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EDITORIAL

Editor's note

Dear colleagues, readers and friends,

In front of you is a special issue of the journal 'HISTORIA PROVINCIAE – journal of regional history' devoted to the sociocultural dimension of the region. Questions of cultural heritage and national identity, development of education, health care and its improvement, images of the city and the region (including comparison with other cities and cultures) are in the center of attention of the authors in this issue. The materials of this issue are various as for their geographical (Western Belarus, Urals, Serbia, Helsinki / Helsingfors, Mediterranean) as well as chronological orientation (since the 18th century up to present).

Among the authors of this issue are Doctors of sciences and young researchers, mostly historians, but also philologists and sociolinguists.

A genre variety is quite remarkable too. This issue includes an essay-reflection, articles, reviews and a chronicle of scientific life.

We wish you the most interesting and informative reading!



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The Mediterranean region and the Mediterranean images in the activities of foreign family tutors and governesses in the Russian Empire

Abstract. The article discusses the activities of tutors and governesses, who came from the Mediterranean region; a very small group among the foreign teachers who worked in the Russian Empire, where the reviews about their professionalism were quite contradictory. The Italian language was rarely included into the circle of subjects, which the foreign teachers (not necessarily Italian in origin) knew and could teach. A visit to the Mediterranean could be part of an educational tour abroad, carried out under the supervision of a tutor. Warm Mediterranean countries were also visited during a ‘healing tour’ – made by both sick children under the supervision of teachers and unhealthy adult patients accompanied by children with their foreign mentors. The Mediterranean region, its lush nature and rich culture made a lasting impression on everyone who ever came there.

Keywords: home education and upbringing, the Russian Empire, foreign family tutors, foreign governesses, Mediterranean, Italian, intercultural interaction

Introduction

Activities of home mentors (family tutors, governesses, home male and female teachers) have traditionally attracted attention of many researchers. There is a significant historiographical tradition in studying the activities of our countrymen who worked as teachers in their own country (and abroad especially extensive is the British historiography, concentrating primarily on the study of the phenomenon of a Victorian governess)¹. Recently, the topic of special colloquia and conferences was de-

¹ Gathorne-Hardy J. *The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny*. London Sydney; Auckland; Toronto, 1972; Pitcher H. *When Miss Emmie was in Russia. English Governess Before, During and After the October Revolution*. London; Toronto, 1984; Renton A. *Tyrant or Victim? A History of the British Governess*. London, 1991; Cross A. Early Miss Emmies: British nannies, governesses and companions in pre-emancipation Russia. *Anglo-Russica. Aspects of Cultural Relations between Great Britain and Russia in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Selected Essays by Anthony Cross*. Oxford; Providence, 1993, pp. 222–244; Cross A. The testament of a forgotten ‘wife’. *Anglo-Russica. Aspects of Cultural Relations between Great Britain and Russia in the 18th and early 19th*

voted to the work of French family tutors and governesses². Gradually, a whole research niche appeared as related to the study of the situation and the activities of foreigners, including those working in the field of education and training, in the Russian Empire³. In this article, the attention of the research is centered around family tutors and governesses, as well as home tutors – immigrants from the Mediterranean region (except southern France, since French teachers have traditionally been a subject of special studies); the languages of the region in the process of teaching children of Russian nobility; as well as the role that the Mediterranean region had in the activities of foreign tutors – representatives of other countries, who worked in Russia.

Main body

Education and upbringing with the help of foreign family tutors and governesses was very popular in the noble families of the Russian Empire. Typically, home teachers, family tutors and governesses were born in France, Switzerland, the UK and the States of Germany. This was associated with a high level of education (such as in

Centuries. Selected Essays by Anthony Cross. Oxford; Providence, 1993, pp. 245–255; Hughes K. *The Victorian governess*. London; Rio Grande, Ohio, 1993; Hardach-Pinke I. *Die Gouvernante: Geschichte eines Frauenberufs*. Frankfurt am Main, 1997; Cross A.G. 'By the banks of the Neva': *Chapters from the lives and careers of the British in 18th – century Russia*. Cambridge, 1997; Ruth B. *Other people's daughters: The life and times of the governess*. London, 2008; Holden K. *Nanny Knows Best: The History of the British Nanny*. Stroud, 2013.

² *Ezhegodnik 2011: Frankoiazychnye guverneri v Evrope XVII–XIX vv* [French Yearbook: Francophone Tutors in Europe in the 17th–19th Centuries]. Moscow, 2011; *Le précepteur francophone en Europe XVII^e–XIX^e siècles*. Paris, 2013.

³ Dunin A. Guverneri v starinu v pomeshchich'ikh sem'iakh [Tutors in the old days in landlord families (essay)]. *Istoricheskii vestnik* [Historical Herald], 1909, vol. 117, pp. 185–194; Rzhetskii V.S. Frantsuzskie guverneri v Akademii hudozhestv v 1760–1770 gg. [French tutors at the Academy of Fine Arts. 1760–1770s]. *Vosemnadtsatyi vek kak kul'turno-istoricheskii fenomen (Problemy izucheniia)*. *Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* [18th century as a historical and cultural phenomenon (problems of study)]. St. Petersburg, 2002, pp. 65–74; Rzhetskii V.S., Somov V.A. Frantsuzy v Rossii v jepohu Prosveshcheniia (materialy k istorii russko-frantsuzskikh svyazei 1760–1780-kh gg. iz arkhiva frantsuzskogo posol'stva v Sankt-Peterburge) [The French in Russia in the Age of Enlightenment (materials on the history of Russian-French relations of the 1760s–80s from the Archive of the French Embassy in St. Petersburg)]. *Zapadnoevropeiskaia kul'tura v rukopisiakh i knigakh Rossiiskoi Natsional'noi biblioteki* [Western European Culture in Manuscripts and Books of the Russian National Library]; ed. by L.I. Kiseleva. St. Petersburg, 2001, pp. 285–300; Kovrigina V.A. *Nemetskaia sloboda Moskvyy i ee zhiteli v kontse XVII – pervoi chetverti XVIII veka* [The German suburb of Moscow and its inhabitants in the late 17th – first quarter of the 18th century]. Moscow, 1997; Chudinov A.V. Frantsuzskie guverneri v Rossii kontsa XVIII v.: stereotipy i real'nost' [French tutors in Russia at the end of the 18th century: stereotypes and reality]. *Evropeiskoe Prosveshchenie i tsivilizatsiia Rossii* [European Enlightenment and Civilization of Russia], chief eds S.I. Karp, S.A. Mezin. Moscow, 2004, pp. 330–334; Solodyankina O.Y. *Inostrannye guvernantki v Rossii (vtoraia polovina XVIII – pervaiia polovina XIX veka)* [Foreign governesses in Russia (the second half of the 18th – the first half of the 19th century)]. Moscow, 2007; Tikhonova A.V. Shveitsarskie uchitelia v Rossii pervoi poloviny XIX v. [Swiss teachers in Russia in the first half of the 19th century]. *Voprosy istorii* [Questions of history], 2011, no. 9, pp. 142–147.

Switzerland⁴), and peculiarities of the situation with women, and especially young girls (who in case of lack or absence of inherited funds had nothing more to do than to earn their living; and teaching was almost the only opportunity to receive more or less acceptable earnings⁵), also bearing in mind the popularity of foreign languages that the Russian nobility desired to learn (with French being almost obligatory for a nobleman, as they were supposed to speak with a Parisian accent⁶).

Only a few family tutors and governesses, who worked in Russia, came from Southern Europe, namely from the Mediterranean region – among them there were Italians, Spaniards and Greeks. This peculiarity was already noticed by their contemporaries. As D.P. Runich, who in the first quarter of the 19th century was known as the administrator in the field of education, wrote that “a noble family, who had no French tutor or a governess, considered themselves unhappy. The Germans were not loved; Englishwomen in Russia were not in abundance. Of the British in Moscow, there were only speculators, horse traders and footmen. Of Italians, except for two or three teachers of music, all the others were vagrants or peddlers selling prints, umbrellas, powder, lipstick and perfume”⁷.

⁴ See more: Vodovozova E.N. *Kak liudi na belom svete zhivut. Shveitsartsy* [How people live in this world. The Swiss]. St. Petersburg, 1904; Tikhonova A.V. *Shveitsarskie uchitel'ia v Rossii pervoi poloviny XIX v.* [Swiss teachers in Russia in the first half of the 19th century]. *Voprosy istorii* [Questions of history], 2011, no. 9, pp. 142–147.

⁵ See more: Solodyankina O. Y. *Sotsial'noe polozenie inostrannykh nastavnikov v Rossii (vtoraia polovina XVIII – pervaiia polovina XIX v.)* [Social position of foreign mentors in Russia (second half of the 18th – first half of the 19th century)]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo oblastnogo universiteta. Ser.: Istoriia i politicheskie nauki* [Bulletin of the Moscow State Regional University. Series ‘History and Political Sciences’], 2008, no. 2, pp. 10–24; Efimova E.Sh. *Polozenie gubernantok i uchitel'nits v Velikobritanii poslednei treti XIX veka* [The situation with governesses and teachers in Great Britain in the last third of the 19th century]. *Vestnik Cheliabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* [Bulletin of Chelyabinsk State University], 2011, no. 23 (238). *History*, vol. 47, pp. 164–168.

⁶ See more: Alekseev M.P. *Angliiskii iazyk v Rossii i russkii iazyk v Anglii* [English in Russia and Russian in England]. *Uchenye zapiski LGU. Ser. Filologicheskie nauki* [Scientific Notes of Leningrad State University. Ser. Philology], 1944, is. 9, pp. 77–137; Zhane D.K. *Frantsuzskii iazyk v Rossii XVIII v. kak obshchestvennoe iavlenie* [French language in Russia of the 18th century as a social phenomenon]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta, 1978. Ser. IX: Filologiya* [Bulletin of Moscow University, 1978. Ser. IX. Philology], no. 1, pp. 62–70; Alekseev M.P. *Russko-angliiskie literaturnye sviazi (XVIII vek – pervaiia polovina XIX veka)* [Russian-English literary connections (18th century – the first half of the 19th century)]. *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* [Literary Heritage], vol. 91. Moscow, 1982; Argent G., Offord D., Rjéoutski V. *The Functions and Value of Foreign Languages in Eighteenth-Century Russia*. *The Russian Review*, 2015, vol. 74, no. 1, pp. 1–19; Cross A. *English – A Serious Challenge to French in the Reign of Alexander I?* *The Russian Review*, 2015, vol. 74, no. 1, pp. 57–68; Dahmen K. *The Russian Review*, 2015, vol. 74, no. 1, pp. 20–40; Offord D., Ryazanova-Clarke L., Rjéoutski V. and Argent G. (eds) *French and Russian in Imperial Russia*. Edinburgh, 2015. 2 vols.

⁷ Runich D.P. *Iz zapisok D.P. Runicha* [From the notes of D.P. Runich]. *Russkaia starina* [Russian Antiquity], 1901, no. 1, p. 52.

This picture of almost complete absence of any representatives from the Mediterranean region in the teaching profession is also confirmed by the official data: in the materials of the testing committee of St. Petersburg and Moscow universities, designed to verify the knowledge of potential tutors and governesses, and provide them with a certificate for teaching in private homes, one could extremely rarely find any names or representatives of the Italian states; let alone any Spaniards, Portuguese and Greeks⁸.

Thus, in 1835 a certificate granting the right to work as a home teacher of French was received by the Sardinian subject Maria Lyoto, who passed the test successfully at Moscow University⁹. In October 1845, the Sardinian subject Henri Monastie applied to the trial committee of Moscow University with a request to check his knowledge: he expected to become a home tutor of French. During the test, Monastie demonstrated a very good knowledge of French, whereas the knowledge in history and geography was enough, with decent knowledge of arithmetic as well¹⁰.

As we can see, both Sardinians wanted to teach the French language, understanding its exceptional demand in the market of educational services and weak interest in the Italian language. The Russian nobility had no need to learn Spanish and Portuguese at all because of the negligible influence of these countries on the international arena.

An Italian Venturi acted in the same vein, almost a century before those Sardinians arrived; in the middle of the 18th century he kept a private boarding school in St. Petersburg: the French language was taught to nobility children there; and the most famous pupil was Nikolai Mordvinov (1754–1845), future admiral¹¹.

It was French, and not the Italian language that was taught by Nikolai Ivanovich Bartoli, son of an Italian, to his pupil Dmitry Sverbeev (1799–1874), later a diplomat. As afterwards the disciple of his mentor recalled, “He knew foreign languages<...> worse than Russian; he spoke French fluently with me, but right or wrong – there was

⁸ See: Solodyankina O.Yu. *Frantsuzskie gubernery i guvernantki v Moskovskom i Peterburgskom uchebnykh okrugakh (1820–1850-e gg.)* [The French tutors and governesses in Moscow and St Petersburg learning districts (1820–1850-s)]. *Frantsuzskii ezhegodnik 2011: Frankoiazychnye gubernery v Evrope XVII–XIX vv.* [French Yearbook: Francophone Tutors in Europe in the 17th–19th Centuries]. Moscow, 2011, pp. 127–149.

⁹ Otdel khraneniia dokumentov do 1917 goda (OKhD do 1917 g.) [Department of keeping documents before 1917]. *State Budget Institution 'Central Archive of Moscow'*. F. 459. Op. 1. D. 4660. L. 36 ob.

¹⁰ OKhD before 1917. F. 418. Op. 14. D. 248. L. 94–95.

¹¹ Mordvinova N.N. *Vospominaniia ob admirale Nikolae Semenoviche Mordvinove i o semeistve ego (Zapiski ego docheri)* [Memories of admiral Nikolai Semenovich Mordvinov and his family (notes of his daughter)]. *Zapiski russkikh zhenshchin 18 – pervoi poloviny 19 veka*; Sost., vstup.st. i komment. G.N. Moiseeva [Notes of Russian Women of the 18th – First Half of the 19th Century, Compilation, introductory article and comments by G.N. Moiseeva]. Moscow, 1990, pp. 393, 389–448.

nobody to judge”¹². As you can see, an Italian could become a French teacher whilst working in the family, where there would be a representative student brought up in accordance with the European educational traditions; and there was no one to check the true level of knowledge of the teacher.

Orel landowner Nikolai Gavrilovich Levshin (1788–1845), recalling his childhood as several changing family tutors and governesses, who taught him and his brothers and sisters the French and German languages, pointed out the Italian Rancy, the fourth in the list of the mentors in the provincial noble family. Per N.G. Levshin, Rancy was “brutish and slovenly. As it is now easy for me to judge my former teachers, he probably arrived in Russia with canaries, a marmot or dogs”¹³.

An Italian governess M-lle Grisel (Anna Fedorovna, as she was called in Russia) left completely different impressions, whilst working in the family of Prince Nicholas G. Viazemsky (1769–1846) and his second wife Sophia Yegorovna Panina, Behring through her first marriage (died in 1858). M-lle Grisel raised Princess Anne, one of Viazemskys daughters. The family appreciated the Italian governess, who after the early death of the pupil (Anna died at the age of sixteen) “remained for life on friendly terms”¹⁴ with Princess Sophia Yegorovna, the pupil’s mother. The former governess later married Dr. Feyhtner, who lived in St. Petersburg (the Viazemskys, although they owned estates in the Kaluga province, preferred to live in Moscow), where she visited the younger sister of Prince Viazemsky Countess Maria Grigorievna Razumovskaya (1772–1865), known for her hospitality and passion for entertainments. It was the former Italian governess who was present at the death of M.G. Razumovskaya as evidenced by Maria Grigorievna Nazimova, grandniece of Razumovskaya and her namesake¹⁵.

Madame Manzoni, the governess of Boris Chicherin (1828–1904) (later he became a known lawyer, historian and a liberal social activist) also led her origin from the Mediterranean region. Per her pupil, “she descended from mixed nationalities; her mother, per her words, was a Spaniard, whereas her husband was an Italian. Originally she was, as it seemed, from Bearn or the Basque provinces, which were always spoken about with passion. After separating from her husband, she came to Russia to seek her fortune and settled in Tambov, in the private boarding school of Ms.

¹² *Zapiski Dmitriia Nikolaevicha Sverbeeva (1799-1826): v 2 t.* [Notes of Dmitry Nikolaevich Sverbeev (1799–1826): in 2 vol. Vol. 1. Moscow, 1899, p. 52.

¹³ Domashnii pamiatnik Nikolaia Gavrilovicha Levshina [Home monument of Nikolai Gavrilovich Levshin]. *Russkaia starina* [Russian Antiquity], 1873, vol. 8, no. 12, p. 831.

¹⁴ Nazimova M. Babushka grafina M.G. Razumovskaia. Stranichka iz vospominanii [Grandmother countess M.G. Razumovskaya. Page from memoirs]. *Istoricheskii vestnik* [Historical Herald], 1899, vol. 75, no. 3, p. 841.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Fitstum, from where she moved to our place”¹⁶. The governess made a lasting impression on everyone in the large family of the Chicherins: “She was a middle-aged lady, very far from stupid, very brisk, with secular forms and habits and a dashing rider; besides being very busy and despite her rather thick nose disgracing her face. Showing off her long blond hair, she always wore unusual hairstyles; in the morning, she was at a lesson in curlers, and she piled her scythe in the form of a cone or a high tower, on which she would spend a lot of time; and it afflicted the maid who served her and did not know how to please her. She was extremely moody by character and had different quirks: she claimed that she could not see a toad and a watermelon without collapsing. When in summer, a watermelon was served at the table, she would jump up and run headlong into her room; therefore, she was pre-warned about this insidious fruit being served on a day. And during the evening walks, she took every jumping frog for a toad and darted from side to side in violent fits.”¹⁷ B.N. Chicherin noted it as a positive quality of an educator, especially her desire to awaken love and the habit of reading serious literature, as well as pettiness and fault-finding in her character. However, the overall evaluation of this governess was quite high: “She did not only teach us and make us learn the discipline; but despite her capricious nature she was a good teacher. We soon got used to talking and even more importantly, to writing in French correctly”¹⁸. It should be noted that in the case with the Chicherins, the main subject of teaching was French.

It is obvious that such a small amount of evidence is not enough to fully assess the quality of the Italian teachers, but one can make a conclusion about presence of a small number of Italians (or other people from the Mediterranean region) in teaching profession.

Regarding teaching of the Italian language, it is worth paying attention to two remarkable facts. In 1832, a Swiss widow Eugénie Guichard, born Joly, applied to the testing committee of St. Petersburg University with a request to verify her knowledge and to grant permission to work as a home teacher, wishing to teach the Italian language along with French¹⁹. In 1833, a French Josephine Fusée de Voisenon made a similar request to check her knowledge of French, German and Italian in the same committee²⁰. However, per the documents, the knowledge of the governesses in the Italian language was not checked; and each of them received a certificate for teaching fewer languages than they claimed: Madame Guichard could teach French²¹ and

¹⁶ Chicherin B.N. *Vospominaniia* [Memoirs]. *Rossiiskii arkhiv. Istoriia Otechestva v svidetel'stvakh i dokumentakh XVIII-XX vv.* [The Russian Archive. History of the Fatherland in Testimonies and Documents of the 18th–20th Centuries]. Moscow, 1999, p. 136.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 136–137.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 138.

¹⁹ Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv Sankt-Peterburga [The Central State Archive of Saint-Petersburg] (CSASPb). F. 14. Op. 24. D. 502.

²⁰ CSASPb. F. 14. Op. 24. D. 635.

²¹ CSASPb. F. 14. Op. 24. D. 502. L. 4.

Madame de Voisenon – German and the basics of the French language²². It is unlikely that the lack of knowledge in the test of the Italian language could be considered accidental: in all other cases, as confirmed by the archival documents, all the languages declared by the applicants were checked. At the same time, in the testing committee there were lecturers of French, German and English; however, there were no lecturers of the Italian language there. It can be assumed that the Italian language was not planned to be checked.

Despite the apparent unpopularity of the Italian language, we can cite a few cases where the Italian language was included in the educational program for the children of nobility (mostly aristocrats) (as a matter of fact, in combination with other foreign languages). Italian could be mastered as an additional language in the learning process, but was not a major subject because this role was played by the French language at the time.

Thus, at the end of the 17th century, Prince Yuri Trubetzkoy (1668–1739), the famous statesman and later a senator, brought in I. Gagin, the teacher of French and Italian, from Italy to Moscow²³. It is known that it was in Italian that Prince conversed easily with foreigners, per the Dutch artist and ethnographer Cornelius de Bruijn (1652–1727)²⁴, who visited Russia at that point. The Italian language (in addition to French and German) was the language of tuition for the daughter of Peter the Great, Elizabeth (1709–61). Lady Rondo (Rondeau) wrote about Princess Elizabeth in 1733 that she speaks German, French and Italian, very cheerful, talking with everyone; in a circle, as is thought of a well-bred woman²⁵. The Italian language was included in the curriculum of Countess Catherine Romanovna Vorontsova (1743/4–1810), Princess Dashkova through her marriage, later president of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences and her cousin, Countess Anna Mikhailovna Vorontsova (1743–69). As later the Princess herself would recall, “Uncle (meaning Chancellor Michail Illarionovich Vorontsov (1714–67) – *O.S.*) spared no money to provide her daughter and me with the best teachers; and per the views of the time, we got great education; we spoke four languages, we were especially good in French, Italian,

²² CSASPb. F. 14. Op. 24. D. 502. L. 5.

²³ Kovrigina V.A. *Nemetskaia sloboda Moskvyy i ee zhiteli v kontse XVII – pervoi chetverti XVIII veka* [The German suburb of Moscow and its inhabitants in the late 17th – first quarter of the 18th century]. Moscow, 1997, p. 355.

²⁴ de Bruin K. *Puteshestvie v Moscoviiu* [Travel to Muscovy]. *Rossiiia XVIII v. glazami inostrantsev* [Russia of the 18th Century through the Eyes of Foreigners]. Leningrad, 1989, pp. 52, 19–188.

²⁵ Rondo. *Pisima damy, prozhivshei neskol'ko let v Rossii, k ee priiatel'nitse v Angliiu* [Letters from a lady who lived in Russia for several years, to her friend in England / transl. from English]. *Bezvremen'e i vremenshchiki: Vospominaniia ob 'epokhe dvortsovykh perevorotov' (1720-e – 1760-e gody)* [Timelessness and Timekeepers: Memories of the ‘Era of Palace Coups’ (1720s – 60s), compilation, introductory article and comments by E. Anisimov]. Leningrad, 1991, p. 211.

German and one ancient language. <...> We danced well and painted a little bit; besides, the fact that the two of us had pleasant appearance, both refined and with polite manners, it was not surprising that we were considered well-mannered girls”²⁶.

In accordance with the text of the agreement, concluded on 5 May 1761 between the Frenchman de Pexonne, preceptor of nine-year old Yuri Neledinsky-Meletsky, later known as a writer, and the pupil’s grandmother, the boy mastered Italian ‘in case it is required’, i.e. not mandatory (French was considered a compulsory subject of teaching at the time):

“I, the undersigned, undertake in the house of Her Excellency Anna Ivanovna Neledinskaya-Meletskaya, to teach her grandson with all diligence, namely the French language, starting with the basics and spelling, arithmetic and similar decent sciences, such as modern and ancient history, geography and knowledge of the sphere, the Italian and the Latin languages, in case they are required. <...> At the end of each year, I will ask the friends of the family to test this young man, whose upbringing was entrusted to me, where his knowledge acquisition would be surveyed through the grace that earn trust”²⁷.

Prince Pyotr Andreevich Vyazemsky (1792–1878), later a famous poet, mastered the Italian language and the Italian literature in combination with other languages. As Vyazemsky himself admitted, the largest footprint among his preceptors was left by the Frenchman Dandilli; and the whole of his “mind was brought up and educated in a French school.” “I studied other foreign languages, worked with German, English and Italian literature at times, but they were all more or less of casual acquaintance for me. My communication only strengthened when I started to familiarize myself with the French literature, especially that belonging to the last century”²⁸.

A great number of languages were on offer, including Italian, Spanish, Greek and Turkish, according to the text of an advertisement placed in the ‘Moscow News’ newspaper in 1785 by Anton Le Maire who was offering to teach pupils; he “recently arrived in Moscow, from the town of Luneville in France.” The offer extended to those “who wanted to get a place in a public school or a private house and included teaching of the following languages: French, German, Italian, Polish, English, Swedish, Spanish, Latin, Greek and Turkish; in addition, geography, history, mythology, arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, algebra, higher mathematics, fortification, artil-

²⁶ *Zapiski kniagini Dashkovoï. Pis'ma sester Wilmot iz Rossii*; Pod obshch. red. S.S. Dmitrieva [Notes of princess Dashkova. Letters from the sisters Wilmot from Russia; general ed. S.S. Dmitriev]. Moscow, 1991, p. 41.

