these activities does not go beyond two activity reports, one from each village, which were sent to the MWT administration in Berlin. Both reports only mention very basic and preparatory activities. With regard to the theoretical and ideological background it seems, therefore, more fruitful to consult German sources about RNS and RKTL as well as an extensive report written by the Bulgarian expert Dimitŭr Petev about a study trip to Germany in 1941. Petev was an official representative of the Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture, but in the MWT records he also appears as an MWT envoy to Bulgaria (Wien 2010).

As far as the RNS and its ideological determination is concerned, it seems to have influenced Bulgarian agricultural policy-making significantly – apart from the fact that the MWT villages were rather driven by the RKTL concepts, and even though the specific German context of the RNS was hardly applicable to the Bulgarian conditions. Part of the ideological foundations were, for instance, the idea of organizing the German food industries according to the “Führer” principle (“Führerprinzip”), the goal of food autarchy for Germany, regarded as crucial after the experience of World War I, as well as a strong reference to the notion of “blood and soil”, which included viewing the peasantry as the socio-biological essence of Germanness (Münkel 2001, 100-106).

Nevertheless, Bulgarian agricultural policymaking seems to have derived significant inspiration from the educational concepts of the RNS, even though the RKTL received more attention. The MWT and its Bulgarian contact persons, such as Petev, certainly played an important role as mediators. It was Petev’s stay in Germany in 1941, which apparently motivated the Bulgarian ministry to initiate BUSEMA as well as the model villages. Both projects were obviously influenced by the impressions he took home from Germany. In his report, he explicitly mentioned the agricultural

consulting system of the RKTL, which was a semi-governmental organization carried by the German Ministry of Agriculture and the German agrarian-technological industries (Petev 1942, 66). RKTL advisers were assigned to different provinces of Germany – mainly the ones regarded as backward. Petev's report provides a full list of the advisers' duties: statistical explorations of the assigned areas, choosing villages and farmers for closer cooperation, an in-depth examination of the respective farms, and finally choosing between 20 and 30 farms that were supposed to operate under direct supervision by the advisor. Five to eight out of these farms were given the status of model farms (Petev 1942, 67-68). The main goal was to raise the productivity (Gerschenkron 1965). The advisor's activities were not limited to simply giving advice, but also included active involvement. A balance was to be drawn upon the conclusion of the advising project after five to six years (Wien 2010).

Petev familiarized himself with this concept of consulting by studying it in theory as well as in practice, i.e. by visiting areas in Germany, where the RKTL was running advisory projects, for instance Meiningen in Thuringia, Fulda in Hesse, and Mitterfels in Saxony. According to Petev, the RKTL consulting projects were by far more successful than the ones organized by the RNS. To him, the main reason was that they were more practice oriented, since they operated with a smaller number of selected farms (Petev 1942, 76). More important than this, however, was Petev's conclusion that the RKTL concepts could also be applied in Bulgaria without having to face unsolvable problems. Problems existed, as he admitted, such as the lack of machinery or the strong fragmentation of land property in Bulgaria. Nevertheless, Petev believed that the Bulgarian agriculture should ultimately follow the German model (Petev 1942, 77).

After the submission of his report, i.e. in 1942, Petev became manager of one of the two MWT model villages. The circumstance that they were designed following the RKTL concepts should not surprise given his positive judgement of the RKTL methods. In any case, this was the result of a choice made by the

Bulgarian government, which highlights the above-mentioned fact that the Bulgarian side had taken the initiative. It relativizes the assumption that the MWT was a mere agent of German semi-colonial ambitions in Southeast Europe (Wien 2010). Petev himself seemed not to be highly interested in the ideological aspects of the model village project. There is reason to assume that, to him, the Nazi notion of “blood and soil” would stay alien to the Bulgarian peasantry. It remains to be discussed however, to which degree other representatives of the Bulgarian economic elites had a different opinion.