²⁷ Neledinskii-Meletskii Y.A. *Ocherki ego zhizni, bumagi i perezpiska ego* [Essays on his life, papers and his correspondence]. *Russkii arkhiv* [The Russian Archive], 1867, no. 1–12, col. 106–107.

²⁸ Viazemskii P.A. *Avtobiographicheskoe vvedenie* [Autobiographical introduction]. *Viazemskii P.A. Zapisnye knizhki* [Notebooks, compilation, an introductory article, comments and name indications by D.P. Ivinsky]. Moscow, 1992, p. 315.

lery, chemistry, logic, metaphysics, law, navigation and hydraulics were on offer as well. Beyond all that, he was familiar with quite a different art, such as making the best china out of broken pottery (fayence), as well as other things belonging to chemistry. He could teach drawing, playing the piano, singing and surprisingly easy vaulting²⁹.

It is easy to imagine that the ignorant parents of the 18th century believed that all this abundance of knowledge and amount of skills sufficient for teaching could be taught by one single person; and in contrast to Le Maire, all other prospective teachers, who did not have such universalism, were considered unsuitable for the education of their offspring. A century later, at the time of re-publication of this advertisement, such an ‘encyclopedic knowledge’ was made a mockery of distrust and disregard on part of the ancestors, who could not distinguish people having the true knowledge from those who just claimed to have it. The teaching opportunities of the tutor-emigrant Ripomonti working for years in the family of the Nikolevs were much more realistic: he raised their youngest son, few daughters and their maid Elizabeth Yakovleva, who lived in the family, teaching all of them French and Italian, as well as “other sciences, and even religion. He observed their morality, worked and played with them”³⁰.

In the advertisement of “a teacher knowing a lot”, that is Anton Le Maire, there were no doubts that someone could speak several foreign languages (people can be polyglots in the long run!); but what he also claimed was teaching an unthinkable large number of arts and sciences. Marta Wilmot, the guest in a house of Princess E.R. Dashkova in 1803–08, wrote about Baroness Prayzer, nee Patten, who was an example of the polyglot governess: “Her grandfather was, in my opinion, a peer and supporter of the Stuart dynasty. Baroness Prayzer seems to be extremely ugly and cutesy, but it is only the first impression. After talking to her for a few minutes, you realize that she is extremely clever, with subtle feelings, soulful, capable of making correct judgments about all women (all these qualities were evident even during a short visit). In addition, it turned out that she was fluent in eight languages: English, French, Italian, German, Russian, Finnish, Dutch and on top of that all *Latin*; and of course, because of that, the very first impression would be replaced by a feeling of admiration and respect. Baroness Prayzer due to unfortunate circumstances had to serve as a governess to two or three families”³¹. However, we do not know whether Baroness Prayzer really taught all the above-mentioned languages, or the parents of

²⁹ Mnogoznaiushchii uchitel'-inostranets. 'Moskovskie vedomosti' 1785 g. [A knowledgeable foreign teacher. *Moskovskie Vedomosti, 1785*]. *Russkaia starina* [Russian Antiquity], 1887, vol. 54, no. 4, p. 240.

³⁰ Features of an old aristocratic life. Memories of Marya Sergeevna Nikoleva. *The Russian Archive*, 1893. Book 3, no. 9, p. 116.

³¹ Zapiski kniagini Dashkovoï. Pis'ma sester Wilmot iz Rossii; Pod obshch. red. S.S. Dmitrieva [Notes of princess Dashkova. Letters from the sisters Wilmot from Russia; general ed. S.S. Dmitriev]. Moscow, 1991, pp. 393–394.

her students were limited to traditional French only, or at least English or German (which is much more likely).

Italian was among those languages, which the Englishwoman Elizabeth Stephens (died in 1816) spoke. In 1790, a well-known ‘Angloman’ Andrei Samborskii, a former confessor at the Russian Embassy in Britain and the spiritual mentor of the Grand Dukes Alexander and Constantine Pavlovich (as well as their English teacher) placed Mrs. Stephens as a governess in the house of Countess Catherine Shuvalova (1743–1816), an influential court Mistress, to assist her youngest daughter Alexandra (1775–1847). Elizabeth was a wonderful musician, a harpist and a singer³², but for the Shuvalovs family her knowledge of the French language and fine manners were of main interest.

Italian (along with French and German) was one of the subjects that was ready to be taught by another musician and singer Charlotte Moreau de la Meltière (died in 1854), a French writer and translator from Russian, who was familiar with V.A. Zhukovsky from Muratovo, the estate of his half-sister E.A. Protasova³³. Madame Moreau was the governess of sisters Tuchkovs, Natalia (1829–1913) and Helena (1827–71), in 1840 in Moscow. However, in this case, only the French language was claimed to be taught by the governess, about whom her pupil Natalia Tuchkova recalled as follows: Madame Moreau de la Meltière was ‘cunning and a great talker’; however, she was bored with the children and “preferred talking with the older members of the family, especially with my father, who knew French to perfection. <...> When my father was present, she would call us ‘ces pauvres petits anges’; and in his absence, she would not pay any attention to us whatsoever”³⁴.

Under the influence of the studied languages, reading foreign books to the children of nobility, a multilayered picture of the world was shaped, including parts specific to different cultures. The most obvious result was the process when languages mixed in the verbal communication. Thus, one of the guests in the home of Princess Dashkova, a British Katherine Wilmot noted that over the years, for the princess it was “of no difference – whether to speak French, Russian or English; and she constantly mixes the languages in the same sentence. The Princess also speaks German and Italian very well, but then her fuzzy pronunciation makes it impossible to enjoy

³² Lukovskaia D.I., Grechishkin S.S., Morozov V.I. M.M. Speranskii: kratkii ocherk zhizni i deiatel'nosti [M.M. Speransky: a brief sketch of his life and activity]. *M.M. Speranskii: Zhizn', tvorchestvo, gosudarstvennaia deiatel'nost': (Sbornik statei)* [M.M. Speransky: life, work, public activity (collection of articles)]. St. Peterburg, 2000, pp. 3–66.

³³ Pis'mo V.A. Zhukovskogo A.F. Voeikovu. 13 Fevr. 1814 g. [V.A. Zhukovsky – to A.F. Voeikov. 13 February 1814]. *Russkii arkhiv* [The Russian Archive], 1900, no. 9, p. 20.

³⁴ Tuchkova-Ogareva N.A. *Vospominaniia* [Memories. Introductory article, edition and notes by S.A. Pereselenkov], 1929, pp. 35–37.

the conversation”³⁵. Having grown up with Italian, French and English home governesses and tutors, Anna Olenina, the daughter of President of the Academy of Arts A.N. Olenin, inserted words from different languages in her diary, depending on the plot to be described: “So she is forced to forget // To love, d'aimer, amar, liubit', // To be engaged in a garden // To plant cabbages ‘in a row’ // To run home costs // And raise your bird's house”³⁶. The Family of the Count Buturlins, where several children were born during the period from 1794 to 1813, also demonstrated the diversity of foreign influences. Per Mikhail Dmitrievich Buturlin (1807–76), he and his sister Helen ‘became British’, “that remained forever; our older sisters survived with the remnants of their Frenchified (if I can say so) upbringing, with a small addition and mixture of Italian”³⁷. Buturlin wrote about himself: “I was cosmopolitan in my education (mostly being an Englishman than anything else), wrote verses in English and Italian quite easily, and was not good at speaking my own native language”³⁸. After spending his childhood in Italy, under the supervision of some British tutors, in 1830 he returned to Russia and joined the army – “I slowly began to understand my own, so to speak, enormity in surrounding me with the Russian elements, where I felt something like half-Italian and half-British, and often was ashamed of my cosmopolitanism and poor knowledge of my native language and customs”³⁹.

The same cosmopolitan in education with a strong ‘grafting’ of Italian culture was Prince Alexander Nikitich Volkonsky (1811–78), the son of the famous princess Zinaida Volkonskaya (1789–1862), who spent much of her life in Italy – she adopted Catholicism, and her villa in Rome was visited by many figures of the Russian culture. At the request of Z.A. Volkonskaya, a renowned French teacher working a lot in Russia, abbot Nicole (1758–1835)⁴⁰ made up a plan of education for the young prince Volkonsky⁴¹. A detailed plan of training was designed for 12 years and involved

³⁵ Zapiski kniagini Dashkovoï. *Pis'ma sester Wilmot iz Rossii*; Pod obshch.red. S.S. Dmitrieva [Notes of princess Dashkova. Letters from the sisters Wilmot from Russia; general ed. S.S. Dmitriev]. Moscow, 1991, p. 296.

³⁶ Olenina A.A. *Dnevnik. Vospominaniia* [A diary. Memories. Introductory article by V.M. Faybisovich. The text and comments are compiled and prepared by L.G. Agamalyan, V.M. Faybisovich, N.A. Kazakova, M.V. Arsentyeva]. St. Peterburg, 1999, p. 62.

³⁷ Zapiski grafa Mikhaila Dmitrievicha Buturlina [Notes of count Mikhail Dmitrievich Buturlin]. *Russkii arkhiv* [The Russian archive], 1897. Book 1, no. 4, p. 633.

³⁸ Zapiski grafa Mikhaila Dmitrievicha Buturlina [Notes of count Mikhail Dmitrievich Buturlin]. *Russkii arkhiv* [The Russian archive], 1897. Book 2, no. 6, p. 188.

³⁹ Zapiski grafa Mikhaila Dmitrievicha Buturlina [Notes of count Mikhail Dmitrievich Buturlin]. *Russkii arkhiv* [The Russian archive], 1897. Book 2, no. 7, p. 345.

⁴⁰ See more in detail: Notkina O.Yu. Abbat Nikol' - pervyi direktor Rishel'evskogo litseia. *Biobibliographicheskii ukazatel'* [Abbot Nicol – the first director of Richelieu Lyceum. Bibliographic index]. *Vestnik Odesskogo natsional'nogo universiteta* [Bulletin of Odessa National University], 2007, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 96–107.

⁴¹ Zapiska abbata Nikolii o vospitanii molodogo kniazia A.N. Volkonskogo [Note of abbot Nicol on the education of young prince A.N. Volkonsky]. *Russkii arkhiv* [The Russian Archive], 1895. Book 1, no. 4, pp. 486–493.

studying classical languages and texts, modern languages, especially Russian and French, as well as (to a lesser extent) Italian, English and German. The educational program included studying of various sciences. To complete the training, a rich program of trips and visits to the main Italian cities (along with Germany and the UK) was offered for the family. Princess Volkonskaya monitored the implementation of this plan; the contemporaries believed that her son Alexander was growing to be a very educated man and had successfully served as a diplomat, later becoming an envoy (since 1858 – in Saxony, in 1860 – in Naples, and in 1862 – in Spain). His interest in culture, especially Italian, manifested itself in collecting works of art and then writing a book “Rome and Italy of medieval and modern times, in historical, moral and artistic relations”⁴².

In the cosmopolitan spirit, with long periods of staying abroad, was the upbringing of Olga Nikolaevna Smirnova (1834–93), the daughter of the well-known beauty Alexandra Osipovna Smirnova (nee Rosset) (1809–82), who knew Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Turgenev and other Russian writers very closely. Educated by an Englishwoman Mary Overback, Olga Smirnova read in English when she was five, and “learned to write in Italian earlier than in Russian”⁴³, later mastering the Spanish language.

The knowledge of Italian by nobleman and especially noble girls could be useful if they were interested in music: the most popular songs had to be performed in Italian as they were written, and the most visited opera houses in Russia for a long time were the ones where Italian troupes performed, famous for performing operas of Italian composers. Whereas as home teachers Italians were valued poorly, and their skills in the Italian language could not be checked even in the imperial universities (due to the absence of Italian language specialists); the future home teachers were obliged to be tested as there were no rivals to them in teaching music and drawing. Usually, people from the Mediterranean area were specifically musical and gave their pupils lessons of music by using songs of their homeland and the works of Italian composers. Praskoviia Nikolaevna Tatlina (1808–99) proudly recalled that her daughter received her upbringing in the family of a general – boss of her husband, due to her special abilities; and for that purpose, the family invited a ‘singing’ teacher from Italy

⁴² Volkonskii A.N. Rim i Italiia srednikh i noveishikh vremen, v istoricheskom, npravstvennom i khudozhestvennom otnosheniiakh [Rome and Italy of Middle Ages and contemporary history in historical, moral and artistic relations]. *Collection of Books by A. Volkonsky, Member of Rimsk. Arkadsk. Academy*. Parts 1-2. Moscow. 1845, 2 volumes.

⁴³ Smirnova A.O. Zapiski, dnevniki, vospominaniia, pis'ma [Notes, diaries, memoirs, letters. Ed. M.A. Tsiavlovskii]. Moscow, 1929, p. 367.

as a governess. Tatlina's daughter received excellent musical education thanks to this governess⁴⁴.

The images of beautiful Mediterranean countries were presented during the drawing lessons, when the children tried to portray the bright southern landscape, so different from the more modest images of Russian nature. Fascinating stories about wonderful southern countries looked like incredible contrast and fiction against the background of the Russian cold climate. Even the tutors and governesses from other countries, having an experience of living in Italy, were acutely homesick in Russia, longing for the heat, the Sun and the bright colors of Italy. The short summer heat in Russia resembled sunny Italy, as well as the noise of the wind outside the estate near Moscow reminded them of the sound of waves in the Italian Lericì. Thus, Claire Clairmont (1798–1879), an Englishwoman, stepsister of Mary Shelley and Byron's former lover, in the 1820s worked as a governess in Russia. On 16 May 1825 she recorded in her diary: “No rough wind, the air was soft and balmy as in Italy. The weather was truly delightful”⁴⁵. On 21 May, a new nostalgic entry was added: “I sat at my window this morning, and listened with melancholy pleasure to the sound of the wind among the neighboring trees – it recalled to my mind the breaking waves upon the shores of Lericì”⁴⁶. We hear the same longing for Italy in the letters of Claire: “and the few traces of beauty the trackless wilds, which are spread all over Russia, afford, send my soul, on the wings of a thousand of desires, back to the rich, luxurious bosom of Italy”⁴⁷.

Assessing the extent of foreign influences and trying to isolate the Mediterranean component in them, it is helpful to listen to the opinion of the French tutor in the family of general-in-chief N.I. Saltykov Ch. Masson (1762–1807), who wrote that Russian noblemen “really had a great ability to blend in opinions, morals, manners, and language with other nations. They would be frivolous, as the former French *petit-mâîtres*, would go crazy with the music as any Italian, would be judicious as any German, would be original as an Englishman, low as a slave and as proud as a Republican. They would change tastes and nature as easily as fashion, and of course, this physical and mental flexibility would be their ‘hallmark’. <...> Russians generally like to learn and respect foreigners, who are hated only by uneducated and those enviously competing with themselves”⁴⁸. As one can see, per Masson, musicality was

⁴⁴ Vospominaniia Praskov'i Nikolaevny Tatlinoi [Memories of Praskovia Nikolaevna Tatlina (1812–54)]. *Russkii arkhiv* [The Russian Archive], 1899, vol. III, no. 10, p. 200.

⁴⁵ *The Journals of Claire Clairmont. 1814–27*. Ed. by M.K. Stocking. Cambridge, 1968, p. 310.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* P. 314.

⁴⁷ Claire Clairmont to Jane Williams. 29 April 1825. *The Clairmont Correspondence: Letters of Claire Clairmont, Charles Clairmont and Fanny Imlay Godwin*; ed. by Marion Kingston Stocking. Vol.1. 1808–1834. Baltimore & London, 1995, p. 221.

⁴⁸ Masson Ch. *Sekretnye zapiski o Rossii vremeni tsarstvovaniia Ekateriny II i Pavla I. Nabludeniia frantsuza, zhivshogo pri dvore, o pridvornykh nravakh, demonstriruiushchie nezauriadnuiu nabludatelnost' i osvedomlennost' avtora*. Moscow, 1996, p. 137.

a characteristic feature of Italian influence; and any governess speaking the Italian language, along with other languages, would most often be an excellent musician, as discussed in the above-mentioned examples.

Italian and Spanish tutors used the idea of traditional costumes of their homeland for children's masquerades. The aforementioned governess of the Chicherins, Madame Manzoni, originally believed to be Basque, came up with an idea for the ball to make a quadrille of two pairs of children dressed as Basques in black jackets and tight-fitting short pants of nude color, strapped with a buckle under the knee; one boy – in red, the other – in blue silk stockings, with vests of the same color and knitted caps, both in tiny round nose shoes with pompons. The governess announced to the parents and their children that it was very beautiful⁴⁹. And of course, it was pleasant for her to see the pupils in the national costumes of her home country, which she had left long ago, at least at the stage of trying on the said costumes and rehearsals, as the masquerade was cancelled at the very last moment.

The Mediterranean region could become the destination of a trip abroad (so called Grand Tour), which very often completed the education of a young man⁵⁰. One of the first trips of this kind were made by the young Count Alexei Razumovsky, son of the last Ukrainian hetman Cyril Razumovsky. In the 1760s, he together with his father went to Italy under the supervision of his tutors, Strasbourg Professor and the poet Nicolai and a certain Frenchman Cronje⁵¹. Later, the Count A.K. Razumovsky (1748–1822) became minister of public education.

Many Russian noble families spent a lot of time abroad, and if the children were young, during such trips they were accompanied by tutors and governesses, as it was the case with Princess Trubetskaya, whose daughters were raised by M-lle Michel. A native of Metz, M-lle Michel took advantage of this long stay in Italy to learn the Italian language: any additional knowledge as well as experience of an educational activity and long-term stays abroad increased the competitiveness of a governess or a tutor. N.A. Tuchkova, one of M-lle Michel former pupils, wrote about this woman: she was “far from common nature: highly educated and well-read, she knew three languages and literature well; apart from French, she could also speak German and Eng-

⁴⁹ Chicherin B.N. *Vospominaniia* [Memories], pp. 137–138.

⁵⁰ See more details: Abramova I.I. Znachenie "Grand-tour" v obrazovanii i vospitanii dzhentl'mena [The meaning of the 'Grand Tour' in the education and upbringing of a gentleman]. *Iaroslavskii pedagogicheskii vestnik* [Yaroslavl Pedagogical Bulletin], 2006, no. 3, pp. 75–82; *Grand Tour: Journey as a Cultural Phenomenon*. Compiled and edited by V.P. Shestakov. St. Peterburg, 2012. 302 p.

⁵¹ See: Vasil'chikov A.A. *Semeistvo Razumovskikh* [Family of the Razumovskys]: in 5 vol. Vol. 2. St. Peterburg, 1880, pp. 11–12.

lish. <...> Being often in Italy with the family of Princess Trubetskaya, she studied Italian”⁵².

There might be of course a sadder option when a governess or a tutor accompanied their patient ill with tuberculosis to the coast of the warm Mediterranean Sea, away from the cold Russian winters, in the hope of a cure. The faith in the healing power of the Swiss wine grape, warm air French barns and soft coastal air of Italy has lived in people’s minds for a long time. So many young Russian nobles ended their days during such visits, as their condition did not improve. Young princess Praskov'ia Vyazemskaya (1817–1835), a daughter of the poet P. A. Vyazemsky, was among them: she died of a tuberculosis in Rome. She was buried at non-Catholic cemetery in Testaccio⁵³ which was opened specially in 1821 because of growth of number of death cases of non-Catholic foreigners. Praskov'ia Vyazemskaya's grave became the place of pilgrimage: it was visited by both princess Zinaida Volkonskaya and Nikolai Gogol. The cemetery in Livorno as there was an Orthodox Greek church became the other place of burial of the Russian noblemen who had died during their staying abroad⁵⁴. The most famous example would be that of the heir to the Russian throne, Grand Duke Nicholas, son of Emperor Alexander II, who died in Nice in 1865. The Empress arrived with her younger children to visit her dying son, and they were all under the supervision of their governesses – and above all, the famous British nanny Kitty – Catherine Struton, in whose hands there were six imperial children during 22 years, starting with Nicholas, who saw his former nanny last, dying in Nice. After the death of Struton in 1891, Emperor Alexander III wrote to his son Nicholas: she lived “in our house for 46 years, of which 22 years in a row she was nursing the six of us.”⁵⁵ “All the brothers were very sad, and we carried her out of the Winter Pa<lace> to the English church, and then headed on to the Smolensk cemetery, where she was buried!”⁵⁶)

Governess could accompany children of a mistress sick with tuberculosis in the same ‘healing tour’. Thus, Alexandra Andreevna Voeikova (nee Protasova, (1795–1829)), dying of tuberculosis, visited almost all European resorts specializing in

⁵² Tuchkova-Ogareva N.A. *Vospominaniia* [Memoirs. Introductory article, edition and notes by S.A. Pereselenkov]. Leningrad, 1929, pp. 384–385.

⁵³ See more details: *Testaccio. Nekatolicheskoe kladbishche dlia inostrantsev v Rime. Alfavitnyi spisok russkikh zakhoroneni* [Testaccio. Non-Catholic cemetery for foreigners in Rome. The alphabetical list of Russian burial places]. Serii Rossiiskii nekropol'. Iss. 6. St. Petersburg, 1999.

⁵⁴ Arkhimandrit Avgustin (Nikitin). Livorno. *Neva*, 2014, no. 10.

⁵⁵ Pis'ma imperatora Aleksandra III k nasledniku tsesarevichu velikomu kniazuiu Nikolaiu Aleksandrovichu [Letters of Emperor Alexander III to the tsarevich heir Grand duke Nikolai Aleksandrovich]. *Rossiiskii arkhiv. Istoriia Otechestva v svidetel'stvakh i dokumentakh XVIII-XX vv.* [The Russian Archive. History of the Fatherland in Testimonies and Documents of the 18th–20th centuries. IX]. Moscow, 1999, p. 229.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

treatment of the disease: she was in Germany, Switzerland and Italy⁵⁷. The children were close to her, with the governess Miss Parish⁵⁸, accompanying their mother in her travels in search of a suitable environment – first, from one climatic zone to another; then from one locality to another; and after that, according to the latest medical recommendations – to the bunk in the barn, the warm and humid air of which was supposed to heal her lungs ... In the beautiful spa towns, about which Alexandra Voeikova dreamed in Russia, whilst sitting at home, as she was unable to get out; whereas the governess went to the dance, she made acquaintances and told the hostess about the sights. The city I “know by the stories of Miss Parish”⁵⁹, – Voeikova complained to her faithful friend and uncle, the famous Russian poet Vasilii Zhukovsky. Feeling herself the mistress of the situation, whilst being the patient mistress herself, the governess tried to play the role of ‘the first violin’, setting the stage for love, inviting guests into the house, and praying for the ill Voeikova. Only in the letters to Zhukovsky that Voeikova could complain: “I have described to you our dance class, and the local wealthy M-r Stull, a former British tailor, who is now making 700 thousand in annual revenue. His nephew and heir would probably be the silly Schneidergesell (tailor apprentice – *O.S.*) that I have ever seen; he is an Englishman, and he got into the habit of going dancing, although he is already 25. Miss Parish, to whom he brought some English newspapers, melted like a small candle, especially when he talked a lot and flirted with her. She saw Kurmacher in him and can be ...! you never know. Miss Parish began to call him for a tea after the dance; I decided to tell her that I do not like this society – he is trivial and stupid. Then came the trouble!!! Miss Parish reproached me that I do not like him because he is her compatriot”⁶⁰. So, in the Mediterranean resort, there was a change of roles: a dying mistress retreated into the background, whereas the governess would advance in the foreground.

Conclusion

Thus, family tutors and governesses, who came from the Mediterranean region, were an extremely small group among foreign teachers who worked in the Russian Empire; and the reviews of their professionalism were contradictory. The Italian language, however, could be included into the range of subjects, which the foreign teacher knew and could teach (not necessarily those Italian in origin). Several Rus-

⁵⁷ A.A. Voeikova was buried in the Greek cemetery in Livorno.

⁵⁸ Solov'ev N.V. *Istoriia odnoi zhizni (A.A. Voeikova - "Svetlana")* [The story of one life (A.A. Voeikova – ‘Svetlana’)]. *Russkii bibliofil* [Russian Bibliophile], 1915, no. 3, pp. 56–57.