As mentioned above, the MWT model villages were integrated into the model village program organized by the Bulgarian government. Its name was “Obrastsovo selo” (Model Village). It was launched in 1937, even though its legacies can be traced back to a law about model farms from 1897 as well as to other initiatives dating back to the time of Bulgarian independence, i.e. 1878, but in some cases even to the period of the Ottoman Tanzimat. When “Obrastsovo selo” was finally realized, the historical and, in particular, the international context was obviously very different from the one of the turn of the century. The relations with Germany were much more intensive, and since the MWT model villages in Bulgaria had been designed after the German concepts of the RKTL, the villages were, in a certain sense, a linking element between German and Bulgarian ideas. Thus, it seems to be important to ask how – from a conceptual viewpoint – the Bulgarian model village project was influenced by German understandings (Wien 2007, 252-253).

According to Milena Angelova, the respective national context as well as the goals of both projects, i.e. the Bulgarian “Obrastsovo selo” and the German RKTL and RNS model village programs (thus, the MWT villages), were fundamentally different from each other: In Germany they were based on the “Führer” principle and “blood and soil” and had a strong focus on technology with the purpose of raising the productivity, while in Bulgaria they were “entirely” carried by a “pathos of hygiene”. As Angelova points out further, the main goal of “Obrastsovo selo” was to

improve the living conditions of the rural population. Therefore, the program was mostly focussed on women and ways to improve family life (Angelova 2007, 76).

Given the fact that, from 1942 onwards, model villages, designed according to German concepts, existed in Bulgaria, it seems legitimate to question Angelova's statement. Since it was the Bulgarian side that took the initiative to establish the MWT model villages, it appears that the Bulgarian government was interested in integrating German concepts into the Bulgarian program, including Nazi elements. And indeed, reports written by Bulgarian experts about their trips to Germany repeatedly refer to the notion of "blood and soil". Thus, it seems fair to conclude that they were eager to modify the "Obrastsovo selo" program accordingly. In addition, the view of a strict opposition of the Bulgarian "pathos of hygiene" versus the German technological focus is not fully convincing, either: From 1941 onwards, in Bulgaria the notion of hygiene was regularly used in connection with a racist ideological terminology – similar to the RNS (Wien 2007, 37-48).

In 1942, the Head of the Department of Agricultural Education of the Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture, Kosta Genov, provided a report about his trip to Germany in 1941 (Genov 1942). This report appears as a remarkable attempt to prove the compatibility of the German with the Bulgarian concepts as well as the model character of the RKTL and the RNS consulting systems for Bulgaria. At the same time, Genov shows greater interest in the RNS concepts than in those of the RKTL. According to him, the RNS consulting system was, similar to the Bulgarian one, mainly dedicated to issues of hygiene, to improving the rural living conditions and problems of household. Since the RNS consulting system also included the goal of raising the agricultural productivity, it seems that it was more comprehensive than the Bulgarian one, but not fundamentally different. In his travel report, Genov paid special attention to communal baths and laundry houses which he had encountered in the Austrian model village of Frauendorf (Genov 1942, 63-64). He was particularly impressed by the high efficiency of the workflow in Frauendorf. In his eyes, this was the

result of the policy of hygiene, which, according to him, greatly contributed to the labour motivation of the village population. Apart from that, Genov broadly discussed the RNS managed agricultural schools with a particular focus on the schools for rural housekeeping, which he had the opportunity to visit in the Bavarian town of Miesbach (Genov 1942, 65-68). Apparently, he was exploring possible ways to applying their educational concepts within the Bulgarian context.

Genov showed particular interest in the housekeeping schools, which had a clear focus on training women, i.e. future German housewives and mothers, to fulfil their traditional roles in rural households. His broad discussion of these schools included detailed lists of the subjects taught, such as cooking, gardening, sowing, but also “national economy” and political instruction. (Genov 1942, 66-68). Genov’s exhaustive presentation of the housekeeping schools suggests that his intention was to point out their model character in fields which were relevant from a Bulgarian viewpoint. When the German model villages in Bulgaria began operation one year after his trip, Genov, head of department in the Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture, certainly had been prominently involved in the preceding decision making process. Within this context, the fact that Genov’s report had highly emphasized the importance of the Nazi ideology with regard to the German agricultural educational system, seems to be of outstanding relevance. His report reads as follows:

After their graduation, the girls are fully prepared for their roles as housewives, citizens and mothers with a perfect national socialist consciousness and believe in the power of the Greater German Empire (Genov 1942, 68).