⁵⁹ Pis'mo A.A. Voeikovoii V.A. Zhukovskomu 8/20 oktiabria 1828 g. [Letter of A.A. Voeikova to V.A. Zhukovsky 8/20 October 1828]. *Russkii bibliofil* [Russian Bibliophile], 1915, no. 5, p. 31.

⁶⁰ Pis'mo A.A. Voeikovoii V.A. Zhukovskomu 2 maia 1828 g. [Letter of A.A. Voeikova to V.A. Zhukovsky 2 May 1828]. *Russkii bibliofil* [Russian Bibliophile], 1915, no. 4, p. 46.

sian nobles learnt Italian, but this language was not comparable to the extent with which French, German and English were widespread. A visit to the Mediterranean region could be part of an educational tour abroad carried out under the supervision of a family tutor. Warm Mediterranean countries were visited during a ‘healing tour’ – ill children were under the supervision of teachers; adult patients were accompanied by their children with foreign mentors and governesses. Thus, foreign family tutors and governesses were one of the channels of perception of the Mediterranean region for the Russian nobility. The Mediterranean region was reflected in the activities of foreigners who worked as home teachers in Russia in the art of sceneries and music.

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The development of health in Perm and Vyatka provinces (guberniyas) at the end of 19th – early 20th centuries

Abstract. The article is devoted to the history of health care development in the context of zemstvo (county council) activities in Perm and Vyatka provinces (guberniyas). Significant archive materials are considered, with the use of reporting materials of zemstvos; the material and technical base is discussed, as well as personnel support and the description of process of training physicians at the expense of zemstvos. Training of dedicated personnel for the benefit of the region is described in great details, which is related to a certain stage in the development of zemstvo medicine; questions of participation of zemstvo health workers in the public life of Russia are also covered.

Keywords: history of health care, Perm and Vyatka province (guberniya)

Introduction

The turn of the 19th–20th centuries was a significant stage in the change of directions of zemstvos' activities, shifting from anti-epidemic work to permanent contact with the population. Zemstvos, established in Perm and Vyatka provinces or governorates (guberniyas), belonged to the largest zemstvos of Russia pursuing a long-term policy of creating a system of medical care directly for the population. The objectives of this study are to research the changes in the types of medical care, analyze the qualitative dynamics of professional skills of physicians and consider the role of zemstvos in solving the problems of public and urban medicine.

Even in the first half of the 19th century, Perm province was the leading region in Russia, in which the so-called 'factory medicine' was developed. Hospitals were part of the infrastructure of the cities with factories, so modern research on the history and economy of the Ural noble families invariably, albeit briefly, consider this topic¹.

¹ Mezenina T.G., Mosin A.G., Mudrova N.A., Nekljudov E.G. *Rod Stroganovykh* [The family of the Stroganoffs]. Yekaterinburg, 2007; Pirogova E.P., Neklyudov E.G., Larionova M.B. *Rod Turchaninovykh* [The family of the Turchaninovs]. Yekaterinburg, 2008; Mosin A.G. *Rod Demidovykh* [The family of the Demidovs]. Yekaterinburg, 2012; Chagin G.N. *Rod Shuvalovykh* [The

Bringing hospitals into the architectural appearance of the city-factories was investigated by R.M. Lothareva². Many of these hospitals were transferred by their owners to zemstvos after the abolition of the serfdom. In the local history publications and reviews of the public buildings special attention is paid to the hospital premises³. The source of the research mainly comes from the journals depicting meetings of Perm and Vyatka provincial assemblies, which reflect discussions on several current problems facing the zemstvo medicine of the Ural provinces. Some facts were published in the editions associated with the current statistical data⁴.

At the beginning of the 20th century, there appeared large survey works on the history of zemstvos, timed to coincide with the jubilee dates. As a leading edition, it is appropriate to name B. Veselovskii's book 'The history of the zemstvo for forty years'⁵. By the tercentenary of the Romanovs' house in Russia, a massive collection of statistical and historical information about the country was conducted. Per the results of the sanitary-hygienic exhibition, Z.G. Frenkel prepared an impressive work 'Essays on zemsky medical and sanitary affairs'⁶. The material for Perm province was reflected in the writings of the local historians and was re-issued at the end of the 20th century, which indicates its undoubtful value for the researcher⁷.

In the first decades of its existence, the Soviet historiography was guided by Lenin's assessment of zemstvo as "the fifth wheel in the cart of the Russian government," but by the mid-20th century, the negative attitude towards zemstvos had subsided. The history of medicine was studied in many specialized universities, and conferences on this subject were held⁸. The main attention was paid to the capital region,

family of the Shavalovs]. Yekaterinburg, 2013; Mikitjuk V.N., Mosunova T.P., Nekljudov E.G. *Rod Poklevskikh–Kozell* [The Poklevsky-Kozell family]. Yekaterinburg, 2014.

² Lotareva R.M. *Goroda-zavody Rossii, XVIII – pervaiia polovina XIX veka* [City-factories of Russia. 18th century – the first half of the 20th century]. Yekaterinburg, 2011.

³ Zavialova E.N. *Zdravookhranenie v Lys'venskom okruge* [Public health in Lysva district]. *XIII Smyshliaevskie chteniia* [13th Smyshliaev Readings]. Perm, 2013, pp. 103–108; Vshivkov A.A., Dmitrieva E.V., Melyukhin G.M. *Po Komi-permiatskomu okrugu. Kratkii putevdtel'* [Along the Komi-Permyak district. A Short Guide]. Perm, 2016. 48 p.

⁴ Beresnev F.I. *Kratkii ocherk narodnogo zdравиia i postanovki meditsinskogo dela v Viatskoi gubernii* [A short essay on public health and arranging medical affairs in Vyatka province]. *Statistical Yearbook of Vyatka Province for 1899*. Vyatka, 1900.

⁵ Veselovskii B. *Istoriia zemstva za sorok let V 4 t. T. I* [History of zemstvos for forty years in 4 vol., vol.1]. St. Petersburg, 1909.

⁶ Frenkel Z.G. *Ocherki zemskogo vrachebno-sanitarnogo dela (Po dannym rabot, proizvedennykh dlia Drezden. i Vseros. gigien. vystavok)* [Essays on Zemsky medical and sanitary affairs]. St. Petersburg, 1913.

⁷ Trapeznikov V.N. *Letopis' goroda Permi: K 275-letiiu osnovaniia* [Chronicle of the city of Perm]. Perm, 1998; Verholantsev V.S. *Gorod Perm', ego proshloe i nastoiashchee: Krat. ist.-stat. ocherk; Vstup. st. i primech. T.I. Bystrykh* [The city of Perm, its past and present: Short historical – statistical essay; introductory article and notes by T.I. Bystrykh]. Perm, 1994.

⁸ Zabludovskii P.E., Zhuk A.P. *Stoletie obshchestvennoi meditsiny v Rossii* [Centenary of public medicine in Russia]. *Ocherki istorii russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli* [Essays on the History of

Petersburg and Moscow provinces. Only in the 1990s, the generalizing works of V.T. Selezneva and S.A. Kukoviakin appeared, describing the situation with the medicine in Perm and Vyatka provinces, respectively⁹. Unfortunately, the authors were doctors of medical sciences and therefore, were unable to use some of the documents available to be read by historians.

Useful theoretical and methodological data are contained in the works of some foreign authors who are looking to study the problems of sanitation and public medicine both in European and American cities¹⁰ and in late imperial Russia¹¹. In general, the literature on public medicine is very extensive, but the task of this study is related to a narrow segment that deals only with Perm and Vyatka provinces.

Main body

After the abolition of serfdom, the staff of the Urals physicians was changed quite a bit: a large layer of medical pupils disappeared, and former serfs began to take examinations for a doctor's degree outside the Urals¹². The healer disciples were replaced by paramedics, and in the 1880s there appeared an institute of nurses of mercy.

Zemstvo and city reforms marked the development of local self-government and orientation to wider segments of the population, previously hardly ever served by

Russian Public Medicine. Digest of Articles]. Moscow, 1955; Kanevskiy L.O., Lotova E.I., Idelchik H.I. *Osnovnye cherty razvitiia meditsiny v Rossii v period kapitalizma* [The main features of the development of medicine in the period of capitalism]. Moscow, 1956; Strashun I.D. *Russkaia obshchestvennaia meditsina v period mezhdu dvumia revoliutsiiami 1907–1917* [Russian public medicine in the period between the two revolutions of 1907–1917]. Moscow, 1964.

⁹ Selezneva V.T. *Ocherki po istorii meditsiny v Permskoi gubernii* [Essays on the history of medicine in the Perm province]. Perm, 1997; Kukoviakin S.A. *Zemskaiia meditsina v Viatskoi gubernii* [Zemskaya medicine in Vyatka province]. Kirov, 1996.

¹⁰ Bernhardt C. (ed.) *Environmental problems in European cities in the 19th and 20th centuries*. Münster, 2011; Schott D., Luckin B, Massard-Guibaud G. (eds.) *Resources of the city: contributions to an environmental history of modern Europe*. Aldershot, 2005; Douglas I., Hodgson R., Lawson N. *Industry, environment and health through 200 years in Manchester. Ecological Economics*, 2002, no. 41, pp. 235–255.

¹¹ Bradley J. *Obshchestvennye organizatsii v tsarskoi Rossii: nauka, patriotizm i grazhdanskoe obshchestvo* [Public organizations in tsarist Russia: science, patriotism and civil society]. Moscow, 2012; Friedgut Theodore H. *Iuzovka and Revolution*. 2 vols. Princeton, 1989; Hutchinson J.F. *Tsarist Russia and the bacteriological revolution. Journal of the History of Medicine*, 1985, vol. 40, pp. 420–439; Henze C.E. *Disease, health care and government in late imperial Russia: life and death on the Volga, 1823–1914*. Leningrad, 2011; Mazanik A. *Sanitation, urban environment and the politics of public health in late imperial Moscow: A dissertation in History for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy*. Budapest, 2015.

¹² Uzunova N.M. *Iz istorii formirovaniia krepostnoi intelligentsia* [From the history of formation of serf intelligentsia]. *Ezhгодnik Gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeia* [Yearbook of the State Historical Museum]. Moscow, 1960, p. 33.

doctors: peasants, women and children. Many of Uralic natives began to receive education through targeted scholarships at the local paramedic schools.

In the health management system, the main body was the Medical Board – from the second half of the 19th century it was renamed as a department. Its staff had undergone some changes. If in the first half of the 19th century it included an operator (a surgeon), an inspector and an obstetrician, then in the early 20th century there would be an inspector, an assistant and a pharmacist¹³. The obligations of a zemsky doctor were also very extensive. They were responsible for hiring and dismissing staff, supervising the site, monitoring paramedics and midwives, attending the board meetings, preparing all types of reporting and drafting medical and topographic descriptions¹⁴.

In pharmacies, there was a branched structure. In the state pharmacy service, in the first half of the 19th century various specialists worked: pharmacists, pharmacist assistants (comrades) and apothecary students; sometimes materialists and laboratory assistants helped for the preparation of chemical medicines¹⁵. Apothecary students first received general medical education, and after some time it became specialized. This was done so that when working in remote factories or mines, a person could combine the posts of a medic and an apothecary student¹⁶.

Towards the end of the 19th century, a pharmacist would work in a medical department; whereas provisors (chemists) worked directly in the pharmacies themselves. Sometimes in the reports of the governors, the terms changed places, but pharmacists were always opposed to qualified pharmaceutical chemists (provisors). Only towards the end of the 19th century, women could work in the pharmacies. Thus, in 1897 Perm provincial zemstvo sent a pharmacy student Y.K. Chekhovskaya to Kazan to take an exam, which lets us suggest that she had already worked in a pharmacy and was familiar with pharmacology¹⁷. The staff of the pharmacies differed from the hospitals by their continuity: often a person could work all his life in one workplace, in the same pharmacy.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the approach to the purchase of specialized literature had changed. Zemstvo moved to the creation of libraries in hospitals, where the funds could be used by a larger number of personnel, instead of meeting the re-

¹³ Ustav vrachebnyi [*Statutory Medical*]. *Polnyi svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* [A Complete Set of Laws of the Russian Empire]. Book 2. Vol. 9–16. St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 3086.

¹⁴ Zhurnaly 9 ocherednogo permskogo uezdnogo zemskogo sobraniia 1878 g. s dokladami permskoi uezdnoi zemskoi upravly [Journals of the 9th Regular Perm District Zemstvo Assembly in 1878 with Reports of Perm County Zemstvo]. Perm, 1879, pp. 435–437.

¹⁵ State archives of Sverdlovsk region (SASD). F. 643. Op. 1. D. 1102. L. 43.

¹⁶ Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA). F. 880. Op. 1. D. 409. L. 39; GASO. F. 101. Op. 1. D. 578. L. 15.

¹⁷ State Archives of Perm Krai (GAPK). F. 44. Op. 4. D. 1. L. 10.

quirement of buying literature by a county or a city doctor. Medical periodicals became more widely available¹⁸.

To address the requirement of new medical knowledge for the doctors of Perm province, a specialized medical library in Kazan was of great importance. Scientific visits of doctors to the university towns initiated by zemstvo allowed them to get acquainted with the novelties of the literature.

At the beginning of the 20th century, in Perm and Vyatka provinces special attention was paid to training of female doctors as per zemstvo personnel policy. Since 1897, in St. Petersburg the Women's Medical Institute began to work, where future doctors were trained. Zemstvos considered female doctors as a reserve of personnel for working with peasant and female population in the national regions¹⁹, because women too often did not seek help from male doctors due to being ashamed and embarrassed. Although maternity wards operated in provincial hospitals since the time they were established, the actual obstetric work began only at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries²⁰. The local governments also used the work of female doctors to create nurseries. One should note that in the central provinces of Russia, nurseries were created to improve the life of female workers, whereas in other provinces of the country, the newly created nurseries were orientated towards peasant women²¹.

¹⁸ State Archives of Orenburg Region (GAO). F. 15. Op. 1. D. 6. L.162; GAPK. F. 44. Op. 4. D. 12. L. 14.

¹⁹ Central State Historical Archives of St. Petersburg (TSGIA SPb). F. 224. Op. 1. D. 1747. L. 1.

²⁰ Dashkevich L.A. Stanovlenie akushersko-ginekologicheskoi sluzhby na Iuzhnom Urale [Formation of obstetrical and gynecological service in Southern Ural]. *Materinstvo i otsovstvo skvoz' prizmu vremeni i kul'tur: Materialy Deviatoi Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii RAIZhI i IEA RAN, 13-16 okt. 2016, Smolensk: v 2 t.* [Maternity and Paternity through the Prism of Time and Cultures: Proceedings of the 9th International Scientific Conference of Russian Association of Reserachers of Female History (RAIZHI) and Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of Sciences. 13-16 October 2016, Smolensk: in 2 volumes], general editor N.L. Pushkareva, N.A. Mitsyuk. Vol. 1. Moscow, 2016, pp. 217–219.

²¹ Severtseva O.V. Materi-rabotnitsy promyshlennykh predpriatii vo vtoroi poloviny XIX–nachale XX vekov [Mothers-workers of industrial enterprises in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries]. *Materinstvo i otsovstvo skvoz' prizmu vremeni i kul'tur: Materialy Deviatoi Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii RAIZhI i IEA RAN, 13-16 okt. 2016, Smolensk: v 2 t.* [Maternity and Paternity through the Prism of Time and Cultures: Proceedings of the 9th International Scientific Conference of Russian Association of Reserachers of Female History (RAIZHI) and Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of Sciences]. 13–16 October. 2016, Smolensk: in 2 vol], general editor N.L. Pushkareva, N.A. Mitsyuk. Vol. 2. Moscow, 2016, pp. 140–143; Frolova I.V. Sezonnnye iasli-priiuty kak forma prizreniia detei na territorii Novgorodskoi gubernii v kontse XIX v. [Seasonal nursery-shelters as a form of charity for children in Novgorod province at the end of the 19th century]. *Patriotizm i grazhdanstvennost' v povsednevnoi zhizni rossiiskogo obshchestva (XVIII–XXI vv.): materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii 14–16 marta 2013 g.* [Patriotism and Citizenship in the Everyday Life of Russian Society (18th–21st Centuries)] General. Ed. V.A. Veremenko]. St. Petersburg, 2013, pp. 40–45.

If in the second half of the 19th century, the best staff was concentrated in Perm province hospital, by the beginning of the 20th century, it was decided to send doctors from the provincial hospitals to the county ones. At the same, it can be noted that Alexandrovsky hospital in Perm province introduced dedicated experts (a total of up to five-six specialties). The innovation would be the use of assistance of external students²².

Until late 19th century, zemstvos had the problem of combating ‘feldsherism’, when in rural areas doctors were deliberately replaced by paramedics. In Perm province, zemstvos reduced medical rates in the following *uyezds* (districts): Perm, Verkhoturys, Ekaterinburg, Irbit, Krasnoufimsk, Cherdyn, Shadrinsk²³. The doctors were assigned only anti-epidemic work. The remaining doctors strongly opposed the independent practice of paramedics, seeing them as opposition, although the reason was the financial policy of zemstvos.

‘Feldsherism’ was associated with the ‘traveling system’. The main functions of the service were assigned to paramedics; doctors would come to consult them several times a month. Mild cases were treated in the villages, whereas difficult cases would be referred to the city. This system allowed zemstvos to save on doctors’ salaries. The doctors themselves insistently demanded a ‘stationary’ treatment system, when the hospital would be in the center of a medical district. It was possible to transfer to the stationary system only at the beginning of the 20th century; which was replacing, as far as possible, paramedic centers for medical ones²⁴. As B. Veselovskii noted, “three-four feldsher’s stations were replaced by one doctor, and this almost did not increase any zemstvo’s expenditure estimates”²⁵.

In early 20th century, the relationship between doctors and paramedics was assessed more calmly by the contemporaries. It became obvious that it was impossible to provide comprehensive medical assistance to all sites; paramedics were more trust-

²² *Zhurnaly permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 28 chrezvychainoi sessii s dokladami upravy i komissiei semu sobraniuu* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 28th Emergency Session with Reports of the Council and the Commission to the Meeting]. Perm, 1896, p. 63; *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 37 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 37th Regular Session and Reports of Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1907, p. 78; GAPK. F. 44. Op. 4. D. 18. L. 20, 40.

²³ Veselovskii B. *Istoriia zemstva za sorok let* [History of zemstvos for forty years]. St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 334.

²⁴ State archive of Kirov region (GAKO). F. 616. Op. 6. D. 136. L. 49.

²⁵ Veselovskii B. *Istoriia zemstva za sorok let* [History of zemstvos for forty years]. St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 338.

ed by women and children as they were approached territorially and were more evenly distributed²⁶.

Zemstvo recruited more doctors; the increasing number of visits to doctors led to the habit of seeing a doctor among the population, and there were not enough doctors in the province of Perm again. ‘Feldsher’ staff was more permanent. B. Veselovsky noted that in 1904 doctors of Perm province accepted only 63.9 % of patients and called it ‘disguised medical assistance’. Since 1909, Vyatka provincial zemstvo preferred to train “paramedics – both men and woman – for holding positions for independent paramedic posts”²⁷.

In Perm province, in the wake of the revolutionary events of 1917, the paramedics demanded that they be given the right to “practice their knowledge and their special or acquired experience”²⁸. The Society of Physician Assistants fought for benefits to be received by paramedics upon admission to medical faculties²⁹.

During the Russo-Japanese War, Perm provincial zemstvo offered job retention for the mobilized doctors³⁰. In the First World War (since 1915), it required the government to send civilian doctors back to the province from the battle-fields. In 1917, an appeal followed, addressing the Provisional Government to return “all medical personnel from their captivity, as individuals belonging to the ranks of the Red Cross, per resolution of the Geneva Conference”³¹.

By 1915, the medical contingent of Perm province was twice as large as the composition of a similar service in Vyatka province and four times bigger than that in Orenburg province. At the same time, the number of paramedics in Vyatka and Perm provinces was comparable; both zemstvo provinces significantly outstripped Orenburg province in terms of paramedic numbers.

The reason for this difference lied in the underlying training system. In Orenburg province, the staff was recruited with the participation of the Rules Committee; whereas in Perm and Vyatka provinces, provincial and district zemstvos took over the training of personnel in the said provinces. There were several ways of training. ‘Feldshers’ were trained in paramedic local schools, whereas doctors were trained in universities relying on scholarships for residents; dedicated specialists were trained through the system of external studying. Any zemsky doctor could improve their

²⁶Beresnev F.I. *Kratkii ocherk narodnogo zdraviia i postanovki meditsinskogo dela v Viatskoi gubernii* [A short essay on public health and arrangement of medical affairs in Vyatka province]. *Statistical Yearbook of Vyatka Province for 1899*. Vyatka, 1900, p. 261.

²⁷GAKO. F. 616. Op. 1. D. 200. L. 34.

²⁸GAPK. F. R-79. Op. 1. D. 2. L. 1.

²⁹GAPK. F. R-79. Op. 1. D. 7. L. 5, 29.

³⁰*Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 35 chrezvychainoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly, the 35th Emergency Session and Reports of Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1904, p. 20.

³¹GAPK. F. 143. Op. 1. D. 704. L. 15-19; F. R-79. Op. 1. D. 2. L. 10.

qualification through scientific or field trips, attendance at medical congresses and exhibitions.

Training of doctors based on scholarships was in effect since the very start of existence of Perm provincial zemstvo. Uyezd zemstvos also took part in it for a short period, but by the beginning of the 20th century, all scholarships were administered by the provincial zemstvo³².

Vyatka provincial zemstvo permanently financed 11 scholarships (per number of uyezds (counties) in the province) for female doctors at Women's Medical Institute and Bestuzhev courses; Perm provincial zemstvo prepared new doctors as needed³³.

Both provincial zemstvos often faced the refusal of graduates to work off the scholarships. In the documents of Vyatka zemstvo, the following quotation revealed this fact: “they say that peasants are irresponsible, but now we those who have received a higher education are even worse than that”³⁴. The students of Perm zemstvo, in their turn, were unhappy comparing the payers “with a cash register providing loans but requiring repayment for obligations signed by a hungry student when they could sign any commitment”³⁵. Former students were asked to pay the money back in installments in case of refusal to work; an effective measure was the publication of the names of ‘refuseniks’ in the central press. By 1910, in the province of Perm 58 people repaid the borrowed funds (8 %). The number of those who volunteered for repayment was 55 (48 %); 9 % paid through their legal advisers, 45 people did not pay their fees at all (35,4 %)³⁶.

³² *Zhurnaly 9 ocherednogo permskogo uezdnogo zemskogo sobraniia 1878 g. s dokladami permskoi uezdnoi zemskoi upravly* [Journals of the 9th Regular Perm District Zemstvo Assembly in 1878 with Reports of Perm County Zemstvo]. Perm, 1879, p. 411; *Zhurnaly permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 19 ocherednoi sessii s dokladami komissii* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 19th Regular Session with Reports of Commissions]. Perm, 1889, p. 49–50.

³³ *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 35 chrezvychainoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 35th Emergency Session and Reports of Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1904, p. 156; *The Reports of Perm Zemstvo Board to the Provincial Zemstvo Assembly of the 41st Regular Session and the Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting*. Perm, 1911, p. 1; GAKO. F. 616. Op. 1. D. 133. L. 1546.

³⁴ GAKO. F. 616. Op. 1. D. 194. L. 68.

³⁵ *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 36 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 36th Regular Session and Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1904, p. 260–261.

³⁶ *Zhurnaly Permskoi zemskoi upravly gubernskomu zemskomu sobraniuu 41 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu* [Journals of Perm Zemstvo Board to the Provincial Zemstvo Assembly of the 41st Regular Sessions and Reports of Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1911, p. 67.

The innovation of Perm province in the early 20th century was the introduction of external studies³⁷. County doctors were given the opportunity to obtain their profile specialization through a provincial hospital, and the latter received a medical resident with minimum payment. An extern in the first year of training received 600 rubles, in the second year – 900 rubles, which was one third and one half of the salary of a doctor, respectively³⁸. Externs had the right not to participate in the anti-epidemic work; their main responsibility was their medical specialization. In 1902, Perm provincial zemstvo tried to transform the provincial hospitals into clinics, which meant significant reduction in the number of beds. This was avoided owing to externs. Their training was called the business of the whole province³⁹.

After five years of such practice, the recruitment of externs ceased. Perm provincial zemstvo planned to expand the contacts with the capital's medical faculties by inviting students to practice, but in 1908, at the convincing requests of the administration of provincial Alexandrovsky hospital, the externship returned⁴⁰.