In a similar way, the Bulgarian expert Vitanov pointed out the national political meaning of the RNS educational system in a release of the journal *Zemedelsko-stopanski vāprosi* (Agricultural Issues) of 1941:

The measures for an improvement of agricultural production in Germany are far from being purely technical. They are functionally deeply connected with the national socialist ideology

in terms of management, of the principle of responsible leadership as well as the overall national, social and economic structure. (Vitanov 1941, 20)

According to Vitanov, among the Bulgarian agricultural experts and decision makers there was a clear affinity towards the German educational concepts of RKTL and RNS. It seems, that with regard to technical questions they rather referred to the RKTL, while they preferred the RNS when it came to national aspects of agricultural education. At least, this is the impression one can get when reading the respective Bulgarian journals. Generally, this does not necessarily mean that Bulgarian agricultural education was entirely modelled after the German one during the 1940s, but it is fair to say that it derived significant inspiration from Germany. The adoption of Nazi terminology, such as ‘blood and soil’ (Bulgarian: *krāv i zemīa*) or “race” (Bulgarian: *rasa*), into the agriculture related vocabulary seems to confirm this view (Wien 2010).

Apart from this adoption of German concepts into the Bulgarian system, it is necessary to discuss the question of an a priori similarity between “Obrastsovo selo” and the RNS respectively RKTL programs. It seems that in particular on the national or nation building level these programs showed significant overlapping regardless of fundamental differences with regard to their practical implementation. Evidence of this assumption can be found in the journal “Obrastsovo selo”, the official periodical for news about the Bulgarian model village program. Contributions discussing the conceptual foundations of the program can be found in the first issue of the journal, which came out in July 1941. An introductory article by the editors reads as follows:

We share the opinion with many others, that the progress of our country, which is predominantly agrarian, realizes itself through the village, which is supposed to be a model village in every sense. [...] Therefore, the motto goes: from the model village to the model state. (*Obrastsovo selo* 1941, 2)

According to this article, the Bulgarian model village program was based on the idea of the peasantry as a crucial founda-

tion of the state, which means that the program was viewed as a project to develop the nation (*Obrastsovo selo* 1941, 2). The German programs of the RNS and – to a lesser degree – the RKTL were not different in this respect. This included the notion of a specific role of women in the model villages, i.e. the definition of particular female tasks in a rural environment. According to Dimităr Birnikov, Head of the “Service for the Improvement of the Rural Living Conditions” inside the Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture, such tasks were related to nutrition, clothing, house-keeping, hygiene, and education of the rural population. Traditionally, all these fields were regarded as female. Therefore, it seems, that from the viewpoint of the “Obrastsovo selo” project, women were mainly responsible for the envisaged improvement of the rural living conditions. In other words, the program apparently was designed as a challenge mainly for women (Angelova 2007, 129-137). In addition to the mentioned areas of responsibility, the official journal of the program contained instructions to build potato storages, for the preservation of food, for hygienic bread baking, nursing and other similar activities.

Due to these characteristics of “Obrastsovo selo” and due to the fact that its journal made only scarce reference to issues of agricultural technology and productivity, it seems Milena Angelova is right with her statement that the Bulgarian and the German model village programs had different focusses. However, this was not a fundamental difference. The German concepts were simply more comprehensive, but also included the “pathos of hygiene” and the appeal to female responsibility as much as “Obrastsovo selo” did. There was no principle opposition between the Bulgarian program and the Nazi ideology of “blood and soil” – and even less so, as Bulgarian experts openly showed sympathy for it (Angelova 2007, 76-79).

The implementation of the two MWT model villages in Bulgaria made sense only as long as they focussed on areas which had not or only insufficiently been covered so far by “Obrastsovo selo”. As mentioned above, neither Mramor nor Dolni Lukovit ever reached the stage of full development, which was a conse-

quence of the war. However, existing activity reports and preparatory papers draw a relatively clear picture of the planned as well as the practical work of the model villages. These documents give the impression that, similar to respective institutions in Germany, the German model villages in Bulgaria laid a strong emphasis on increasing the productivity, while issues such as hygiene and rural life appear only marginally, since they were covered by the Bulgarian program. Apart from that, the MWT naturally focussed on areas that were of particular relevance for German-Bulgarian trade, including the export interests of the German agricultural industries (Wien 2010).