Perm and Vyatka provincial zemstvos exercised the doctor's right to a scientific business trip with great difficulties. It was only possible to claim for further training in Vyatka province if the doctors had at least three years of experience in zemstvo service, and the in-service training lasted no more than six months with partial repayment of expenses. It was more difficult to resolve the issue of redistributing responsibilities between doctors for the periods of absence of one of the personnel. Only in 1915, the doctors were paid bonus for this type of extra work. Further training took place in university towns and specialized clinics, which gave positive results, because “modern representations in scientific centers were continuously and very rapidly moving forward,” as the reports suggested⁴¹.

In the first decade of the 20th century, both provincial zemstvos defined the minimum experience for a doctor, as well as the period during any trip to obtain further qualifications. If uyezd (county) doctors could be trained at a provincial hospital, psychiatrists as well as sanitary and epidemiological doctors were sent first and foremost beyond the boundaries of Perm province⁴².

³⁷ *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 30 ocherednoi sessii* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 30th Regular Session]. Perm, 1900, p. 136.

³⁸ *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 32 ocherednoi sessii* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 32nd Regular Session]. Perm, 1902, p. 230.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 221, 229.

⁴⁰ *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 32 ocherednoi sessii* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 32nd Regular Session]. Perm, 1902, p. 91; *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 41 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu* [Journals of Perm Provincial Zemstvo Assembly of the 38th Regular Session and the 39th Extraordinary Session]. Perm, 1908, p. 93.

⁴¹ GAKO. F. 587. Op. 10. D. 240. L. 53; F.616. Op. 1. D. 135. L. 767.

⁴² *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 32 ocherednoi sessii* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 32nd Regular Sessions]. Perm, 1902, p. 178; *Zhurnaly*

In Perm province, it took a long time to determine the length of the service allowing to qualify for a business trip, but that practice stopped for four years with the right of a repeated departure, and an internship was allowed abroad⁴³.

Thus, the developers of vaccines and sera V.A. Khomyakov and I.V. Belorusev went to study on several occasions; whilst the doctor of Perm province hospital A.F. Tsander was on a study course abroad. Female doctors E.P. Serebrennikova and O.I. Skvortsova became heads of the eye and maternity departments respectively after their specialized internships⁴⁴.

In addition to zemstvo medicine, the ‘great reforms’ resulted in appearance of urban medicine; however, its role was too small. At the turn of the centuries, provincial zemstvos spent millions struggling against epidemics, whereas cities would spend a little over forty thousand rubles for that purpose. In any provincial town, there were state and zemsky as well as free-practicing physicians, i.e. a large city avoided spending on hiring city doctors by using someone else's medical expertise. The opposition of provincial and district central zemstvos was typical of Perm and Vyatka. The counties flatly refused to open uyezd hospitals in the provincial cities. In Perm province, there were two or three persons representing public town doctors, except for 1903 and 1904, when nine and seven people worked respectively. In the following period, public town doctors were not mentioned in the reports of the governors at all⁴⁵.

Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 41 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 41st Regular Sessions and Reports of Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1911, p. 117; GAKO. F. 616. Op. 6. D. 106. L. 103; Op. 1. D. 200. L. 92.

⁴³ Zhurnaly permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 27 chrezvychainoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 27th Extraordinary Session and the Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1895, p. 36; *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 30 ocherednoi sessii* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 30th Regular Session]. Perm, 1900, p. 43; Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 36 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 36th Regular Session and Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1904, p. 105; Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 41 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 41st Regular Sessions and Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1911, p. 116.

⁴⁴ Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 27 chrezvychainoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 27th Extraordinary Session and the Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1895, p. 36; Trapeznikov V.P. *Letopis' goroda Permi* [Chronicle of the city of Perm]. Perm, 1998, p. 54; Selezneva V.T. *Ocherki po istorii meditsiny v Permskoi gubernii* [Essays on the history of medicine in Perm province]. Perm, 1997, p. 60.

⁴⁵ *Obzory Permskoi gubernii za 1893-1905 gg.* [Surveys of Perm Province for 1893–1905]. Perm, 1894–1906.

Nevertheless, the cities began to use an equivalent of outpatients' reception widely. Perm and Vyatka had dispensaries, although before the First World War, they would account for no more than 50 % of the cities. Perm entered top ten cities that established their 'first aid' service⁴⁶. In the medical service, city councils paid attention not to the treatment of residents, but to the sanitary conditions of the premises, especially if there were fairs and markets around them.

Doctors would usually meet at a general congress. Unfortunately, in Perm and Vyatka provinces, the first experience of such a congress was quite negative. An agenda for such a congress would be prepared by an ambulance doctor; however, on one of such occasions, doctors I.I. Molleson in Perm province and V.O. Portugalov in Vyatka province were either arrested or lost their jobs because of their populist views. Thus, in both provinces, Zemsky Medical Council was engaged in preparing the congress⁴⁷. Zemstvos often took opinions that were questionable from the government's point of view. During the 1905 revolution, 13 of 53 members of the district committees were expelled from Perm province, and the chairman of provincial zemstvo, L.V. Yumashev, was removed from his office⁴⁸.

The congresses of doctors were of an advisory nature. Their main task was to discuss the expansion of medical care. The presence of zemstvo officials without any medical education but possessing budgeting skills contributed to a more realistic view of the problems. On the other hand, zemstvos showed solidarity with the doctors when the congresses were subjected to pressure from a governor or a medical inspector. In Perm and Vyatka provinces, congresses were abolished twice (in 1904 and 1915) due to the military operations⁴⁹.

By the beginning of the 20th century, in the Russian Empire numerous charitable societies and charitable institutions were founded. The three most important of the medical communities were the following: Pirogov Congress of Physicians, the Society for Guarding Public Health and the Russian Red Cross Society (RRCS). Whilst the first two societies enjoyed the full support of Perm and Vyatka provincial zemstvos, the relationships with the Red Cross were much more difficult.

⁴⁶ Kanevskii L.O., Lotova E.I., Idel'chik H.I. *Osnovnye cherty razvitiia meditsiny v Rossii v period kapitalizma (1861–1917)* [The main features of medicine development in the period of capitalism]. Moscow, 1956, p. 133; Verkholtantsev V.S. *Gorod Perm', ego proshloe i nastoiashchee: Krat. ist.-stat. ocherk; Vstup. st. i primech. T.I. Bystrykh* [The city of Perm, its past and present; Introductory article and notes by T.I. Bystrykh]. Perm, 1994, p. 150.

⁴⁷ GAKO. F. 616. Op. 1. D. 229. L. 250; D. 398. L. 193; F. 617. Op. 2. D. 639. L. 12; Op. 5. D. 3941A. L. 138, 141.

⁴⁸ Nevostruiev N.A. Rossiiskoe grazhdanskoe obshchestvo i vlast' v krizisnykh situatsiiakh v nachale XX veka (na primere Urala) [Russian civil society and power in crisis situations in early 20th century (on the example of the Urals)]. *Vlast' i obshchestvo v ekstremal'nykh istoricheskikh situatsiiakh* [Power and Society in Extreme Historical Situations]. Perm, 2013, p. 162.

⁴⁹ GAKO. F. 617. Op. 5. D. 3941A. L. 143; F. 616. Op. 1. D. 58. L. 97.

In the provinces, traditionally the local branch of the RRCS was headed by the governor's wife, but sometimes zemstvos refused to help the Red Cross, ignoring any possible conflicts. Thus, Vyatka zemstvo refused to help with the purchase of an X-ray machine to its Red Cross branch during the Russo-Japanese war, and the Permian also refused to finance, quoting the fact that it had already sent 25,000 rubles on Perm detachment sent to the Far East⁵⁰.

The societies of doctors, which were created in the provinces by the efforts of several best doctors, were also supported by small amounts from zemstvos⁵¹.

By 1913, statistical data was collected in the provinces, and several thematic exhibitions were organized. In St. Petersburg, a sanitary and hygienic exhibition was widely announced. Perm provincial zemstvo did not have time to prepare exhibits for it, and its place was taken by Perm uyezd zemstvo. Vyatka province did not participate in this expensive project⁵².

The expenditure of zemstvos and factory administrations differed as far as construction of hospitals and payment of wages was concerned. The objects of 'factory medicine' were built or rebuilt in stone in the 1930–40, and zemstvo increased the number of hospitals; thus, zemstvos spent more on material and technical maintenance, whereas the factories would spend more on doctors' salaries. In general figures, the salaries for 'factory medicine' and those in Perm provincial hospital matched each other closely⁵³. In Perm provincial zemstvo, people remembered the experience of private plant owners, who could invite doctors only advertising an increased wage. Since the 1870s, zemstvo was one of the first in the country to raise their wages from 1200 to 1500 rubles⁵⁴.

Further on, these payments became more targeted. In 1895, zemstvo decided to increase "the wage of one of the doctors who receives a salary of 1500 rubles a year by

⁵⁰ GAKO. F. 616. Op. 1. D. 194. L. 86; Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 35 chrezvychainoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly, the 35th Emergency Session and Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1904, pp. 16, 22.

⁵¹ GAPK. F. 680. Op. 1. D. 105. L. 4; Doklady permskoi zemskoi upravly gubernskomu zemskomu sobraniuu 41 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu [The reports of Perm Zemstvo Board to the Provincial Zemstvo Assembly of the 41st Regular Session and the Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1911, p. 31.

⁵² Frenkel Z.G. *Ocherki zemskogo vrachebno-sanitarnogo dela (Po dannym rabot, proizvedennykh dlia Drezden. i vseros. gigien. vystavok)* [Essays on zemsky medical and sanitary affairs (According to data of work produced for Dresden and all-Russia hygiene exhibitions)]. St. Petersburg, 1913, p. 2; *Doklady permskoi zemskoi upravly gubernskomu zemskomu sobraniuu 41 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu* [The Reports of Perm Zemstvo Board to the Provincial Zemstvo Assembly of the 41st Regular Session and the Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1911, p. 126.

⁵³ RGIA. F. 37. Op. 5. D. 15. L. 52.

⁵⁴ Veselovskii B. *Istoriia zemstva za sorok let* [History of zemstvos for forty years]. St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 367.

300 rubles, to keep the best medical staff in Alexandrovskaya Hospital.” In the first decade of the 20th century, the salary of an attending physician (ordinator) was 1800-2000 rubles, whereas in the second decade it was 2500 rubles. The senior physician of a provincial hospital, head of medical and statistical bureau, workers of a bacteriological station received increased salaries of up to 3000 rubles, followed by further remunerations of 600 rubles paid to the most deserving employees⁵⁵.

During the Russo-Japanese War, Perm zemstvo began to include the time spent on the field of the military operations into the zemstvo experience; but only if the doctor was not a volunteer. Perm provincial zemstvo was not going to encourage participation in any military actions neither in Russo-Japanese nor in World War I⁵⁶.

In Vyatka provincial zemstvo, the salaries of doctors were 300 rubles lower than those in Perm. The increased sums were paid only to psychiatrists and physicians, combining work in a provincial hospital with teaching in a provincial paramedic school. The uyezd (county) doctors, for obvious reasons, could not perform such work, which caused much criticism. In 1909, they demanded an increase in wages⁵⁷.

Prior to First World War, in Vyatka province ‘ordinators’ – both men and women, received equal salaries; however, during military operations, male doctors were replaced by females with involvement of medical students. This resulted in further reduction in wages, which almost doubled⁵⁸. The work in the anti-epidemic detachments considered to be an extra for physicians. In fact, payments for this type of work in Vyatka province were often delayed⁵⁹. Additional anti-epidemic staff was often invited from other provinces, whereby they were not interested in performing any quality work. In 1915, districts zemstvos proposed to the provincial zemstvos not to invite any additional personnel but to pay their own for such extra work. Uyezds (counties) were motivated by the fact that they “knew better who and how much to pay depending on the services provided.” The provincial zemstvo agreed but reduced

⁵⁵ *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 32 ocherednoi sessii* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 32nd Regular Session]. Perm, 1902, p. 230; *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 38 ocherednoi sessii i 39 chrezvychainoi sessii* [Journals of Perm Provincial Zemstvo Assembly, the 38th Regular Session and the 39th Extraordinary Session]. Perm, 1908, p. 206, 251; *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 41 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sibraniuu* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 41st Regular Sessions and Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1911, p. 86, 114, 135.

⁵⁶ *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 37 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 37th Regular Sessions and Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1907, p. 124.

⁵⁷ GAKO. F. 616. Op. 1. D. 133. L. 733; D. 200. L. 92.

⁵⁸ GAKO. F. 587. Op. 19A. D. 75. L. 53.

⁵⁹ GAKO. F. 616. Op. 6. D. 58. L. 151.

the payments from 300 rubles to 100 rubles to any doctor and from 100 rubles to 40 rubles to any paramedic⁶⁰.

The financial situation was also connected with the housing problem. Private mining districts with factories erected main hospitals in stone during their reconstruction; they also planned several areas for the residence of medical students⁶¹. It is interesting that nowadays there is also a similar trend – residence of a physician at the point where they provide medical care. Provincial zemstvos were more restrained in spending on housing, so they used two ways to solve the problem. During the construction of new hospitals, departmental housing was also designed, most often for unsecured paramedics. The second decision meant allocation of means for rental of apartments near the hospital, mainly for doctors. Epidemic doctors were obliged to rent their housing next to the site of epidemic per instructions of zemstvos⁶².

With the influx of new patients, the staff of Vyatka provincial hospital could be evicted from the apartments to accommodate new patients; in uyezd hospitals, housing for paramedics was inadequately small, damp and cold. Yaran district was the first to build housing for doctors – this measure provided it with permanent staff⁶³. Perm provincial zemstvo saw the problem in absence of any decent housing near a hospital; therefore, it paid significant amounts for rented accommodation, but only for the most needed specialists⁶⁴.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the populist views were high enough in the public services; provision of medical assistance at any time of the day began to recede into the background. The district system of servicing patients of completely different income levels, established in zemstvo provinces, did not provide for the private practice. A new generation of doctors assumed that through private practice they should be able to earn their professional earnings and improve their working conditions⁶⁵.

Only in 1908, the ‘Journal of Russian Doctors’ Society’ outlined the problem of work of zemstvo doctors in the rural areas. They could not access any state benefits for a long time, such as pensions, payments for their long service and full-rate holidays. One of the main requirements to protect the activities of the doctors was the as-

⁶⁰ GAKO. F. 616. Op. 1. D. 237. L. 99.

⁶¹ GASO. F. 643. Op. 1. D. 1327. L. 28, 77.

⁶² GAKO. F. 587. Op. 14. D. 156. L. 1, 4.

⁶³ *Adres-kalendar’ Viatskoi gubernii. 1892-1901* [Address-calendar of Vyatka Province. 1892–1901 years]. Vyatka, 1891–1901; GAKO. F. 170. Op. 2. D. 81. L. 68.

⁶⁴ GAPK. F. 44. Op. 4. D. 14. L. 34; *Zhurnaly Permskogo gubernskogo zemskogo sobraniia 33 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu* [Journals of Perm Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly of the 33rd Regular Session and Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1903, p. 161.

⁶⁵ Zabludovskii P.E., Zhuk A.P. *Stoletie obshchestvennoi meditsiny v Rossii* [Centenary of public medicine in Russia]. *Ocherki istorii russkoi obshchestvennoi meditsiny. Sbornik statei* [Essays on the History of Russian Public Medicine. Digest of Articles]. Moscow, 1955, p. 1–13.

sumption that any doctor should not conduct a round-the-clock reception on demand. Only by 1917, doctors were granted a shortened working day ending at six o'clock, the practice that is still common today⁶⁶.

The rural doctors were also irritated by the fact they could not take a day off at the weekends as they needed to be available to the peasants. Their day off was per rolling schedule. Health professionals were granted rest during the entire weekend only after 1905⁶⁷.

Doctors of Perm provincial hospital demanded that zemstvos determined the length of the leave accurately, as it was intended to be used for their scientific trips. The doctors insisted that their absences “had completely different purposes”⁶⁸. Their holiday usually lasted for a month with a possible increase in time to six weeks, if a doctor was not on holiday in the preceding year⁶⁹. In uyezds (counties), a doctor could go on holiday only by providing a replacement doctor; thus, there were people who did not take any leave for 15 years⁷⁰.

The end of the 19th – early 20th centuries were marked by major epidemics and pandemics. Many doctors died performing their duties or lost their ability to work; many began to apply for benefits to be received from the provincial governments⁷¹. This resulted in the discussion about insurance for medical workers affected at work. The Ministry of Internal Affairs took part in the development of general rules for insuring medical personnel, which were introduced only in 1910⁷².

Perm provincial zemstvo defined the amount of payments to family members of deceased physicians. 5,000 rubles were allocated to any doctor; 4,000 roubles were envisaged for a student who had completed 10 semesters; 3,000 roubles were envisaged for a student who had completed 8 semesters; students in their 6th-7th semesters, paramedics and paramedic midwives would receive 2,000 rubles; 1,000 roubles were allocated for nurses’ and paramedic assistants and 500 rubles were allocated for at-

⁶⁶ Strashun I.D. *Russkaia obshchestvennaia meditsina v period mezhdu dvumia revoliutsiiami 1907–1917* [Russian public medicine in the period between the two revolutions of 1907–1917]. Moscow, 1964, p. 59; GAPK. F. R-79. Op. 1. D. 7. L. 20; RGIA. F. 51. Op. 1. D. 291. L. 4.

⁶⁷ GAKO. F. 616. Op. 1. D. 153. L. 9; F. 587. Op. 11. D. 81. L. 30; Op. 10. D. 240. L. 6.

⁶⁸ GAPK. F. 44. Op. 4. D. 495. L. 229.

⁶⁹ GAPK. F. 44. Op. 4. D. 25. L. 44, 49.

⁷⁰ GAKO. F. 616. Op. 1. D. 183. L. 282.

⁷¹ GAKO. F. 616. Op. 6. D. 62. L. 115; Op. 1. D. 153. L. 518.

⁷² *Doklad po meditsinskoi chasti Permskoi zemskoi upravly gubernskomu zemskomu sobraniuu* [Report on Medical Affairs of Perm Zemstvo Board to the Provincial Zemstvo Assembly]. Perm, 1910, p. 51; *Doklady Permskoi zemskoi upravly gubernskomu zemskomu sobraniuu 41 ocherednoi sessii i doklady komissii semu sobraniuu* [The Reports of Perm Zemstvo Board to the Provincial Zemstvo assembly of the 41st Regular Session and the Reports of the Commissions to this Meeting]. Perm, 1911, p. 141.

tendants and nurses. The factory doctors were insured only on condition of cooperation with zemstvos. In Perm province, paramedics asked for additional insurance⁷³.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, Perm provincial zemstvo began to pay its most valuable staff ‘therapy’ money for visiting health resorts when being ill; and since 1908, zemstvo had bought land in Alupka for the construction of a resort for treatment and reduction of mortality rates among its staff.

Conclusion

Thus, the ‘Great reforms’ revived zemstvo’s and city’s medicine. Zemstvo medicine was aimed at the broad peasant strata; whereas city councils focused their attention on the sanitary conditions of city life. The contacts between provincial and uyezdz zemstvos were rather complicated. In Vyatka province, there was a good interaction of zemstvos through the system of lending to the construction of hospitals provided by the provincial administration. In Perm province, these ties were less significant and were related to the financing of anti-epidemic work.

Both zemstvo provinces passed the stage of ‘feldsherism’ and moved to the stationary system of providing services for the population. During this experiment, a unique district service system was created, when a doctor would work with the residents representing different walks of life, beyond their private practice, and receive wages from zemstvo. It was difficult to develop a payment schedule for physicians, a system of additional payments for work during epidemics, and further on insurance for the loss of ability to work or even death. The doctors had long sought synchronization of their weekend with the other segments of the population.

Both zemstvos had good tax revenues and a large territory. The distinction of Perm province was in use of its heritage of ‘factory medicine’ in the first half of the 19th century. Quite a few of the medical personnel received scholarships and scientific internships in central cities and abroad, in honor of their long work for zemstvos as well as training from the residents through some profile schools.

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⁷³ GAPK. F. 143. Op. 1. D. 740. L. 1–2, 5, 7, 10, 18, 25; F. R-79. Op.1. D. 5. L. 3.

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The cultural and historical memory of the Hungarians in Telep (Novi Sad)

Abstract. The paper deals with the analysis of informants' narratives about Telep, the neighborhood of the city of Novi Sad, which used to be inhabited predominantly by the Hungarians. The informants directly associate the urbanization with the changes in their lifestyle, as well as with weakening of the Hungarian language in everyday life. At the same time, the functioning of the Hungarian language is closely related to Telep as the 'most Hungarian place' on the map of Novi Sad.

Keywords: Novi Sad, narratives, cultural memory, historical memory, Hungarians, Hungarian languages, Serbs, city

The Hungarians are the most numerous minority in the autonomous province of Vojvodina, which is part of the Republic of Serbia. Per the census of 2011, the Hungarians comprise 13 % of the region residents from the total number of about 2.000.000 people¹. The province itself is notable for its extremely cosmopolitan character – Romanians, Croats, Bunjevci, Rusyns, Macedonians, Ukrainians, Slovaks also live here. All rights are preserved for the national minorities (education is provided in their national language, there are also mass media in certain languages); Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian, Rusyn and Croatian languages are recognized as official languages together with the Serbian one; and in the communities where the numbers of the minority exceed 15 %, there are road signs and signs on the administrative buildings in two languages.

In general, the Hungarian community lives in the north of the province along the border with Hungary, as well as in Potisje. However, there are small groups of Hungarians in the south of Vojvodina, such as in Banat in the villages of Skorenovac and Ivanovo, where the Hungarian-Szekeleys, migrants from Bukovina live. In the historical region of Srijem, the Hungarians live in Maradika, Satrinca, Dobrodol, Irig, Nikulinc, Pliticev. Both Banat and Srijem communities are the southernmost on the

¹*Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova 2011. u Republici Srbiji. Nacionalna pripadnost. Podaci po opštinama i gradovima.* Beograd, 2013, p. 20.

Hungarian ethnic map of the province. In the main city of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, the Hungarians comprise 3.88 % (9,735 people). The Hungarian population is mainly concentrated around Telep, which was originally founded as a Hungarian settlement, as well as in the adjoining neighborhoods – Liman, Adamovicevo Naselje, in the center of the city. The way the Hungarians were settling down in the above-mentioned Banat and Srijem villages, as well as in Novi Sad itself, was insular: the Hungarians did not form any compact area of settlement in the southern Vojvodina. Under such conditions, the language assimilation was boosted greatly. Moreover, the urban environment, promoting the better involvement of national communities into the social and cultural life, had its influence as well. There are several schools in the city, where the studies are conducted in the Hungarian language; and at the local University, there is Department of Hungarology, where education can also be received in the Hungarian language.

Main body

To study the linguistic characteristics of bilingualism in the Hungarian community, as well as to consider the folk traditions of the national minorities of the province, systematic field studies have been performed in the communities of Vojvodina since 2012. The research has been carried out as part of collaboration between the Institute of Slavic Studies of Russian Academy of Science and the Institute of Balkan Studies of Serbian Academy of Science and Arts. In 2012, the villages of southern Banat (Skorenovac, Vojlovica) were studied; in 2013, the research of the Hungarian community in Novi Sad was performed; in 2014 it became possible to visit the Hungarians in the region of Potisje (Ada, Adorjan); in 2015, a field study was carried out in central Banat (Zrenjanin, Mahajlovo, Belo Blato); in 2016 – the same was done in the historical region of Srijem (Maradik, Satrinca, Dobrodol), as well as in Irig and Ruma.² The conversations on sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic topics are held with

² More details about the results of the expedition to Vojvodina, as well as to other contact Hungarian-Slavic regions can be found in the following: Pilipenko G.P. Vtorojazychnaja rech' zakarpat-skikh vengrov: sociolingvisticheskiy I strukturnyj aspekt [The L2 speech of Transcarpathian Hungarians: sociolinguistic and structural aspects]. *Ukrains'ko-ugors'ki mizhnovni kontakty: mynule i suchasnist'*. Az ukrán-magyar nyelvi kapcsolatok múltja és jelene. Uzhgorod, 2014, pp. 246–265; Pilipenko G.P. Nekotorye aspekty izuchenija slovenskoj rechi prekmurskih vengrov [To some aspects of Slovenian Prekmurian speech of Hungarians]. *Slovenica II. Slavjanskij mezhkul'turnyj dialog v vospriyatii russkih i slovencev*. Moscow, 2012, pp. 251–257; Pilipenko G.P. Kontaktnye osobennosti v jazyke vengrov goroda Novi-Sad [The contact features in the speech of Hungarians in Novi Sad]. *Materialy 44 Mezhdunarodnoj filologicheskoy nauchnoj konferencii 11-16 marta 2014 g. Uralistika* [Materials of the 44th International Scientific Conference 11–16 March 2014. Uralistika]. Ed. D-r N.N. Kolpakova. St. Peterburg, 2015, pp. 76–82; Pilipenko G. The Russian language among the Hungarians in Transcarpathia region (Ukraine): sociolinguistic features. *Empires and Nations from the 18th to the 20th century*, vol. 1. (Ed.): A. Biagini, G. Motta. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, pp. 169–181.

the informants, where the method of a half-structured interview is used. The main objective was to obtain the narratives that were afterwards analyzed for their linguistic, linguo-pragmatic and ethnolinguistic characteristics. However, in the process of the conversation, some issues, which are not part of the paradigm of the linguistic research, came to the foreground. One of the issues is the history of the community and its place on the ethno-cultural map of the province. The article discusses the cultural and historical memory of the informants of the Hungarian neighborhood Telep in the city of Novi Sad.

The individual memory is the result of connections of individuals within a social group, starting from a family and ending with religious and national groups; it is always individual in the sense that it is unique³. The relation between the communicative and the cultural memory can be structured as the difference between the everyday and festive, secular and religious, ephemeral and solid, individual and common, dynamic and fixed⁴. Since the informants' narratives are used as the main source of analysis, it is essential to define them. Thus, the narratives can be understood as stories with the beginning, the middle and the end, which contains a conclusion or some experience of the narrator⁵. As part of the narrative, a certain narrative structure which is characterized by the time organization as well as its structural parts are also considered⁶. The most important linguistic means of expressing the collective memory would be the collective narratives about the common past, which are repeated by most people⁷. M. Ilich assumes that the narratives are produced by individuals or a group of individuals from their individual memory, while a collective narrative is repeated by most people or a significant group of community members; narratives from individual experiences form the collective memory, whilst collective narratives are referred to the cultural memory⁸. T. Petrovich claims that we can recognize a wider context of events via the analysis of individual utterances and can include it into the social context due to the social nature of the utterance itself⁹.

An interview is used in a number of humanitarian sciences as means of getting explicit and implicit information. We were interested in the cultural practices of the

³Assmann J. Cultural memory and early civilization. Writing, remembrance and political imagination. Cambridge et al., 2011, p. 22.

⁴Ibid, pp. 5–6.

⁵Titscher S., Meyer M., Wodak R., Vetter E. *Metody analiza teksta i diskursa* [Methods of text and discourse analysis]. Harkov, 2009, p.172.

⁶Ćirković S. *Stereotip vremena u diskursu raseljenih lica sa Kosova i Metohije*. Beograd, 2012, p. 88.

⁷Ilić M. Discourse and ethnic identity. The case of the serbs from Hungary. Berlin-Munich, 2014, p. 243.

⁸Ibid, p. 289.

⁹Petrović T. *Srbi u Beloj Krajini. Jezička ideologija u procesu zamene jezika*. Beograd, 2009, p. 179.

past and the informants' experience in the process of socialization, as well as the facts about the modern linguistic reality. During the interviews, when the purpose was to learn more about informant's biographies, "the subjects had to structure their story themselves as 'experts of their life and experience'"¹⁰; through their recollections they reconstructed the events, actions and experience. U. Wolf-Knuts says the following about the process of recollection, which would be the main aspect in our informants' discourse:

"When we remember and tell others about our life choices, we reconstruct the events in our psychic; we establish a contact with ourselves as well as with the other person, whose decisions and actions we judge from the 'outside'. We judge this life choices and talk with ourselves in the process of such judgement".¹¹

To serve our purposes, it was essential to make clear how the events, which were distant in the time, were judged; as well as what kind of verbal and non-verbal means were used for that purpose. Due to our informants' recollections, we can find out how settlements, regions and places, where the expedition took place, looked in the past. The use of the retrospection evokes an image that is close to everyone; the image that relates to their childhood and early years. The informants share their knowledge about the external appearance of those places, their infrastructure, architecture and planning that reproduces the atmosphere of the place itself, and at the same time enable us to get some data about the linguistic situation.

Below we will give excerpts from the conversations with the informants about Telep, the neighborhood of the city of Novi Sad, which was inhabited predominantly by the Hungarians in the past, as they remember it for the timeline since approximately end-1940s until early 1970s. The excerpts from the interviews with the Hungarian informants are given in Serbian and Hungarian; the Serbian permanent residents produce them in the Serbian language and the Ukrainian informants provide them in Ukrainian.

Telep itself was founded on the outskirts of Novi Sad at the end of the 19th century per the plan of the Hungarian minister of agriculture *Ignác Dorányi*. The surname of the minister gave the name to the settlement (*Dorányi telep – Dorányi settlement*). The settlers were given land for planting vinery and building a house. Alexandr Adamovic, the wine seller, provided his vineland for planting (the neighborhood *Adamovićevo naselje* adjoining Telep was named after him).¹² The Hungarians¹³ inhabited Telep. They started farming and grew grapes:

¹⁰ Vavti Š. Lebenswestliche Rahmenbedingungen und ihr Einfluss auf die Selbstpräsentation in biografischen Erzählungen: Fallstudie Katja. *Razprave in gradivo, Revija za narodnostna vprašanja*, 67, April, Ljubljana, 2012, s. 58.

¹¹ Wolf-Knuts U. Would I have been better off there? Comparison, need and conduciveness in Finnish emigrant's account. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2014, p. 3.

¹² Dragin A. *Životna priča kao metod beleženja rodnih aspekata istorije žena: Mađarica sa Telepa Novi Sad*, 2015, s. 17.

[1] *Telep az úgy keletkezett hogy azt a részt fölszabdalták, és akkor kaptak egy szőlőt az emberek, és egy házhelyet, nem tudom, hány ezer család kapott így, az első világ háború előtt ... szőlőművések, sokkal jártak át csónakkal, a Fruska Gorára, ott volt szőlőjük, és akkor itt is volt, nagyon sokan szőlősgazdák voltak* (Telep appeared as this part was cut, and the people got vineyards and a plot for a house; I don't know how many families got it before the World War I ... vinegrowers, they were rowing boats a lot to Fruska Gora, where they had their vineyards; and then here there were also **a lot of people who were vinegrowers**) (NS)¹⁴.

Another informant tells us about his impressions from his childhood (1950s). In his story, he reconstructs the atmosphere of a provincial, practically rural way of life, when the streets were not coated with asphalt, which enabled the children to spend more time outdoors with their peers, whilst their parents did not worry about their safety due to the traffic. An image of informant's grandmother sitting in front of the house is provided to deepen the impression of the rural character of Telep at that time. The residents of Telep were growing vegetables in their gardens, which is difficult to imagine now under the conditions of a modern city, due to growing urbanisation and demolition of private houses. An informant recalls that time with nostalgia:

[2] *Telep je naravno nije izgledao ovako urbano, ulice nisu sve bile asfaltirane, ali po meni je to bilo jako lepo, zato što su se deca igrala na ulici, nije bilo tolko saobraćaja, više se družilo, znam, da i roditelji su se više družili, moja baka je onako još sedela ispred kuće sa komšinicama i pričala tako da ovaj, mislim, dobro, to su bila takva vremena, autobusom smo išli do grada, nije bilo tolko automobila, bile su velike bašte, svi su oko svoje okućnice, imali ono osnovno povrće, voće, meni je bilo jako lepo u ono vreme* (**Of course, Telep didn't look like a city**, not all the streets were covered with asphalt, but I think it was very good because children played outdoors, there wasn't such heavy traffic; they communicated more, I know parents also communicated more, my grandmother was sitting in front of the house in this way with her neighbors and was talking, so I think it was good that there were such times when we went to the city by bus, there were not so many cars, there were big

¹³ Hungarian population also lived in Novi Sad; however, the Hungarians did not predominate in the urban area. Thus, in the 18th century in the city there was only one professional Hungarian workshop – the workshop of shoemakers (Érdujhelyi M. *Újvidék története, 1894*, Újvidék: Agapé, 2002, 228 o.), though other workshops were owned by the Germans and the Serbs. The data of censuses testify to the multi-confessional character of Novi Sad at the end of the 19th century: in 1891, there were 9581 of Catholics, 8908 Orthodox Christians (mainly Serbs), 2449 Evangelists (mainly Germans and Slovaks), 1928 Reformats (mainly Hungarians), 1507 Jews [Ibid 168 o., 172 o., 188 o., 189 o., 192 o].

¹⁴ Individual characteristics of informants were shown in the transcripts. After each example, the place of the recording is given.

vegetable gardens, everything was around one's own **vegetable garden**, there were basic vegetables and fruit, I felt very good at that time) (NS).

In the third excerpt [3], another period is depicted – informant's childhood, which was in 1960s. We can see that the children could safely go down the hill sleighing until it got dark:

[3] *Szóval mi történik a Telepen? amikor én gyerek voltam, nem éreztem semmit, mentünk szánkózni, téli szünet volt, együtt mentünk az egész utca, nem volt hogy vártuk azt a hét órát este hogy leessen a sötét, az egész utca, gyerekek* (So, what is happening in Telep? what is the life like? **when I was a child**, I didn't feel anything, we went sleighing down the hill, we had winter vacations, we were going along the street together, it was not that we were waiting until seven o'clock in the evening when it was dark, the whole street and the children) (NS)

However, recently Telep has been changing. The changes in the cityscape are noticed in the fourth excerpt [4]: the agricultural lands have been developed, and the city is expanding. The informant says that their old house was demolished, and then they got an apartment in a new building:

[4] *P. Most nincs, mert lebontották a házakat, építették azt a ...
G. Ez új?*

P. Persze, ez most lett felépítve, mennyi? egy éve hogy behozták az embereket, itt volt nekünk a házuk, szóval itt volt a szomszédnak a háza, itt voltunk mink, és a ház névébe kaptam eztet ahol dolgozok.

P. Now they are not here because **the houses were demolished**, this one was built...

G. A new one?

P. Of course, it was built now, how long? one year after the people started living here, there was our house here, so there was neighbors' house here, we were here, and for my house I got this [a room], where I work (NS).

A Ukrainian informant residing to the north from Telep is telling about the rural character of the surrounding landscape. The testimonies related to the postwar time are given below:

[5] *Град, Нові-Сад, кад смо приїхали сюди тут було, **все бїли хатї**, дома, не буїли оцї такї двоетажнї, овай, не є було, було хатї, посьля, сад два рока, як зро- бїли оцї хатї там, отї дома, етажнї, **все бїли поля**, там, Хфўтошки, Хфўтошка дорóга, тамо все буїли хатї и поля, все су люди сїяли жїто, пше-*

ницю, все су тамо сјяли люди, није е було тако (The city, Novi Sad, when we moved here; here it was, **all the houses were small**, there were no two-storeyed houses; no, there were not, **there were houses**, now it has been two years since they built these houses there, these houses, multi-storeyed; **all of them were fields** there, Futoshki, Futohski put, there were houses and fields over there; the people were growing wheat, the people were planting, **it was not like that**) (NS)

In the context of our research, it is important that the changes in the architectural scape and urbanisation cause changes in the ethnic composition of the population and, as a result, changes in the linguistic situation. We understand the linguistic situation as the “linguistic provision of communication in the society”¹⁵. In the neighborhood of Telep, there are still private houses left with the typical planning; however, gradually, the practice of demolishing old houses and replacing them with multi-storeyed apartment buildings is coming here. Nowadays, the neighborhood of Telep is one of prestigious neighborhoods in Novi Sad.¹⁶ Before the industrial enterprises appeared here, this part of Novi Sad had preserved the Hungarian environment’, then Serbs started moving here. According to the statistics, in 2005 there were 17,000 residents in the neighborhood; most of them were Serbs¹⁷. A. Dragin writes that many Serbs moved to this part of the city within the last two decades¹⁸. Nevertheless, Telep still continues to be the center of Hungarian cultural life; the Hungarian cultural society named after Petöfi Sándor is still functioning here; there are two eight-year schools, which have Hungarian classes (lately, the number of students studying there has decreased) – Jožef Atila School and Nikola Tesla School.

Telep was considered to be the place where there the city would end and the rural area would begin. The tram went up to the border lands. The residents of Telep remember that it was not easy to get to the center of Novi Sad. The feeling of social and national isolation was also overlapped with the feeling of geographical isolation of Telep residents that had been created because it was so remote and hard to reach. Regular transport connection with the center of Novi Sad was established only in 1958¹⁹. Below are the informants’ testimonies about transport availability in Telep:

¹⁵ Neshhimenko G.P. *Jazykovaja situacija v slavjanskih stranah* [The language situation in Slavic countries]. Moscow, 2003, p. 15.

¹⁶ Dragin A. *Životna priča kao metod beleženja rodnih aspekata istorije žena: Mađarica sa Telepa Novi Sad*, 2015, p. 17.

¹⁷ Uri F. Telep. *Enciklopedija Novogo Sada* [Encyclopedia of Novi Sad], book 28, Novi Sad, 2007, p. 63.

¹⁸ Dragin A. *Životna priča kao metod beleženja rodnih aspekata istorije žena: Mađarica sa Telepa Novi Sad*, 2015, p. 18.

¹⁹ Dragin A. *Životna priča kao metod beleženja rodnih aspekata istorije žena: Mađarica sa Telepa Novi Sad*, 2015, p. 17.

[6] *Cara Dusana, igen, kétharmada akkor magyar, de akkor még családi házak voltak, most már alig van belőlük négy, öt (Cara Dusana (Tsar Dusana Boulevard), yes, **two-thirds were Hungarians at that time**, but there were private houses then; and now there are hardly four or five [private houses]) (NS)*

[7] *K. Ezen a nagy sugárúton valamikor is ment a vasút, ez vasút volt, és ment a postáig, egy kis posta, piac, Limáni piac, ott van egy kis posta, az volt a vasútállomás, s akkor erre ment a vasút, még részei megvannak, arra vége felé ... itt volt a városnak a vége, a villamos, tramvaj, az itt fordult meg, ezen a sarkon, és itt volt a kórház, ez akkor a városnak a széle volt, **Telep az már ilyen falunak számított.***

G. Tehát nem volt a város része?

K. Igazán nem, különállónak tekintették, olyan külváros, amit hát külön tekintettek.

K. There used to be a railroad on this big avenue; it was a railroad, it was running up to the post-office, a small building of the post-office, a market, Liman market; there is a small building of the post-office; it used to be a station, and there was a railroad up to that place; there are its parts even now there, up to the end... there was the city boundary, the tram would turn round here at this corner, and there was a hospital, and it was the city boundary; **Telep was considered to be a big village.**

G. Do you mean it was not part of the city?

K. Actually not, it was considered a separate part, a suburb, which, well, can be considered as a separate one (NS)

[8] *Nem, **Telepen nagyon nehéz volt a közlekedés**, amikor én idekerültem, akkor is nehéz volt, kellett erre busszal és utána mentél valahova, **Telepről bussz** (No, **it was difficult with transportation in Telep**, when I got there, and it was hard at that time; you had to go by bus up to this place, and then you had to walk to your destination, taking a bus from Telep) (NS).*

The past is associated with the predomination of the Hungarian population in the neighborhood of Telep, with a bigger role of the Hungarian language in the local community²⁰. The symbolic end of this period is connected with industrialisation, urbanisation and influx of Serbian population. The informant from the ninth excerpt [9] characterizes the change of these epochs with a phase verb (*utána már kezdődött*

²⁰ An informant in the study of A. Dragin mentions the Hungarian character of Telep in the past: *Mađarska. Mađarska deca, uglavnom su Mađari bili na Telepu. Na Telepu je... je, je retko ko bio... a da nije bio Mađar. Mađarska, mađarska, ceo Telep je bio mađarski* (Hungarian. Hungarian children, mainly Hungarians were in Telep. In Telep...there were hardly any of those who were not Hungarian. Hungarian, Hungarian, all Telep was Hungarian): Dragin A. *Životna priča kao metod beleženja rodnih aspekata istorije žena: Mađarica sa Telepa Novi Sad*, 2015, s. 87.

– and then it already started). S. Ćirković, analyzing the time markers in the speech of Kosovo refugees, also notices the frequent use of the verb ‘start’ in the narratives (*počelo je*), which “symbolizes the start of the war [the war in Kosovo] as the time boundary, in relation to which the interlocutors locate the events they are talking about”²¹.

[9] *Telepen java rész magyarok voltak, akkor a mestereim magyarok voltak, java részt, mondjuk rá, huszonöt, harminc évig, utána már kezdődött, nagyobb vállalat, több szerb jött, akkor már nem, sokkal többet beszéltünk akkó így a néppel, mert sokkal több magyar volt, az üzletekbe is még a környezetbe, szomszédok, a gyerekkorban még a legénykorban mint már ma (There were mostly Hungarians in Telep, at that time my foremen were Hungarians, mostly, say, twenty-five, thirty years ago, then it all started, big enterprises, many Serbs came, at that time no, we used to talk more because there were many more Hungarians, in stores and around you, neighbors, in my childhood and youth than now) (NS).*

The information in the tenth excerpt [10] is telling about the special environment, where everyone knew each other and owing to this fact, there was a feeling of more security. These recollections are in contrast with the current situation, when the connection with the acquaintances is lost because of migration and generational change:

[10] *Jako dugačka ulica, ona ide skroz do Futoga, moji su negde tu na polovini, ja sam nekad znala u svakoj kući ko stanuje (A very long street, it goes to Futoga, my people are somewhere there in the middle, I used to know those who lived in every house) (NS).*

Conclusion

Thus, Telep and the neighborhoods of Novi Sad adjoining to it (Detelinara, Adamovicevo Naselje, Grbavica) are exposed to intense urbanization²². The rural lifestyle, which was witnessed by the informants, has been changing for a city with its own laws of development. Gradually, the old environment, the feeling of geographical isolation, the feeling that Telep is located on the outskirts of Novi Sad (and to some degree does not belong to it), is disappearing. Compare, for example, the opinion of an informant about the changes around Grbavica:

²¹ Ćirković S. *Stereotip vremena u diskursu raseljenih lica sa Kosova i Metohije*. Beograd, 2012, p. 88.

²² Dragin A. *Životna priča kao metod beleženja rodnih aspekata istorije žena: Mađarica sa Telepa Novi Sad*, 2015, p. 18.

[11] *Az úgy nevezett Grbávicának nevezik, ez a Limán mellett, szóval, nem tudom megmagyarázni, a Limáni piac mögotti része, ahol földszintes házak voltak, tíz évvel ezelőtt és most kezdődött a földszintes családi házak lebontása* (So called, **it is called Grbavica**, it's next to Liman, I can't explain, it's the area behind the Liman market, **where there used to be one-storey houses**, ten years ago, and they started to pull down the private houses) (NS).

As a result, the linguistic situation has also been transforming: together with the patriarchal character, the rural way of life in the isolated Hungarian world is also disappearing; the industrial enterprises and accomodation facilities overlap with the Hungarian foundation, which is more difficult to be recognised in the cityscape, and to which only the toponymy testifies (including the street names)²³: *Kiš Ernea, Senteleki Kornela, Petefi Šandora, Adi Endrea, Karas Pala, Đorđa Mikeša*, etc., also cultural institutions (cultural society named after Petöfi Sándor) and confessional objects (Catholic and Reformed churches). Interlocutors directly associate the urbanization and the changes in their lifestyle, as well as the weakening of the Hungarian language in everyday life of Telep. At the same time, the functioning of the Hungarian language is closely related to the neighborhood of Telep as 'the most Hungarian place' on the map of Novi Sad.



Fig. 1. Novi Sad. The Hungarian theatre

²³ It is important to mention that in the Serbian toponymy as well as in the names of the institutions (libraries and schools) in the Serbian language, the Hungarian names and surnames are given per the word order in the Hungarian language, when the surname precedes the first name (Hung. *Ady Endre*, Rus. *Endre Ady*, Serb. *Adi Endre*), whereas proper Serbian names and surnames are given in a different order (cf. *ulica Jovana Popovića*).



Fig. 2. The neighborhood of Telep

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Helsinki (Helsingfors) in the mirror of imperial St Petersburg

Abstract. This essay discusses three aspects related to the likeness between Helsinki and St Petersburg. Firstly, the centre of early 19th-century Helsinki became to look like miniature St Petersburg because its architect C.L. Engel admired the neoclassical architecture in St Petersburg. Secondly, Helsinki (Helsingfors in Swedish) suited the role Bely gave it in ‘Petersburg’ novel (1916) as it had the name familiar to his readers, and in 1905 the name was more modern than St. Petersburg. Thirdly, Cold War films with Helsinki as Petrograd/Leningrad and Moscow show that the line between the factual and fictional may get lost.

Keywords: Carl Engel, Yakov Grot, Faddei Bulgarin, Elizabeth Rigby, Xavier Marmier, Louis Léouzon Le Duc, Andrei Bely, the Empire style, well-planned cities, travelogues

City names are much more than just a name: they evoke memoirs, stir up emotions and serve as symbols; to some a city name may sound forbidding, to others inviting. What did imperial St Petersburg stand for? For its first two centuries, for many men and women within a long radius it indicated opportunities. However, this began to change towards the end of the 19th century when its role was challenged by Moscow.

By the time Andrei Bely wrote his ‘Petersburg’ (1913), the city itself had become a symbol of petrified old order for him, or that was how I understood it when I read ‘Petersburg’ for the first time. I was also struck by the supporting role that the small Helsinki, or Helsingfors¹, played in it. I do not know whether Andrei Bely (Boris Nikolaevich Bugaev, 1880–1934) ever visited Helsinki / Helsingfors on his travels back and forth between Russia and Western Europe, as many of his contemporary Russians did. Neither do I know whether Bely knew that nineteenth-century visitors had observed that Helsinki / Helsingfors was in appearance somewhat like St. Peters-

¹ All contemporary writers cited here, including Bely, used Helsinki’s Swedish name Helsingfors (Gel’singfors). In 19th-century Finland, Swedish was the language of administration and also largely spoken in Helsinki; today it is a minority vernacular.

burg. Moreover, in the late 20th century, during the Cold War, Helsinki played the role of sham Petrograd / Leningrad and Moscow in a handful of US movies. The fact that the small Helsinki / Helsingfors has been associated with grand St. Petersburg in such distinct contexts inspired me to write this essay.

Main body

Below, I start with a brief presentation of Finland as part of the Russian Empire from 1809 to 1917 and the role of St Petersburg therewith. I then go over to discuss why in the 19th century the modest Helsinki / Helsingfors brought the imperial St Petersburg into mind. Next, I ask what it might have been that made Helsinki / Helsingfors suitable for the role that Bely gave it in ‘Petersburg’. As a kind of epilogue, the US movies in which the modern Helsinki plays the role of Petrograd / Leningrad and Moscow, bring into question whether it will be possible to tell the factual from the fictional in the future.

Finland and imperial St Petersburg

In 1703, during the Great Northern War, Tsar Peter I founded St. Petersburg at the mouth of the River Neva to secure his conquest of the largely Finnish-speaking province of Ingria (Ingermanland) from the Kingdom of Sweden. Unlike its Swedish predecessor Nyenskans, Peter’s new town was to grow into a large metropolis. Over the course of the 18th century, St. Petersburg inherited in the northern Baltic world the role of Stockholm that suffered from stagnation².

In 1809, during the Napoleonic Wars, Sweden had to cede all its Finnish provinces to Russia and the same year Emperor Alexander I made them into a new political entity, the Grand Duchy of Finland. In 1812, the emperor made Helsinki / Helsingfors, a small seaport³, the new capital of the Grand Duchy. The sea-fortress of Sveaborg just off the town contributed to his choice. The change of the sovereign went relatively smoothly, because the existing (Swedish) laws remained in force and the administrative apparatus and the Lutheran Church were intact. The relations between the Russian emperors and their Finnish subjects also remained reasonably unproblematic for most of the 19th century, until the reign of Nicholas II⁴.

² Söderberg Johan, Jonsson Ulf & Persson Christer. *A Stagnating Metropolis: The Economy and Demography of Stockholm, 1750–1850*. Cambridge, 1991; Åström Sven-Erik, *From Stockholm to St. Petersburg: Commercial Factors in the Political Relations between England and Sweden in 1675–1700*. Helsinki, 1962, pp. 109–119.

³ Helsinki / Helsingfors was in 1550 founded at the mouth of the river Vantaa / Vanda but was in 1640 relocated to its present site. In 1810 its civilian population was about 3,500.