Programmatic texts outlined the agenda of the model villages. Among them, there are two articles by Dimităr Petev as well as a short note about the inauguration of the model village in Dolni Lukovit on November 17, 1942 (Petev 1942). All of them were published in the journal *Obrastsovo selo*. According to Petev's programmatic articles, an increase of the productivity was to be prioritized, which meant that the use of modern technology, the establishment of a reasonable relation between land cultivation and the keeping of livestock as well as the construction of agricultural buildings appeared as major strategic goals, which were to be realized within a five-year timeframe (Petev 1942). Concretely, the most important measures to be taken initially were as follows: moving from two field to three field culture, increasing the livestock with the purpose of producing natural fertilizers, building storages for the fertilizers, introducing modern machinery, improvement of hygiene. In addition, women were to be instructed to improve their work as housewives and to make rural family life more "cultivated" (Petev 1943).

Furthermore, Petev argued that larger infrastructural improvements were to be carried out. Such were, for instance, corrections of the nearby rivers to avoid the annual floods, as well as the construction of ovens, baths and laundry houses. Petev paid particular attention to fertilizers, because in his eyes this was the area through which a productivity raise could be achieved quickly. He made concrete suggestions as how to build storages for ferti-

lizers, so that they could be loaded onto cars without wasting much time. In addition, Petev argued in favour of a re-allocation of rural land, which so far had been highly fragmented. The rationale was to reduce the time farmers had to spend moving between their different pieces of land on a daily basis (Tankova 2000, 76-111). These ideas were certainly hard to realize, just like the acquisition of modern machinery as well as the increase of livestock. Petev, however, was confident that these goals could be achieved with the help of the Bulgarian government and of the MWT.

Altogether, Petev's plans give the impression that the MWT model villages emphasized other agricultural issues than the Bulgarian ones. Apparently, they tried to give the Bulgarian model village program, of which they were part, a stronger economic and technological character, while housekeeping and related activities received less attention (Petev 1943). This specific focus of the MWT villages can partly be explained with the particular German interests behind this project, i.e. the idea to make Bulgaria into a useful member of the future German controlled "Großwirtschaftsraum". The Bulgarian agriculture was expected to raise its productivity and at the same time to develop as a market for German industrial products, such as land machines (Wien 2010).

Something that is not directly reflected in Petev's reports as well as in other texts related to "Obrastsovo selo" and the MWT model villages, is the cultural and mental dimension of the projects. It seems, however, fair to assume that the mentioned changes and improvements envisaged by the model village concepts – particularly the German one – were highly challenging for the affected village communities, since they required profound alterations with regard to mental and behavioural patterns. Scholars like Holm Sundhaussen, Alexander Gerschenkron or Michael Palairat have published extensively on mentalities of persistence in South-east European agrarian societies before 1945 and have shown that there was only very limited readiness for change among the Bulgarian and other peasantries of the region (Sundhaussen 1989, 45-

60; Gerschenkron 1965; Palairt 1997). The mentioned reports and other documents about the model villages as well as general publications of the same time dealing with questions of modernizing agriculture in Bulgaria seem to confirm this view.

A significant example of these behavioural problems was the use of natural fertilizers. The frequent and repeated discussion of their importance in the contemporary agrarian literature as well as in the records of the MWT model villages points at a remarkable disinterest among the peasants towards the concept of economic efficiency in agriculture. This disinterest was certainly – among other factors – rooted in centuries old behavioural patterns of rural subsistence economy, which had defined the fulfilment of culturally determined needs as the goal of agricultural work, while the maximization of profit or, at least, the generation of a surplus were not pursued. Both model village programs – “Obrsatsovo selo” and the one of the MWT, based on RKTL and RNS – aimed at overcoming these traditions. To achieve this goal, the innovations they tried to introduce seem to be mostly on a very basic level. This raises the question whether these concepts were too demanding for the peasants. However, since the model villages operated only for a short period of time, this question is hard to answer. In any case, the five-year work plan for Dolni Lukovit appears very ambitious given these socio-cultural conditions (Wien 2010).