⁴ E.g. Kirby David. *A Concise History of Finland*. Cambridge, 2006, pp. 71–149; Schweitzer Robert Government in Finland: Russia’s borderland policy and variants of autonomy. *Finland and Poland in the Russian Empire: A Comparative Study*, eds. Michael Branch, Janet M. Hartley and

The loyalty of the elite in Finland was fostered, among other benefits, by the fact that sons of nobility had access to free military education in the Finnish Cadet Corps in Hamina / Fredrikshamn and in the less prestigious Yunker School in Helsinki / Helsingfors. The Cadet Corps rendered possible an officer's career in the imperial army⁵. Similarly, daughters of the Finnish nobility were granted by empress dowager Maria Fedorovna a quota of non-paying places in the Smolny Institute in St. Petersburg. This privilege was clearly appreciated, as the fourteen free places were always filled⁶. Moreover, the imperial court in St. Petersburg emerged as an alternative to the royal court in Stockholm. Daughters of the most prominent noble families in Finland could look forward to being nominated as maids-of-honour to the empress. In general, the loyalty of Finnish civil and military office holders to the emperors fostered the marriage prospects of their daughters⁷.

The elite in early 19th-century Finland were as prone to maintain social hierarchies as their counterparts in Russia's Baltic provinces and Russia itself. However, in Finland (and Sweden), the nobility had long since lost its monopoly to the noble land. Hence, the status of Finnish nobility was not based on the land ownership but rather on high-ranking civil and military offices. Therefore, what counted in the first instance, was a man's official rank (*rang, chin*) and his social estate (*stånd, soslovie*). A woman's position was determined by the rank and the social estate of her father or husband⁸. In 1722, Peter the Great had copied the formula of Swedish Table of Ranks for Russia⁹; thus, the Table of Ranks applied in 19th-century Finland was an amalgam of the Swedish and Russian ones. Each rank had its distinctive uniform. In the

Antoni Mączak. London, 1995, pp. 91–109; Kalleinen K. Sviashchennye uzy biurokratii – vyssee chinovnichestvo Finliandii i Rossiia 1809–1898 gg. [Holy ties of beaurocracy – senior officialism of Finland and Russia 1809–1898]. *Dva lika Rossii. Sbornik statei*. Pod redaktsiei prof. Timo Vakhivainena [Two images of Russia: Collection of articles. Ed. Prof. Timo Vahivainen]. St-Petersburg, 2007, pp. 27–45.

⁵ Screen J.E.O. The military relationship between Finland and Russia, 1809–1917, *Finland and Poland in the Russian Empire*, pp. 259–270; Screen J.E.O. The Helsinki Yunker School, 1846–1879: A case study of the officer training in the Russian Army. *Studia Historica* 22. Helsinki, 1986, pp. 11–34; Engman M. Officers and Artisans: Finns in Russia. *Finland and Poland in the Russian Empire*, pp. 241–258.

⁶ Löfving E. Finländska flickor i jungfrustiftet Smolna i Petersburg. *Historiska och Litteraturhistoriska Studier*, 1988, vol. 63, pp. 277–306.

⁷ Ilmakunnas J. Career at court: Noblewomen in service of Swedish and Russian royals, c. 1750–1850, *Women's History Magazine* 2013, vol. 72, no. 2, pp. 4–11; Rahikainen Marjatta. The fading of the ancient régime mentality: Young upper-class women in imperial St. Petersburg and Helsinki (Helsingfors). *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 2015, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 25–47.

⁸ Upton A. Epilogue. *Finland and Poland in the Russian Empire*, pp. 283–87; Wirilander K. *Herrskapsfolk: Ståndspersoner i Finland 1721–1870*. Stockholm, 1982, ss. 18–22, 98–99, 108–113, 140–162.

⁹ Peterson C. *Peter the Great's Administrative and Judicial Reforms: Swedish Antecedents and the Process of Reception*. Stockholm, 1979, pp. 106–113.

1830s, during the reign of Nicholas I, half the population in St. Petersburg was dressed in uniforms, as the German gentleman J.G. Kohl remarked, and men in civilian dresses always remained second to men in uniforms. The same held true in Helsinki / Helsingfors¹⁰.

Migration from Finland to St Petersburg was commonplace. Contemporary experience in Finland was that all luxury and all new consumer goods originated in St. Petersburg. The members of the elite were attracted by the high society attached to the imperial court; craftsmen, café keepers and restaurateurs were inspired by the opportunities to be trained in up-market products and services; country girls liked the demand for domestic servants and Finnish beggars were driven by the almsgiving tradition of Orthodox Russians. Labour migration from Finland to St. Petersburg included all kinds of people, including children. Finnish citizens were judicially personally free (there was never any serfdom in Sweden and Finland); thus, those who had no right to own serfs could employ them. Moreover, thousands of Finns settled in St Petersburg as owners of shops and apartments¹¹. The cosmopolitan character of the population favoured cross-marriages over religious lines and certain linguistic lines, although not across the social lines. Exogamy was relatively common among German, Swedish and Finnish speaking populations. Swedish-speaking Finns in St. Petersburg were on average higher in the social hierarchy than Finnish-speaking ones, and this was mirrored in the marriage market¹².

Despite several parallels, with time the differences between Finnish and Russian societies became more and more apparent. In Finland, the old elite of high-ranking noble office holders had long collaborated closely with wealthy merchants and manufacturers on profitable investments in trades and industries. Through this business collaboration, the Finnish nobility gradually adopted the mentality and lifestyle of educated bourgeois upper classes. Over a 15-year period, starting in the 1860s, the Finnish *Lantdag* (the Estates Assembly, or Diet) completely reversed the economic policy and created institutional preconditions for laissez-faire industrial capitalism.

¹⁰ Kohl J.G. *Russia and Russians in 1842*, vol. I. Petersburg, London, 1842, pp. 70–73; Léouzon Le Duc L. *La Finlande: Son Histoire primitive, sa Mythologie, sa Poésie épique*, II. Paris, 1845, pp. 441–442.

¹¹ Engman M. Migration from Finland to Russia during the 19th century. *Scandinavian Journal of History* 1978, vol. 3, pp. 155–177; Engman M. *Peterburgska vägar*. Helsingfors, 1995, passim (Russian edition *Финляндцы в Петербурге*, 2008); Kimmo Katajala. Eastern Finland and St. Petersburg 1809–1917: Restructuring of infrastructure and rural economy in the concentric circles around a metropolis. *The East-West Interface in the European North*, eds. M. Dahlström, H. Eskelinen and U. Wiberg, Uppsala, 1995, pp. 11–27. For the trafficking of children, see Marjatta Rahikainen, Historical and present-day child labour: Is there a gap or a bridge between them? *Continuity and Change*, 2001, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 137–156; Ransel D. *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia*. Princeton, 1988, pp. 219–230.

¹² Busch M. *Deutsche in St. Petersburg 1865–1914: Identität und Integration*. Düsseldorf, 1995, pp. 26–28; Engman M. *The Finns in St. Petersburg*.

Thus, the conflicting interests of the four estates¹³ of the *Lantdag* did not rule out their converging interests in the name of economic modernisation¹⁴. The ruling classes in Finland and the nobility in the Baltic provinces adapted to the emerging global capitalism more expediently than the nobility in Russia proper, yet none of the landed elites were spared of bloodshed when the remnants of the old order were destroyed¹⁵.

19th-century Helsinki / Helsingfors as a miniature St. Petersburg

In July 1838, Faddei V. Bulgarin, the Russian writer and editor of the journal *Северная пчела* was taken in Tallinn / Reval on board of the small steamship *Storfursten* ('The Grand Duke') that sailed along the line St Petersburg–Tallinn / Reval–Helsinki / Helsingfors–Turku / Åbo–Stockholm. After the ship had rounded the sea-fortress of Sveaborg, the centre of Helsinki / Helsingfors came into sight. Bulgarin was surprised: Could this town be in Finland? Why, this is part of Petersburg!

*Узкимъ проходомъ, подъ пушками Свеаборга, на разстоянии полувыстрела пистолетнаго, вошли мы въ Гельсингфорский заливъ, и тутъ снова неожиданная, прелестная картина открылась передъ нами. Ужели это городъ Финляндии, которую мы привыкли называть бедною? Да это уголокъ Петербурга! Только высокая скала, на правой стороне пристани (полуостровъ Скатудень), усеянная хижинами, остатками стариннаго Гельсингфорса, напоминаетъ мне, что я въ Финляндии. Вотъ мы уже въ гавани!*¹⁶

About the same time, the Russian philologist Yakov K. Grot¹⁷ visited for the first time Helsinki / Helsingfors, where he would live later for a good decade. His first impressions were quite like those of Bulgarin. To the learned readers of the Russian journal *Современник*, Grot described Helsinki / Helsingfors as a half-wild beauty:

¹³ Nobility, Clergy, Burghers and (land-owning) Farmers (Bonde).

¹⁴ Heikkinen Sakari. *Labour and the Market. Workers, Wages and Living Standards in Finland, 1850–1913*, Helsinki, 1997; Peltonen M. A bourgeois bureaucracy? The new mentality of the Finnish aristocracy at the beginning of the period of autonomy. *State, Culture and the Bourgeoisie*, ed. M. Peltonen, Jyväskylä, 1989, pp. 33–53; Rahikainen M. *The fading of the ancien régime mentality*.

¹⁵ Alapuro R. *State and Revolution in Finland*, Berkeley, 1988; Seymour Becker, *Nobility and Privilege in Late Imperial Russia*. Dekalb, 1985; Blum J. *Russia in European Landed Elites in the 19th Century*, ed. David Spring. Baltimore & London, 1977, pp. 68–97; Whelan Heide W. *Adapting to Modernity: Family, Caste and Capitalism among the Baltic German Nobility*. Köln, Weimar & Wien, 1999.

¹⁶ Фаддей Булгарин, *Летняя прогулка по Финляндии и Швеции, в 1838 году*. Часть I. Санкт-Петербургъ, 1839, pp. 87–88. Bulgarin's travelogue is available at: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2010-00003163>.

¹⁷ For Grot, see *The Philosophical Age, Almanac 38: Connecting Nations and Times: Yakov Grot, On the Bicentenary of His Birth*. St. Petersburg & Helsinki, 2012.

Гельсингфорс красавецъ и въ томъ и въ другомъ отношеши, но красавецъ еще развивающийся, полудикий, исполненный противоположностей и странно поражающий путешественника, особенно Петербургскаго жителя, вокругъ котораго все такъ правильно, стройно, гладко. Напротивъ въ Гельсингфорсе, рядомъ съ приветливымъ искусствомъ, видишь природу мрачную и грозную.

На серыхъ, чудовищныхъ массахъ гранита высятся тамъ величавыя, яркия зданья и башни; прибывъ съ береговъ Невы, невольно припоминаешь ихъ, думаешь на мгновенье, что не разлучался съ ними; но внезапно уронивъ взоръ на рядъ дикихъ скаль, убеждаешься, что перенесся въ какое-то новое царство¹⁸.

It was no accident that the architecture in Helsinki / Helsingfors appeared rather like that in St. Petersburg. The architect of the new edifices in the city centre, Carl Ludwig Engel (1778–1840), admired the neoclassical Empire-style architecture in St. Petersburg that he had visited in 1813. Engel was born and educated in his profession in Berlin, but left in 1809 for Tallinn / Reval because of the depression in the construction industry in Berlin due to the Napoleonic Wars. However, a similar depression for the same reason was eventually felt in Tallinn / Reval too, so in 1814 Engel left for Finland and was first employed as an architect in Turku / Åbo. He learned to know key persons in Finland, among them Johan Albert Ehrenström (1762–1847) who had in 1812 been appointed by Emperor Alexander I as responsible for rebuilding of Helsinki / Helsingfors after the great fire of 1808. In 1816, Engel was appointed by Alexander I as the architect of the projected new buildings¹⁹.

In the same way as Peter I and Catherine II had in the previous century been personally engaged in the planning of St. Petersburg, in the early 19th century Alexander I and Nicholas I were in person engaged not only in the planning of St. Petersburg but also of Helsinki / Helsingfors that they had visited several times. The town plans for the new capital were presented to and confirmed by the emperors. The new town plans drawn up by Ehrenström were liberal adaptations of the 17th-century baroque town plan, modernized in Empire style; and now included for the sake of fire safety broad, straight streets and lines of broadleaved trees. The designs for the official new buildings around the Senate Square, such as the edifice of the (Finnish) Senate, the

¹⁸ Grot Ya. Gel'singfors. *Sovremennik*, 1840, no. 2, 5–82, quotation 6. The offprint of Grot's 'Gel'singfors' (quotation page 2). Available at: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2010-00002319>.

¹⁹ Lindberg C. and Rein G. *Stadsplanering och byggnadsverksamhet. Helsingfors stads historia III delen, första bandet*. Helsingfors, 1950, ss. 19–85 (Finnish edition: *Helsingin kaupungin historia III:1*); Sven-Erik Åström, *Samhällsplanering och regionsbildning i kejsartidens Helsingfors*. Helsingfors, 1957, pp. 42–68; Воспоминание о Гельсингфорсе: историко-литературный очерк, гл. ред. и сост. общего текста: Людмила Коль [et al.]. Espoo, 2011, pp. 21–27.

main building of the university²⁰ and the university library, were presented by Engel to the emperor who decided which one of the alternative designs would be implemented. The two emperors preferred the empire style à la St Petersburg, so the centre of the newly-built Helsinki with its light-yellowish official edifices came to resemble St. Petersburg in miniature²¹.

As young and planned cities, in the mid-19th century, St. Petersburg and Helsinki / Helsingfors looked in contemporary eyes modern; and in an analogous way quite different from the old European cities. Unlike present-day tourists, who are attracted by the old quarters, characterized by winding streets, narrow lanes and picturesque small houses, two centuries ago visitors in St Petersburg and Helsinki / Helsingfors were impressed by all the new: the edifices in neoclassical style, the large squares and the long horizons offered by broad and straight streets. To many Western visitors, early 19th-century St Petersburg appeared spacious, handsome, convenient, comfortable and judicious²².

Three Western travellers visited both St. Petersburg and Helsinki / Helsingfors around 1840 and described their impressions in their travelogues. In autumn 1838²³, Miss Elizabeth Rigby, an English lady, arrived in St. Petersburg by a steamship. Her first impressions of the city were dominated by the splendid views offered not only by Nevsky Prospect but also the fine palaces, churches and other admirable buildings. However, she noticed too that many of the fine buildings had never been renovated, so they made a 'mixture of shabbiness and grandeur'²⁴. From St. Petersburg, she left for northern Estonia and in summer 1840 made a shopping and pleasure trip on board of *Furst Menschikoff* from Tallinn / Reval to the Finnish capital, together with her local friends. With the steamship connection and the city's new spa, such trips had become fashionable among the Russian elite in St. Petersburg and the Baltic German elite in Tallinn / Reval. As in the case of St. Petersburg, Elizabeth Rigby's first impressions at the sight of Helsingfors were most favourable, but by a closer look less so:

²⁰ After the great fire of Turku / Åbo in 1827, the university was relocated to the new capital and renamed as Imperial Alexander University. Bulgarin thought that the university main building was more magnificent and majestic (великолепнее и величественнее) than the edifice of the Senate (Булгарин, *Летняя прогулка по Финляндии и Швеции*, p. 99.)

²¹ Lindberg and Rein, 'Stadsplanering och byggnadsverksamhet', pp. 9–156; Schoolfield George C. *Helsinki of the Czars: Finland's Capital: 1808–1918*. Drawer, Columbia, SC, 1996, pp. 3–19.

²² Kohl. *Russia and Russians*, 1842, pp. 1–8; May J.-B. *Saint-Petersbourg et la Russie en 1829*. Paris, 1830, pp. 351–352; Tarnow Fanny. *Briefe auf einer Reise nach Petersburg an Freunde geschrieben*. Berlin, 1819, ss. 22–23, 36–43.

²³ No years are given in her published travelogue, so the years given here are my guesses.

²⁴ Rigby Elizabeth [Lady Eastlake]. *Letters from the Shores of the Baltic*. Vol. I. London, 1842, pp. 45–69, quotation p. 62.

*Helsingfors*²⁵ is approached through islands of rocks, some of them only tenanted by fishermen, others massively fortified – especially that called Sweaborg, which is the Cronstadt of this Finnish capital. Nor does the likeliness end here, for the town itself, clean and handsomely built, recalls Petersburg upon the first aspect. ...

Helsingforst ... bears no remains of any former splendour²⁶; its oldest houses being shabby erections of wood, which contrast most disadvantageously with those of stone which have started up since ... the peace of Friedricksham [Fredrikshamn], in 1809²⁷.

In summer 1842, the French writer Xavier Marmier visited Stockholm, Turku / Åbo, Helsingfors and St. Petersburg. In the Russian capital, he praised the ‘large and majestic streets’ and the imposing appearance of the city, but was critical to the architecture: ‘*La plupart des edifices publics de Pétersbourg sont bâtis dans le plus mauvais goût*’²⁸. In the Finnish capital, some of the old wooden houses that the English lady had found so unsightly had already been replaced by new stone buildings, and Marmier was quite pleased. The capital of Finland was a city

*qui a vu, dans l’espace de quelques années, des centaines d’habitations surgir comme par enchantement dans son enceinte, et des édifices splendides s’élever sur un sol naguère encore aride et nu. Ses rues sont larges, longues et tirées au cordeau, ses places publiques dessinées carrément, et, d’un de ses extrémités à l’autre, Helsingfors a la symétrie des cites construites d’un seul coup par l’autorité d’un souverain ... Les enseignes des marchands et des artisans son peintes comme à Pétersbourg ... les soldats russes parquent sur la place, au son des clairons et des trompettes*²⁹.

Even so, Helsingfors did not have ‘*l’aspect d’une ville russe*’ to such an extent as the city of Vyborg that Sweden had ceded to the Russian Empire in the Peace of Uusikapunki / Nystad in 1721. This was because of the many barracks in the city and the striking presence of the imperial army in the street scene³⁰.

The third Western traveller who wrote about both cities was the French gentleman Louis Léouzon Le Duc. He visited St. Petersburg for the first time in autumn 1840 and was greatly impressed by its appearance: ‘*Quel ensemble de merveilles! Palais*

²⁵ Rigby systematically misspelled the name of the city.

²⁶ There had never existed any ‘former splendour’; the houses in the centre of Helsinki ; Helsingfors that had been destroyed by the great fire of 1808 had been low and built of wood. There had been but a couple of stone buildings and they were saved from the fire.

²⁷ Rigby E. [Lady Eastlake] *Letters from the Shores of the Baltic*. Vol. II. London, 1842, pp. 66–82, quotations pp. 71, 74–73.

²⁸ Marmier X. *Lettres sur la Russie, la Finlande et la Pologne*. Paris, 1851, pp. 151–153 (quotation).

²⁹ Marmier X. *Lettres sur la Russie, la Finlande et la Pologne*, pp. 24–33, quotations pp. 24–25.

³⁰ Marmier X. *Lettres sur la Russie, la Finlande et la Pologne*, p. 124.

*de pierre ou de marbre là où naguère s'entassait la boue, vaste cite ... Et tout cela est l'œuvre d'un seul siècle!*³¹

In September 1842, he arrived for the first time in Helsingfors, and his impressions were very like those of Elizabeth Rigby:

*Vu du côté de la mer, Helsingfors offre un aspect superbe. ... Une vaste place le domine, bordée de maisons neuves et blanches et prolongée par une esplanade ombragée d'une riche verdure. ... Quand on pénètre dans l'intérieur de la ville, le charme qu'on avait éprouvé en la contemplant de loin s'évanouit peu à peu. Les rues sont larges, tirées au cordeau, mais le plus souvent âpres, montueuses, et pavées, comme dans toutes les villes du Nord, de petits cailloux aigus...*³²

In Helsingfors Léouzon Le Duc was impressed by the sea-fortress of Sveaborg, the edifice of the Senate and the main building of the university. He even knew that Alexander I had introduced the tradition that the tsarevich was formally the chancellor of the university. However, although beautiful, the city was not particularly lively, except in the summer thanks to foreign, above all Russian spa guests. The similarity of the appearance of the two cities made him conclude that both the inhabitants of Helsingfors and those of St. Petersburg liked the classical Greek architecture³³.

Early 19th-century St Petersburg and Helsinki were products of an autocratic city development, whose era came to an end in both cities about the same time in the mid-century, as they started to change into centres of trades and industries. Around the 1850s, both cities suffered from stagnation in the construction industry, but in the second half of the century it was in both cities replaced by the construction boom. In St. Petersburg, it indicated many new high-rise apartment houses³⁴. In Helsingfors, the smartest streets in the city centre became edged with new prestigious, high-rise residential blocks, whose facades created a cityscape that called to mind the palace-edged streets of St. Petersburg. In 1868, a large Orthodox Cathedral in Russian style, with gilded onion domes, was erected on the headland Katajanokka / Skatudden. Its neighbourhood was eventually filled with high-rise art-nouveau style apartment

³¹ Léouzon Louis Le Duc. *La Russie contemporaine, seconde édition*. Paris, 1854, pp. 1–3 (quotation), 17; Louis Léouzon Le Duc. *L'Ours du nord : Russie – Esthonie – Hogland : Vingt-neuf ans sous l'Étoile polaire: Première série*. Paris, 1879, pp. 1–5, 213.

³² Léouzon Louis Le Duc. *La Baltique*. Paris, 1855, pp. 447–448.

³³ Léouzon Louis Le Duc. *La Finlande*. Paris, 1845, T. II, pp. 247–251, 338–339, 387–388, 394–395, 421–426 ; Louis Léouzon Le Duc. *Le Renne: Finlande – Laponie – Iles d'Åland*. Paris, 1880, pp. 3–4, 136.

³⁴ Bater J.H. *St Petersburg: Industrialization and Change*, Edward Arnold. London, 1976, pp. 17–40; Buckler Julia A. *Mapping St. Petersburg: Imperial Text and Cityscape*. Princeton & Oxford, 2005, pp. 31–60.

buildings for upper middle classes³⁵. Around 1900, the cityscape in the two capitals was noticeably different from that of 1850.

It should be said that the new groups of people that made the small city quite cosmopolitan added to the image of the 19th-century Helsingfors as miniature St. Petersburg. The new groups first included officers, marines and soldiers of the imperial Russian army that replaced the Swedish army. In the wake of the imperial army, the city also received its first Tartar and Jewish inhabitants. In 1866, Pauline Wengeroff, a Russian officer's wife in Sveaborg, complained that the Jewish community in the city consisted of 'old soldiers whose privilege to live here dated from the time of Nicholas I'³⁶. However, by the end of the imperial era, many Tartar and Jewish merchants had established themselves as respectable middle-class city dwellers³⁷. Naturally the city life was also animated by the many Russians and Baltic Germans from St. Petersburg who settled in Helsingfors³⁸. Moreover, thanks to its location on the route connecting Stockholm and St. Petersburg, the small Helsinki/Helsingfors enjoyed visits and performances of many foreign artists, theatre groups, scholars and other voyagers who stopped there on their trips between the two metropolises.

Helsingfors (Gel'singfors) in Bely's 'Peterburg'

Even at its highest, the share of Finnish subjects of the population in St. Petersburg was negligible³⁹. Nonetheless, the 'Finns' in the vague contemporary sense must have been discernible in the streets of St. Petersburg and in the countryside around it, because they made a stereotypic literary figure. The poor 'Finnish fisherman, nature's mournful stepson' of Alexander S. Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman* was familiar to many Russians. In literature, as in real life, peasants, workers and female costermongers

³⁵ Birger Brunila and Marius af Schultén. Stadsplan och byggnadskonst. *Helsingfors stads historia, IV delen, första bandet* (Finnish edition: *Helsingin kaupungin historia IV:1*), pp. 9–99; Sven-Erik Å. Stadssamhällets omdaning. *Helsingfors stads historia, IV delen, andra bandet* (Finnish edition: *Helsingin kaupungin historia IV:2*), pp. 9–57, 113–147.

³⁶ Wengeroff P. *Rememberings: The world of a Russian-Jewish woman in the 19th century*, ed. Bernan D. Cooperman, transl. by Henry Wenkart, Potomac, 2000 (German original 1913), p. 200.

³⁷ Ekholm Laura K. Boundaries of a Urban Minority: The Helsinki Jewish community from the end of imperial Russia until the 1970s. *Publications of the Department of Political and Economic Studies 11*. Helsinki, 2013, pp. 30–31; Grönfors M. Minorities and the common culture. *Austerity and Prosperity: Perspectives on Finnish Society*, ed. Marjatta Rahikainen. Helsinki, 1993, pp. 159–176.

³⁸ Baschmakoff Natalia and Leinonen Marja. Russian life in Finland: A local and oral history. *Studia Slavica Finlandensia*, vol. XVIII. Helsinki, 2001, pp. 20–25.

³⁹ In 1816, the five largest linguistic minorities in St Petersburg were German, French, Finnish, Swedish and Latvian; in 1848 German, Polish, Finnish, Swedish and Estonian; in 1869 German, Finnish, Polish, Yiddish and Swedish and in 1910 Polish, German, Estonian, Yiddish and Finnish. Engman, 'Officers and Artisans', Table 6.

who spoke some variant of Finnish or related Estonian, may all have been called Finns or pejoratively ‘chukhna’. In his *Nevsky Prospect*, Nikolai Gogol played with this difference: a Petersburg artist was an artist ‘in the land of Finns’, but ‘the Finnish woman’, whose head he had painted and the ‘Finnish nymphs’ in Meschchanskaya Street were ‘chukhonka’ and ‘chukhonskaya’⁴⁰.

However, around the mid-19th century, the reading public in St. Petersburg was kept informed about the Finnish society and what was going on in its capital. Yakov K. Grot who at that time lived in Helsingfors⁴¹, wrote several articles about Finland and its capital in *Sovremennik*, whose editor was his friend Petr Alexandrovich Pletnev. Another contributor to *Sovremennik* was the journalist Aleksandra Ishimova who wrote about Helsingfors and the Finnish culture in her own journals *Звездочка* and *Лучи*⁴². Faddei Venedictovich Bulgarin wrote about Finnish issues in his periodical *Северная пчела*⁴³. Grot and Pletnev considered Bulgarin a mediocre writer⁴⁴, and most likely they also knew that he acted as a police informer⁴⁵. In any case, *Северная пчела* was widely read in St Petersburg; Nikolai Gogol made use of this fact in his Petersburg tales⁴⁶. In short, in St. Petersburg many Russians probably had an idea of the real Helsingfors. Half a century later, by the time Andrei Bely wrote *Petersburg*, it may have become sufficiently nebulous for his purposes.

Therefore, it is interesting to notice that in Bely’s *Petersburg*⁴⁷ there was actually nothing in the fictional Helsingfors that might not have existed around 1905 in the re-

⁴⁰ *The Collected Tales of Nikolai Gogol*. Translated and annotated by Richard Pevear & Larissa Volokhonsky. London, 2003, 252, 261, 269; Н.В. Гоголь, *Собрание сочинений*: в 8 т. Т. 3. Москва, 1984, p. 12, 22, 30, 320.

⁴¹ Grot lived in Helsinki / Helsingfors from 1840 to 1853. He was professor of the Russian language, history and literature at the Imperial Alexander University (University of Helsinki). See *Воспоминание о Гельсингфорсе*, pp. 36–42.

⁴² Minard-Törmänen Nathanaëlle. An imperial idyll: Finland in Russian travelogues (1810–1860). *Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk* 199. Helsingfors, 2016, pp. 175–176; Приймак Нинель И., Финляндия 40–50-х гг. XIX в. в записках русских путешественников, *Гельсингфорс – Санкт-Петербург: Страницы истории: вторая половина XIX – начало XX века*, под редакцией Т. Вихавайнена & С.Г. Кашенко. Санкт-Петербург, 2012, pp. 55–68.

⁴³ *Северная пчела*, 1840, no. 160, 161, 166, 167.

⁴⁴ Переписка Я.К. Грота с П.А. Плетневым, под ред. К.Я. Грота, С.-Петербург, 1896.

⁴⁵ See Schleifman N. A Russian daily newspaper and its readership: *Severnaya Pchela*, 1825–1840. *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 1987, vol. 28, pp. 127–144.

⁴⁶ In ‘Nevsky Prospect’, ‘The Diary of a Madman’ and ‘The Nose’, Gogol’s shady figures either read Bulgarin’s ‘*Pchela*’ or suggest a little article in it. *The Collected Tales of Nikolai Gogol*, 268, 277, 282, 313, 432 n7; Гоголь, *Собрание сочинений*, 28, 38, 52, 167, 320.

⁴⁷ I have made use of the following editions and their respective editors’ and, or translators’ comments: Bely Andrei, *Petersburg*. Translated, annotated, and introduced by Robert A. Maguire and John E. Malmstad, Hassocks, 1978 (transl. from the Berlin 1922 edition); Bely Andrei, *Petersburg: A Novel in Eight Chapters with a Prologue and an Epilogue*, translated by David McDuff. London, 1995 (transl. from the Moscow 1981; Petrograd 1916 edition). Russian editions: Белый

al Helsinki/Helsingfors. The same holds true about all the details in which *Petersburg* related to Finland and the Finnish. St Petersburg could show ‘how from the Finnish marshes the city would show the site of its mad life and settlement by a big red spot’, as the 1916 edition stated it, and the Bronze Horseman still stands on a Finnish⁴⁸ granite⁴⁹. Senator Apollon Apollonovich had once thought that ‘on retiring from government service’ he would ‘settle at his dacha in Finland’ (which he seemed to have done in the end)⁵⁰. In life, well-to-do Petersburgers had fine wooden dachas on the Karelian Isthmus, on both sides of the border, well served by the railway line connecting St. Petersburg with Vyborg and Helsingfors⁵¹. Moreover, the Finnish knife, known by Russians as ‘finka’, that Alexandr Ivanovich wanted to buy for murderous purposes⁵², was a basic tool among Finnish peasants and workers.

“Do you remember Helsingfors and the outings by rowing...”, Zoya Zakharovna asks Alexandr Ivanovich in Bely’s *Petersburg*⁵³. In real Helsingfors, such outings in small boats were quite popular among working classes and people of humble origins. They lived north of the ‘long bridge’ that separated the better people from the menial classes, same as bridges did in Petersburg. In this working-class district, there were parallel streets called ‘lines’⁵⁴. In small Helsingfors there were only five ‘lines’, whereas Alexandr Ivanovich lived on the Seventeenth line of Vasilievsky Island⁵⁵.

Андрей, *Петербург: Роман в восьми главах с прологом и эпилогом* – *Petersburg: A Novel by Bely Andrei*. Introduction by Georgette Donchin, Letchworth, 1967 (The Petrograd 1916 edition); Белый Андрей, *Петербург: Роман в восьми главах с прологом и эпилогом*. Санкт-Петербург, 1999 (The Moscow 1981/Petrograd 1916 edition); Белый Андрей, *Петербург: Роман в восьми главах с прологом и эпилогом*. Москва, 2007; Белый Андрей, *Петербург* [Роман в восьми главах с прологом и эпилогом]. Москва, 2011.

⁴⁸ In fact, the granite came from Karelia (which was not part of Finland at the time of Catherine II), as a German travel guide informed correctly. Bædeker K., *St. Petersburg und Umgebungen: Handbuch für Reisende*. Leipzig, 1901, pp. 23–24.

⁴⁹ Bely 1978/1922, p. 64; Bely 1995/1981/1916, pp. 55, 126; Белый / Bely 1967/1916, pp. 47, 224; Белый 1999/1981/1916, pp. 110, 200; Белый 2007, p. 55; Белый 2011, p. 52.

⁵⁰ Bely 1978/1922, pp. 139, 290, 354; Bely 1995/1981/1916, pp. 268, 573; Белый / Bely 1967/1916, p. 224; Белый 1999/1981/1916, pp. 376, 755; Белый 2007, p. 251, Белый 2011, p. 227.

⁵¹ Baschmakoff and Leinonen, *Russian Life in Finland*, pp. 25–31; Lovell Stephen, *Summerfolk: A History of the Dacha, 1710–2000*. Ithaca & London, 2003, pp. 58–71, 112 (Russian edition *Dachniki*, 2008); Hellberg-Hirn Elena, *Дачный альбом Чукоккала как игра в культуру. The Dacha Kingdom: Summer Dwellers and Dwellings in the Baltic Area*, eds. Natalia Baschmakoff and Mari Ristolainen, Aleksanteri Series 3/2009. Helsinki, 2009, pp. 99–108.

⁵² Bely 1978/1922, p. 216; Bely 1995/1981/1916, p. 424; Белый / Bely 1967/1916, p. 354; Белый 1999/1981/1916, p. 567; Белый 2007, p. 393; Белый 2011, p. 355.

⁵³ My translation supported by the Finnish translation by Esa Adrian (1963). Cf. Белый/Bely 1967/1916, p. 310; Белый 1999/1981/1916, p. 503; Белый 2007, p. 344; Белый 2011, p. 312. The English translations (Bely 1978/1922, p. 190; Bely 1995/1981/1916, p. 372) rather suggest tourist excursions in the archipelago. For these, see Bædeker K., *Russland: Handbuch für Reisende*. Leipzig, 1901, p. 197.

⁵⁴ Åström, *Stadsomvandling*, pp. 99, 217–218.

⁵⁵ Bely 1978/1922, p. 12; Bely 1995/1981/1916, pp. 17–18; Белый 1999/1981/1916, p. 64.

In Bely's fictional St Petersburg, a shady character (Shishnarfiyev), who claimed to live in Helsingfors, reminded Alexandr Ivanovich that they had met there in a coffee house⁵⁶. In real Helsingfors such characters with a reasonably middle-class appearance may have visited coffee houses in the city centre. There, the better cafés included Fazer⁵⁷, whose owner was Karl Fazer, son of a Swiss immigrant, who had been trained as a confectioner in St. Petersburg (as were his competitors). In return, he employed Russians in his chocolate factory in Helsingfors, both before and after the October Revolution of 1917, whereas his brother Edward was an organiser of the first Paris tour of Ballets Russes in 1908⁵⁸.

In Helsingfors, Alexandr Ivanovich had met 'a certain person':

Aleksander Ivanovich had been in Helsingfors after escaping from his place of exile. There he had met a certain person.

*But why Helsingfors?*⁵⁹

Indeed, why Helsingfors? 'The Finnish theme'⁶⁰ in Bely's *Petersburg* did not concern its editors. Nonetheless, L. K. Dolgoplov and his follower David McDuff offer real-life background information about to Aleksander Ivanovich's hallucinations that had begun in Helsingfors. In his letter to Aleksandr A. Blok in 1911, Bely wrote about their friend's mental illness:

*... all that you write to me in veiled hints is more than familiar: ... the motor car, the Tartars, the Japanese visitors, and – Finland, or 'something' that is in Finland, also – Helsingfors, Azev, the revolution – it is all the same gamut of emotions ...*⁶¹

In reality, the real Helsinki / Helsingfors was not particularly revolutionary or conspiratorial, rather the contrary. The great strike of 1905 in St. Petersburg, the importance of which was underlined by Bely in several references to the year of 1905⁶², quickly spread to the Finnish capital, but this was rather an exception. The main rea-

⁵⁶ Bely 1978/1922, pp. 203–207; Bely 1995/1981/1916, pp. 398–408; Белый / Bely 1967/1916, pp. 331–340; Белый 1999/1981/1916, pp. 534–547; Белый 2007, pp. 368–378, Белый 2011, pp. 331–342.

⁵⁷ Bædeker K. *Russland: Handbuch für Reisende*. Leipzig, 1901, p. 191.

⁵⁸ Karl Fazer was trained with confiseur G. Berrin in St. Petersburg, where his sister also lived. In Fazer's chocolate factory, the master of chocolates and marmalade sweets (jelly fruits) were Russians; in 1905 two thirds of employees had Russian names. Hoving V., *Karl Fazer 1891–1951*. Helsingfors, 1951, pp. 19–42; Baschmakoff Natalia and Leinonen Marja. Russian life in Finland: A local and oral history. *Studia Slavica Finlandensia*, vol. XVIII. Helsinki, 2001, pp. 102–119.

⁵⁹ The quotation is from Bely 1978/1922, p. 60; cf. Bely 1995/1981/1916, pp. 112, 116–117; Белый / Bely 1967/1916, pp. 95, 98–99; Bely 1999/1981/1916, pp. 183, 189; Bely 2007, pp. 108, 112–113, Белый / Bely 2011, pp. 99, 102–103.

⁶⁰ The phrase is from Bely 1978/1922, p. 348.

⁶¹ Quoted by Dolgoplov L.K. *Белый* 1999/1981/1916, p. 837. The English translation is by McDuff, in Bely 1995/1981/1916, p. 595.

⁶² Bely 1978/1922, pp. 32, 37, 52, 76, 150, 241; Bely 1995/1981/1916, pp. 58, 67, 96, 146, 292, 481; Белый 1999/1981/1916, pp. 114, 125, 161, 224, 404, 636.

son why in real life Russian revolutionaries, provocateurs and conspirators met in Helsinki / Helsingfors or some other Finnish city (Bolsheviks liked Tampere / Tammerfors) was that the Russian secret police was not effective in Finland. Bely must have known this, because he made Aleksandr Ivanovich who had escaped from his place of exile, advocated openly in a coffee house in Helsingfors about the necessity to destroy the culture, despite a Russian police agent sitting at the next table⁶³.

I would think that Helsingfors served Bely's purposes because as a name it was familiar to all his readers but the real city was not too well known, which left him free hands. However, because his fictional Helsingfors appears so real, it may be that there his hallucinatory characters moved around in a clear-headed city. This was not the case with his fictional St. Petersburg.

Robert Maguire and John Malmstad, the editors of the English translation of the 1922 edition of *Petersburg*, consider Bely's St Petersburg to have been a modern metropolis. They reason as follows:

*Bely manages to convey a sense of the actual physical presence of the city, making it so vivid and 'real' that sometimes we almost think we are reading a gloss on Baedeker. (At the same time, we understand that Petersburg represents the modern city generally)*⁶⁴.

In my reading, in *Petersburg* Bely's characters move around in an unreal, dusky city. Its landmarks were those of Bædeker's 'Handbook for Voyagers', because this is what they probably were, more or less. As Bely wrote to Blok, "in Petersburg I am a tourist, an observer, not an inhabitant..."⁶⁵. Bely was not a Petersburger, but many of his readers were. He created a shadowlike St. Petersburg because it suited his purposes but also because he had no choice.

As I see it, Bely's fictional St. Petersburg represents the old order, not a modern city as understood in 1905. The provocateurs live on the old Petrine side of St Petersburg, as Bely many times reminds the reader, whereas the senator and his son live in a private palace of an indefinite imperial style and are served by a lackey with a gold braid. In Bely's fictional St. Petersburg, the distant motor-car roulade, electric lights and coffee houses along Nevsky Prospect were about the only signs of an up-to-date urban world. In the 1916 edition of *Petersburg*, Bely even made a gag about this: he first mentions 'the rumble of yellow-and-red tramcars', but soon corrects the slip of his pen: "now tramcars were not yet running in the city: this was 1905"⁶⁶. St Peters-

⁶³ See note 56.

⁶⁴ Translators' introduction. *Bely* 1978/1922, pp. XIII–XIV.

⁶⁵ «В Петербурге я турист, наблюдатель, не житель...» Quoted by Dolgoplov. *Белый* 1999/1981/1916, p. 790.

⁶⁶ *Bely* 1995/1981/1916, pp. 12–13, 14; *Белый* 1999/1981/1916, pp. 58, 60.

burg had first electric tramways only in 1907,⁶⁷ whereas in Helsinki / Helsingfors all tramway lines were electric in 1901. At the time Bely wrote *Petersburg*, the small Finnish capital may have been more modern than the large Russian capital. Perhaps this was why Bely chose to place Helsingfors in the mirror of Petersburg.

Epilogue: Cold-War Helsinki as sham Petrograd/Leningrad and Moscow

Entertainment is a serious business and at unsecure times is politically delicate. This was learned by opera composers and librettists of the old days and soon enough by 20th-century movie makers. As early as summer 1919, Russian the film makers, who had emigrated after the October Revolution of 1917, filmed in Helsinki / Helsingfors and on the Finnish side of the Karelian Isthmus a movie called ‘Beneath the yoke of Bolshevism’⁶⁸, which was released in the Finnish capital in October 1919⁶⁹.

After the Second World War, films became big business. However, during the Cold War, many films were politically inflammable⁷⁰. Several movie makers in the United States would have needed scenes from Russia / Soviet Union but were not welcome there. Therefore, they went to Finland as it was on good terms with its eastern neighbour. Outi Heiskanen has calculated that between 1964 and 1997, a dozen US movies were partly filmed in Finland. In the following I refer only to those that are of interest here⁷¹.

In ‘*The Kremlin Letter*’ (1970, directed by John Huston) wintery Helsinki played the role of Moscow and a bit of Leningrad too. The movie included many scenes of Helsinki, shoots e.g. on the streets around the Senate Square and at the Art Museum Ateneum. At Katajanokka / Skatudden, a real prison played the role of the Russian one, and a real Russian restaurant was used in the role of a glass and mirror workshop in Russia; a tram-stop and the facade of a bank office got Cyrillic texts, while the face of Lenin decorated a gable wall. In the sea-fortress of Sveaborg (now called Suomenlinna), a Russian market square was staged with samovars on sale. The air-

⁶⁷ *От конки до трамвая: из истории петербургского транспорта*; ред. Е. Шапилов [et al.]. Санкт-Петербург & Москва, 1994, p. 39.

⁶⁸ My translation of the Finnish title of the movie.

⁶⁹ Heiskanen Outi. *Tehtävä Suomessa: Kotimaamme ulkomaisissa elokuvissa*. Helsinki, 2008, pp. 23, 24.

⁷⁰ E.g. Kozovoi A. ‘This film is harmful’: Resizing America for the Soviet Screen. *Winter Kept Us Warm: Cold War Interactions Reconsidered*, eds. Sari Autio-Sarasma and Brendan Humphreys. Aleksanteri Cold War Series 1/2010. Helsinki, 2010, pp. 137–153.

⁷¹ Heiskanen Outi. *Tehtävä Suomessa*, pp. 77–187. The facts below are taken from her work and from the list (in Finnish, accessed on 28 Dec. 2016) compiled by the National Audiovisual Institute in Helsinki, Finland.

port of Helsinki played the role of Moscow airport, so a large sign *Москва*, with a Hammer and Sickle, welcomed those who happened to land there during the filming.

It went like this with the later films. In *Telefon* (1977, directed by Don Siegel), Helsinki was again Moscow and Leningrad. We can see glimpses of the sea-fortress, streets at Katajanokka, the Russian-style Orthodox Cathedral and the 19th-century quarters around the Senate Square. The House of (non-noble) Estates built in 1890 played the role of KGB Headquarters, and the movie makers erected in its neighbourhood a sham telephone kiosk reading *ТЕЛЕФОН*. In *Reds* (1981, directed by Warren Beatty), Helsinki played the role of revolutionary Petrograd: The Senate Square was the scene of the October Revolution, and the revolutionaries storm into the ‘Winter Palace’, in reality – into the edifice of the Senate, designed by Engel. In *Gorky Park* (1983, directed by Michael Apted) Helsinki played the role of Moscow; the tower of the Finnish National Museum, with a big red star shining at its top, played the role of a Kremlin tower.

In *White Nights* (1985, directed by Taylor Hackford), the US movie makers applied a new trick. Until then, the scenes shot in Helsinki had a limited perspective, due to necessity, whereas real Leningrad and Moscow were large cities. Taylor Hackford had in Stockholm learned about Finnish document-film makers who were on their way to Leningrad. He made a deal with them about using their material. Thus, in the final, the film scenes shot in Helsinki seamlessly continued into the scenes shot in Leningrad. With proficient stage-making, cutting and editing, the trick was made so skilfully that only we *know* that it is a trick, and therefore can differentiate between the factual and fictional. Can future historians, if there are any, see where factual merges into fictional?

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Municipal improvements and sanitary issues in towns in West Belarus area (1919–39)

Abstract. The article deals with the sanitary issues in West Belarus area during the inter-war period, as well as state and municipal governments' efforts to improve the urban amenities. Financial difficulties of local authorities, underestimation of sanitary issues by the municipal officials, neglecting hygiene standards by the local people were among the main factors that prevented them from overcoming the critically low level of hygiene and sanitation. These are analyzed based on the archival materials.

Key words: sanitation, improvement, town government, West Belarus area

Introduction

The Belarus area, which the Russian Empire acquired at the end of the 18th century as the result of the division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, became the scene of wide-scale military-political disturbances during WW I and the following Russian-Polish war. In 1915, its western part, up to the line of Dvinsk-Pastavy-Smarhon-Baranovichy-Pinsk was occupied by the German troops. After the end of WW I and withdrawal of the German troops, the further fate of Belarus land was decided in the Polish-Soviet war in 1919–20, based on the results of which Poland got its western part up to the line of West Dvinar River-Molodechno-Stowbtsy-Njasvizh-the Sluch River. West Belarus area remained part of Poland until 1939; after the start of WW II, it was included into the BSSR (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Belarus lands as part of inter-war Poland remained primitive agricultural 'outskirts' with a low level of manufacturing industry as compared to the Russian Empire. Moreover, the war destructions in the period of German occupation of 1915–18, and then the Polish-Soviet war, had devastated the area and aggravated its general economic backwardness, which had developed in the previous period. Industry had almost ceased to exist in those years; the decline in the agriculture during the Polish and Russian hostilities caused famine in towns. The critical situation in the towns in

that area related to neglected sanitation, low level of accomplishment, numerous problems in healthcare, education, social security as well as backward communal services made the municipal authorities face uneasy problems.

This article is devoted to the research of sanitary issues and accomplishment in west Belarus towns during the period between the wars. This topic has been poorly studied and has not been touched upon in historiography, though there is a certain tradition in sanitation studies of European¹, American² and Russian³ towns in modern days. These works are mainly useful from the methodological point of view.

Main body

The town governments that were established in 1919, straight after the occupation by Polish troops, were responsible for town improvements and sanitary maintenance. Particularly, they had to pave the streets and keep them clean, construct public wells, toilets, provide rubbish bins, arrange sewage service, etc. At the same time, lots of jobs were assigned to the residents, who had to keep clean their own houses and backyards, as well as build sidewalks in adjacent streets, all by themselves, sweep them, take part in road construction for free as ‘sharwerk’ (compulsory road service), etc.

¹ Barles S. Urban metabolism and river systems: historical perspective – Paris and the Seine, 1790–1970. *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences*, 2007, no. 11, pp. 1757–69; Brimblecombe P., Bowler C. Air pollution in York 1850–1900. *The Silent Countdown: Essays in European Environmental History*, edited by P. Brimblecombe, C. Pfister. New York, 1990, pp. 182–195; Brimblecombe P., Bowler C. The difficulties of abating smoke in late Victorian York. *Atmospheric Environment*, 1990, vol. 24 B, no. 1, pp. 49–55; Bruggemeier F.-J. The Ruhr basin 1850–1980: A case of large-scale environmental pollution. *The Silent Countdown: Essays in European Environmental History*, edited by P. Brimblecombe, C. Pfister. New York, 1990, pp. 210–230; Diederiks H., Jeurgens C. Environmental policy in 19th-century Leyden. *The Silent Countdown: Essays in European Environmental History*, edited by P. Brimblecombe, C. Pfister. New York, 1990, pp. 167–181; Douglas I., Hodgson R., Lawson N. Industry, environment and health for 200 years in Manchester. *Ecological Economics*, 2002, no. 41, pp. 235–255; Environmental problems in European cities in the 19th and 20th centuries, ed. by C. Bernhardt. Münster, 2001; *Resources of the City: Contributions to Environmental History of Modern Europe*, ed. by D. Schott, B. Luckin, G. Massard-Guilbaud. Aldershot, 2005; Schramm E. Experts in smelter smoke debate. *The Silent Countdown: Essays in European Environmental History*, edited by P. Brimblecombe, C. Pfister. New York, 1990, pp. 196–209.

² Cronon W. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. NY, London, 1991; Melosi M.V. The place of the city in environmental history. *Environmental History Review*, 1993, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 1–23; Melosi M.V. Urban physical environment and a historian: prospects for research, teaching and public policy. *Journal of American Culture*, 1980, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 526–540; Melosi M.V. *Garbage in Cities: Refuse, Reform and the Environment*. Pittsburgh, 2005; Tarr J.A. The metabolism of an industrial city: the case of Pittsburgh. *Journal of Urban History*, 2002, vol. 28, no. 5, pp. 511–545.