The scarce information about practical work in the MWT model villages seems to confirm this impression. Actually, there is only one detailed report about measures taken in Mramor in 1943, written by Dimităr Štărbănov, the local MWT representative. The measures included the introduction of reaping, flailing and drilling machines, as well as new sorts of potatoes and artificial fertilizers. In addition, the report mentions instruction in the crafts during the winter. Regardless of whether this report appears as a great success story or not, higher representatives of the MWT were obviously sceptical about its accuracy: The main representative of the MWT in Bulgaria, Wilhelm Helmerking, added a couple of remarks to Štărbănov’s report before forwarding it to Berlin, in

which he clearly expressed that in his eyes the success stories from Mramor were greatly exaggerated (Wien 2007, 254-256).

The contextualization of the MWT model villages within the broader framework of agricultural education in Bulgaria shows that the MWT wanted to add a stronger technological and economical component to “Obrastsovo selo”. Problems the project had to face had a lot to do with mentalities of persistence among the Bulgarian peasantry and highlight how long the way towards a substantial modernization of the Bulgarian agriculture actually was.

The relevance of the MWT model villages in Bulgaria is connected with the variety of their historical contexts. Most obvious is certainly the aspect of modernization, i.e. the attempt to make the agrarian sector into a main pillar of the Bulgarian national economy – corresponding with its demographic importance in Bulgaria, a country where the rural population amounted to roughly 80 percent. The fact that only about 30 percent of the agrarian production were marketed and the rest consumed within the predominant subsistence economy, highlights the need for structural changes, even though at that time agriculture in Bulgaria grew more than in Yugoslavia or Romania (Wien 2007, 32-47; Ivanov 2001, 316; Lampe 1986, 53; Ivanov and Tooze 2007, 679). It seems however, that this need became really pressing only during the 1930s, which explains the beginning of the realization of the long existing model village plans towards the end of this decade. The recent Great Depression and, as a consequence, the economic orientation of Bulgaria towards Germany can be added to this explanation. They are part of the context of the developments of the 1930s – partly also of the 1920s, during which Bulgaria tried to raise its agrarian exports in order to alleviate its precarious financial and economic situation (Lampe 1986, 53).

The Bulgarian interest in intensifying its foreign trade seems to be the most relevant historical context for the establishment of the MWT organized projects of the model villages as well as the school for land machinery BUSEMA. This Bulgarian interest coincided with the German plans to transform Southeast Eu-

rope into a “Großwirtschaftsraum”, and the model villages as well as BUSEMA were expected to contribute to the modelling of the Bulgarian agriculture to the requirements of German-Bulgarian trade.

Another context of the German and the Bulgarian model villages is national ideology. Apparently, there was an increasing readiness in Bulgaria to take inspiration from the ideological foundations of RNS and RKTL. This opened an opportunity to use the model village project not only for the purpose of technological and economic improvement of the Bulgarian agriculture, but also for a better integration of the rural population into the societal structure of the Bulgarian nation as a whole. Particularly the German Nazi regime pursued the goal of integrating the rural population into the ideologically defined idea of the national “Volksgemeinschaft” (“popular community”), using the propagandistic concept of “blood and soil”. The agricultural consulting system of the RNS, which the regime used for these purposes, was observed in Bulgaria with growing sympathy, so that the Bulgarian economic and political elites finally decided to make use of the German expertise for their own economic, but also nation building related goals. The latter goal appears even more relevant when taking into consideration how weakly the Bulgarian rural population was integrated into the national societal context by the beginning of the 1940s. Particularly the network of elementary as well as higher schools in rural areas was perceived as very thin, so that state institutions had only limited access to the peasantry (Mollov 1930, 206-207). The fact that the Bulgarian government finally preferred the concepts and methods of the RKTL over the ones of the RNS did not diminish the obvious interest in the ideological foundation of the RNS, shown by the Bulgarian who were involved in the project of the MWT model villages. It seems they took inspiration in technological terms from the RKTL, while the RNS stimulated them on the national-ideological level. The German as well as the Bulgarian agricultural consulting systems – the Bulgarian one “enriched” with German elements from 1942 onwards - can both be regarded as parts of nation building campaigns (Wien 2010).

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**ACADEMIC CULTURES BETWEEN
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IN THE INTERWAR BLACK SEA REGION**

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