³ Friedgut Theodore H. *Iuzovka and Revolution*. Vol. 1: Life and work in Russia's Donbass, 1869–1924. Princeton, 1989; Friedgut Theodore H. *Iuzovka and Revolution*. Vol. 2: Politics and Revolution in Russia's Donbass, 1869–1924. Princeton, 1989.

There were no special sanitary services, with rare exceptions, in West Belarus towns. The control over fulfilling the hygiene standards was entrusted to county doctors, who worked for the county government or state administration and the police. Only a few big towns in the area alimented town doctors and sanitary controllers.

In 1921, the union of Polish towns carried out a survey to find out the sanitary conditions in the towns. More than 256 Polish towns took part in it, including 13 towns of Novogrudok and Polesye provinces⁴. As the organizer of this research J. Polak noted, it reflected significant difference between the Polish regions, which had been parts of different states before WWI, whereas the sanitary conditions of towns inside certain regions were surprisingly similar. Serious backwardness of West Belarus towns was shown up on almost all points, against the background of poorly developed improvement of Polish towns. There were no pavements in four of them (31 %), seven towns (54 %) had 'poor' paving, per Polak; two (15 %) were of 'medium' quality; advanced technologies were not used anywhere. In the whole of Poland, the relevant numbers were six, 44, 34 and 16 %. 'Medium' quality implied that there were wooden sidewalks in the towns, and all the streets or their major part were paved with feldspar, which was considered a backward technology at that time; 'poor' quality meant that only some streets were paved in that way. Water supply in all West Belarus towns was marked as 'poor', which implied absence of plumbing as well as tubular wells; water in existing shaft wells was often unsuitable for drinking. In total, 58 % of Polish towns had 'poor' water supply, 24 % had tubular wells, 18 % had plumbing. There were primitively arranged sewage services only in bigger towns of West Belarus area: the dirt was dumped into the barrels and taken away from the towns by carts. There were no sewage services in smaller towns at all. There were no garbage removal services in any West Belarus town. There was no street lighting in eight towns (62 %), or it was represented by a rare network of kerosene lamps; five towns (38 %) had electrical lighting, 'very poor', in Polak's opinion. There was no gas lighting anywhere. The relevant average numbers for Poland were 46, 39 and 15 % respectively. Public baths worked only in two West Belarus towns (16 % compared to average Polish 40 %). Per Polak, east province towns were devoid of greenery. There were hospitals in less than third of the towns, none had any school premises meeting the sanitary-hygienic standards, nor there were any slaughterhouses⁵.

⁴ The term 'West Belarus lands' implies the areas of modern Republic of Belarus, which used to be part of Poland in 1920–1930. The administrative-territorial division of these areas included Novogrudok province, a major part of Polesye province with the centre in Brest, as well as six counties in Vilensk province (Braslav, Vileyka, Disna, Molodechno, Oshmyany and Postavy) and two counties of Belostok province (Grodno and Volkovysk).

⁵ Polak J. Stan higieniczny miast polskich [Public Hygiene in Polish Towns]. *Samorzqd Miejski*, 1924, vol. 3, pp. 78–86.

Despite numerous urgent needs, effective actions to improve the sanitation in West Belarus towns were not taken straight away. At the same time, the financial difficulties of municipal governments in the first half of the 1920s were not the only reason to postpone the improvement of life in the town communities. Among numerous obstacles in local authorities' productive work, the top place was often taken by the low standard of domestic and hygienic culture of town residents as well as lack of understanding the necessity to follow the sanitary-hygienic recommendations. The municipal officials tended to underestimate the significance of the town improvements and sanitation issues. On the background of misunderstandings within the parties and international confrontations, their irresponsibility and incompetence often became the main reason for the total non-interference of the municipal government into this sphere.

Overall, the situation remained unchanged during the first half of the 1920s. For instance, the county doctors' reports on the sanitary conditions in Polesye province⁶ counties in 1926 depict a grim image of ill-provision in the towns. The need for water was met with the help of wooden shaft wells and nearby water reservoirs; there were very few tubular wells. The water used by the town residents was bad for drinking, as a rule, because it was often contaminated with dirt through the soil. The towns of the countryside housing type were not kept clean. The same was true with regards to private houses and homestead land. There were no rubbish bins, so the garbage was piled up in the backyards and household buildings. There was no sewerage in any town; there were private toilets in the backyards only in Brest. The residents were content with the cesspools, where neither walls or the floor were covered with anything, and so the contents were not taken away or disinfected, which caused soil contamination because of the sewage. The county elder ('starosta') Stolin noted in his report in 1926: "The overall grubbiness of people, especially Jewish, makes it difficult to fight the anti-sanitary situation in the backyards of the towns. Making a record does not help because the administrative fine is very low – one-three zlotys. The backyard owner considers it easier sometimes to pay a couple of zlotys as a fine than keep the backyard constantly clean. Sanitation commissions were established on the whole territory of the county, but they were hardly ever in action, which can be explained by the municipal government neglecting these sanitary issues"⁷. There were no toilets or rubbish bins in the public areas in big towns, especially in the market places, which caused pollution of the nearby private territories. The major part of the town roads remained unpaved; lack or unsuitability of side gutters caused large pud-

⁶ The administrative division of Poland was as follows: there were voivodships (*provinces*) which consisted of powiats (*counties or districts*), which further comprised gminas (*communes or municipalities*). A voivode (*governor*) was head of the voivodship; starosta (*elder*) was head of the county. The communes (*gminas*) were urban and rural.

⁷ State archive of Brest oblast (SABO). F. 1. Op. 5. D. 67. L. 36.

dles of dirty water in many parts of the streets, where the dwellers of nearby houses poured their dirt and wastes.

A lot of townspeople were busy with cattle breeding, which was reflected in the street hygiene. As an example, as it was noted in the annual report of the county commune union of Kossovo in 1926, when the weather was warm, the central streets in Kossovo and Rouzhany used to be constantly dirty with manure left by the walking cattle⁸. The lack of baths was also noted, many of which were beyond the sanitary standards. There were many mikvahs – Jewish ritual baths, and the Christian population did not usually attend them.

Per the report of Z. Domanski, head of healthcare department, regarding the sanitation in Novogrudok province, made in 1927, the state of the baths and mikvahs was “so deplorable that an ordinary person would not dare use them without fear of catching lice”. The situation with sewage was no better; the residents kept on burying their excrements in soil on the territory of their property as usual. At the same time, the municipal authorities did not consider conducting a sanitary inspection necessary as to spend money on it. Per Domanski, it took a lot of effort to persuade the public servants to arrange a sewage service; thanks to the province administration’s pressure, the municipal governments in Baranovichi and Novogrudok started building new baths, whilst other towns were waiting for appropriate credits⁹. Per Grodno authorities, no more than 25 % of dirt was taken out of the town by sewage service at the end of 1920s; the rest remained in the town causing soil and water contamination¹⁰.

Towns lacking conveniences were a great danger to their inhabitants. The absence of street lighting and terrible state of sidewalks in Beryoza made burgomaster Dovnar fall in 1928 and break his arm; another remarkable public figure Kuharski fell as well, which resulted in his broken leg¹¹.

Under such conditions, the initiative of improving the towns, often came from the state administration. Soon after J. Pilsudski’s coup d’etat in 1926, General F. Slawoj-Skladkowski, educated as a physician, ex-head of Polish military health service, was appointed minister of internal affairs. Giving much importance to hygienic issues, the new minister took a vigorous action to improve the sanitation in Polish settlements. The decree was issued, obliging the local authorities to provide clean streets, markets and private backyards, arranging regular sweeping of the streets, ordering and plant-

⁸ Ibid. Op. 4. D. 155. L. 8–9.

⁹ State archive of Grodno oblast. F. 564. Op. 1. D. 121. L. 1.

¹⁰ *Kanalizacja miasta Grodno. Kronika m. Grodno. Z. 2*, pod red. R. Sawickiego. Grodno, 1928, pp. 23–24.

¹¹ *Express Poleski*. 27.12.1928, no. 358, p. 4.

ing greenery; whereas every household had to have a latrine¹² and closed rubbish bins.

This central authorities' initiative coincided in time with the improvement of business conditions in the second half of the 1920s; improved finances gave the local authorities an opportunity to be more active. The pressure from central and province authorities and the improvement of financial situation were advantageous, but they were not crucial factors in improving the towns; further changes above all depended on the personalities of the people responsible for it. Although there were competent and efficient people in administration at any level, many positive things were achieved from the scratch. In other cases, the municipal authorities were not eager to act, despite pressure from above, and the sanitation remained poor because of their passive attitude.

A typical situation happened in Brest. The critical level of anti-sanitation and lack of facilities in the center of the province was one of the topics to be covered in central Polish media ('Illustrated Daily Courier', 'Warsaw Gazette', 'Morning Express'), so the governor of Polesye, J. Krahelski had to report the situation to the minister of internal affairs in June 1929. The governor confirmed the squalid state of Brest: "Minor part of the streets had been paved, sidewalks were ruined so much that it was impossible to walk on them, houses haven't been renovated since the war time or since their restoration after the war, that's why the stucco and eaves peeled off, the balconies were about to fall off, the stairs were destroyed; besides, the ruins were still protruding since the war time and were about to collapse; the criminals were nestling in their basements, all kinds of dirt were taken there." Per Krahelski, the systematic actions to improve the town started in 1928, and the municipal government was entrusted to do them. However, the conflicts between the parties made the work of the town council and magistrate¹³ fruitless; and despite the governor's pressure, the town economy was in total decline. This caused the dismissal of Brest Council, but the newly elected councilors did nothing either. Thus, Krahelski appointed Brest county 'starosta' F. Baran responsible for the sanitation in the town¹⁴. He started with summoning a council meeting in March 1929, with head of *Urząd Wojewódzki Poleski* health care department Zaroski, representatives of magistrates, police and the society of Brest property owners, where he required to achieve fundamental improvement in three months. Brest magistrates issued the order, but the residents ignored it as usual,

¹² Per the requirements, it should have been a wooden shed lined above with boards or bricks or a cemented cesspool; the population began to call these toilets 'sławojkis' after the minister of internal affairs who was not squeamish to supervise personally the compliance with the regulations during his numerous journeys around the country.

¹³ The municipal government consisted of town council and magistrate. The council was an administrative and supervisory branch and the magistrate (renamed as 'administration' in 1933) was an executive one.

¹⁴ GABO. F. 1. Op. 5. D. 33. L. 214.

and the municipal authorities were still not going to take any actions. Then Baran, as it follows from his memo to the governor of Polesye sent in August 1929, decided to improve Brest on his own initiative with the help of 'starostwo' (eldership) personnel and the police. He divided the town into four boroughs and was personally inspecting the houses and backyards in one of them to check the fulfilling of sanitation standards; other boroughs were under the control of his deputy Usayevich, county doctor Rometski and the head of criminal investigation department of starostwo Palyushkevich. The magistrates' representative Pashkovski took part in the inspections during the first few days. Multiple inspections of every household together with retaliatory measures like fines and arrests convinced the town inhabitants of starosta's determination¹⁵. Per the governor, by the end of June 1929, Brest improvement had been completed by 80 %, and the town changed a lot: there were latrines and rubbish bins in every household, almost all the buildings were renovated, homesteads were fenced off, ruins demolished, etc. Whereby Krahelski stated that starosta's demands found understanding among the inhabitants as a rule, and the punitive actions were quite moderate: out of 4,000 property owners, only six were imprisoned for up to two weeks for the refusal to improve their households, and 19 had to pay small fines. 57 wealthy residents, several being in the town government, had to pay substantial fines of 100 or 200 zlotys for demonstrative refusal to observe the sanitation standards¹⁶. The situation looked different from another point of view. Doctor V. Borkowski inspecting healthcare establishments in Brest and Pinsk in May 1929, witnessed how Brest residents driven by the fear of arrests for not improving the households on time, were hastily painting their fences by the orthodox Easter. Borkowski admitted the progress in town improvement¹⁷.

It should be noted that starosta's determination was strong enough to significantly improve one of the largest towns in the area, and his mobilization method saved a lot of finances for the state and municipal treasury. However, Brest was an exception, where the local state administration had to fight the resistance of municipal authorities to improve the town. In most cases, the situation depended on the municipal authorities, their responsibility and efficiency. Unlike Brest magistrates and the council, the municipal administrations in several other West Belarus towns followed the state instructions on sanitation and improvement issues successfully.

Per the reports of the local and province authorities, by the beginning of 1930s Pruzhany and Beryoza in Pruzhany county had improved the sanitation greatly. As Pruzhany county doctor Franciszek Imiolk reported in 1931, Pruzhany had all the roads paved, whereas in Beryoza it was only half of them that were done. All the

¹⁵ Ibid. L. 203.

¹⁶ Ibid. L. 215.

¹⁷ Ibid. Op. 4. D. 1207. L. 48.

households got latrines and rubbish bins; the backyards were put in order and renovated. Greenery was planted intensively in Pruzhany; the street trees were cut and whitewashed annually. In 1930, Pruzhany magistrates built nine shaft wells with pumps¹⁸. Pruzhany starostwo's report of the first half of 1931 outlined that "the towns' outlook was generally good, the efforts in keeping the greenery were noticeable, the town streets and squares were swept and cleaned well and on time"¹⁹. The county starosta R. Walewski considered Imiolk's "exceptional efficiency and responsibility" to be the reason for the improvement in the county's sanitation; and in 1929, he was granted a Silver Cross for his merits. Walewski also suggested that Polesye governor expressed a written gratitude to Beryoza burgomaster Jan Dovnar, as under his guidance all the streets got paved sidewalks, the town market got indoor stalls at the community's expense; the same gratitude was expressed to the heads of local police posts²⁰. At the end of the 1920s–early 1930s, starostas' and county doctors' reports noted the satisfactory sanitation in the towns of Luninetsk and Kossovo counties.

However, the municipal authorities very often remained uninterested in the sanitation issues; the inhabitants were not going to change their habits, and there were not so many active and determined starostas like the one in Brest, enough for all the towns. As an example, in the annual report of 1931, the county doctor from Stolin wrote that "the habit of living in dirt, [belief in] quackery firstly played an important role in spreading contagious diseases, and secondly contributed to the preservation of anti-sanitary conditions. Despite constant reminders and punishments of separate residents, there were still no latrines in the households, and not all the wells responded to the hygienic standards. Belief in quackery makes it really difficult to control contagious diseases because it is impossible to record the widely-spread disorders." Only two streets were paved in Stolin, and none in David-Gorodok²¹. The county doctor blamed the burgomasters and magistrates for ill-provision in the towns, as well as blamed the state police officials who did not take any effective measures to sort out the mess²². At the end of 1929, the local authorities reported the sanitation success in Pinsk and Logishin: the number of renovated houses increased from 1100 to 2700 in two years' time, the number of rubbish bins with lids increased from 1800 to 3900; the latrines responding to the sanitation standards increased from 1950 to 4000²³. However, the province inspection of Pinsk municipal authorities in October 1930 revealed a completely different picture: the town economics was downhill, the

¹⁸ Ibid. Op. 5. D. 90. L. 113–114.

¹⁹ Ibid. Op. 4. D. 1217. L. 34.

²⁰ Ibid. Op. 5. D. 33. L. 114.

²¹ Ibid. D. 90. L. 111.

²² Ibid. Op. 4. D. 1217. L. 156.

²³ Ibid. Op. 5. D. 33. L. 104.

“community jobs to prevent diseases and maintain the proper sanitation were totally neglected”. As an example, since 1927 the municipal authorities had built only one well, and the street paving improved within several months preceding the inspection, which was explained by the Ministry of Internal Affairs’ ratification of the town council’s decision to transfer the expenses of the maintenance of the streets onto the owners of adjacent households²⁴.

Therefore, if at the beginning of the 1920s, the sanitation and well-being in all the towns was critically low; by the end of the 1920s–early 1930s, there appeared noticeable differences, which depended on the effective actions taken by municipal authorities. Overall, the achieved results were usually limited and did not mean any quality changes.

G. Rudzinski, a doctor from Vilno, chairman of the province section of Vilno Medical Association, who later was head of healthcare department of Vilno province board, published an extensive article on healthcare in Vilno province in 1932. In his opinion, the “dynamic action in compulsory improvement of the country had brought appreciable results”. The outlook and the well-being of the province settlements had changed greatly by joint efforts of the state government and the local administration: the private estates were put in order, the town streets were paved and greened, the residents started observing the hygienic instructions regarding keeping the wells, elimination of dirt, etc. At the same time, Rudzinski pointed out that out of all the province towns except Vilno, only county centers Vileika and Postavy were remarkable with regards to the high level of improvement. The other towns represented mainly narrow, improperly built-up settlements with the lack of greenery. “In their current state, there are no conditions to put them in proper sanitation,” the author witnessed, contradicting his own positive assessment. He describes Glubokoye with the population of 6,000 people jammed between two lakes, with narrow streets and dirty backyards. The residents poured dirt into the lakes, which were at the same time the source of drinking water, so there had always been fierce typhoid fever there²⁵. It was necessary to build a water-pipe to solve the problem, but Glubokoye authorities did not have money for that. Due to the spread of epidemic starting late in the 1920s, the healthcare department of Ministry of Internal Affairs was discussing the possibility of financing the construction of the water-pipe from its own funds stipulating that the magistrates should develop a plan at the expense of the town. But even that condition was difficult to be implemented as it was beyond town’s financial opportunities²⁶.

Rudzinski’s optimism was not shared by D. Kieziewicz, the sanitary doctor in Baranovichi, who presented an informative report on the sanitation issues in Vilensk and

²⁴ Ibid. Op. 4. D. 36. L. 16–17, 22.

²⁵ Rudziński H. Zdrowotność publiczna na Wileńszczyźnie [Public health in the Wilna area]. *Pamiętnik Wileńskiego Towarzystwa Lekarskiego*, 1932, no. 4–5, pp. 228, 269, 277.

²⁶ SABO. F. 1. Op. 4. D. 284. L. 22.

Novogradok provinces at the convention of peer representatives in 1931. This report was highly appreciated by the editorial board of the journal 'Town government', the central authority of the Union of Polish towns, where it was published. "More than half of the streets are not paved. Greenery is scarce. The inspection of the wells shows significant pollution; there is very high mortality of children under one year old; tuberculosis 'collects a rich harvest' annually," as Kieziewicz witnessed. The unpaved streets resembled marshes that were impossible to navigate through, where residents poured dirt and threw their rubbish away. The planted trees were often destroyed by the children, who were not aware of their value. The numerous instructions from the town authorities and sanitation inspections of private properties and enterprises helped improve the situation to a certain extent. In Kieziewicz's opinion, there were two factors which prevented such improvement: "first, the inhabitants' mentality, their education and habits; secondly, the inhabitants' difficult financial situation. Under the pressure of the administration and the sanitary inspection, the residents acquired the required sanitary facilities (latrines and bins – *A.D.*), but hardly ever used them and often protected them from any dirt... The residents avoided any expenses on sewage and continued secretly digging cesspools, as well as other underground facilities or otherwise used the procedures prohibited by the sanitary inspection; they even tried to drain their wastes to the neighbor's property compliant with such regulations". Kieziewicz fairly assumed that the desired effect could be achieved only by introducing hygienic education at schools: "It is a long, however still a reliable way"²⁷.

Indeed, the improvements achieved under the pressure of the state authorities did not often last long. Performing duties in sanitation and any improvement was burdensome for the town residents, who in many cases lived in the state of desperate poverty, did not attach any importance to the hygienic issues and were ready to follow the instructions only under duress. Any weakening of control led to the loss of achievements. This happened in 1930, after the economic crisis began, which limited the restricted opportunities of the local communities to improve their living conditions. Per Krahelski's letter to starostas dated 1930, the inspections showed that "in many cases, the intensity of improvement and the intensity of taken actions weakened significantly, compared to previous years". "The private properties, both in towns and villages, are kept dirty; the streets are either not swept at all or swept rarely and carelessly; the butchers', grocers' and restaurants are messy and untidy... the renovations of the houses and the numbering of the properties have not been maintained since the previous year." It appears that the example of Brest starosta F. Baran impressed the governor, and giving his personal account regarding the sanitary issues, Krahelski

²⁷ Kieziewicz D. Zagadnienie sanitarne miast wschodnich [Sanitary Issues in Eastern Towns], *Samorząd Miejski*, 1931, no. 16–17, pp. 904, 906–907, 909.

maintained: "In the counties, where the starosta is personally interested in the improvement, the outcome would be always successful"²⁸.

In the 1930s, the financial difficulties incited the municipal authorities to use sharwerk more actively during the improvement works, which meant that every able-bodied inhabitant had to work a certain amount of days for community without any remuneration every year. As an option, they could pay a certain amount of money in exchange for the actual work. On the background of such a critical financial state, for most towns sharwerk became the main means for the local authorities to conduct such works with the help of the residents at the least possible expense. On the other hand, it meant extra burden for the town residents; the imposition of improvement duties on them proved the low efficiency of the municipal authorities' activities. In bigger towns of the area, in the mid-1930s and onwards, the improvement issues were solved by the community works for unemployed people, organized with the help of credits and state subsidies.

The main attention was paid to streets paving. Thus, in the interwar period in the towns of Pruzhany county, 12.5 km of roads were paved, which cost about 270 thousand zlotys. 21.5 thousand zlotys out of that sum came from the state subsidies; the rest was from the own resources of the municipal government. Other improvement works included construction of a town market in Beryoza worth of two thousand zlotys; the municipal authorities spent about 22 thousand zlotys in Pruzhany to arrange the market place; the public toilets and 28 tubular wells provided the town with enough amount of clean water²⁹.

As it follows from the report of the Brest community authorities, during the period of 20 years of their work, by 1939 24 km of roads had been paved by them, which accounted for 29 % of their total length. As a comparison, 30 km of roads had been paved by WW I, and the same length remained unpaved. 42 sq.km were paved by concrete tiles during the interwar period. To control food quality in 1932, the municipal authorities established a food laboratory with a bacteriological department, whose service was to be used by all the towns of Polesye province. Besides, at the end of the 1930s, all the properties in the town had latrines and rubbish bins³⁰. Greenery works went on. As an example, in 1936 the Brest administration held a contest for the residents for the best decoration of windows, balconies and gardens with flowers, where the winners got money as a reward. At the same time, it was decided to express gratitude to the town gardener for keeping their two town parks established in the 1920s at a high artistic level³¹. More than 15 thousand trees were planted in the town during the interwar period³².

²⁸ SABO. F. 1. OP. 5. D. 55. L. 5.

²⁹ Ibid. Op. 1. D. 1040. L. 16, 23.

³⁰ Ibid. D. 1022. L. 32, 33, 39.

³¹ *Samorzqd miejski*, 1936, no. 16–17, p. 1101.

³² SABO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 1022. L. 33.

As before, the effectiveness of municipal authorities' efforts depended first, on the people responsible for it, on their ability to organize the residents' labor effectively and use their meagre resources. In places where burgomasters, who were appointed governors and starostas in the 1930s, turned out to be skillful managers, the current situation was greatly improved. One of the examples was the activity of Gracjan Lapczynski, retired captain of cavalry, who was appointed burgomaster of Vysoko-Litovsk early in the 1930s. As the official Brest newspaper 'Express Poleski' reports, his energy and organizing skills demonstrated notable success in the town improvement: for the first time in the interwar period, all the roads were paved, the sidewalks were laid out, the public gardens had a clear marking, an athletic field and a beach were opened, the private houses were renovated and so on. It was done with the help of sharwerk without any considerable expenses from the town budget³³. The information from the newspaper is confirmed in Brest starosta's report sent to Polesye governor in 1934, which points out that owing to Lapczynski, the sanitation and the outlook of Vysoki had changed drastically. In starosta's opinion, this fact greatly contributed to the elevation of Polish authority among the town residents³⁴.

However, in most West Belarus towns, the authorities did not manage to improve the well-being and sanitation so significantly, as evidences from the 1930s create quite an unfavorable image. As an example, in Pinsk by the end of the 1930s, 37 % of the streets had been paved; there were 41 public artesian wells, 24 of which were built during the 20-year period between the wars³⁵. 36 % of the roads were paved in Lida in late 1930s; there were 17 tubular wells out of 1000³⁶. In mid-1930s there was only one paved street in Stolín, whereas there were none in David-Gorodok³⁷.

Judging by the Brest starostvo's report of 1935, the primitive toilets and bins overfilled with dirt and waste in the private properties of Brest did not often meet their purpose. The sewage service was entrusted to businessmen who refused to take the dirt away from the town to specifically allocated fields; and despite the fines, they poured them inside the town in derelict properties and in the town park. By mid-1930s, there had not been any public bath in Brest, only a small Jewish mikvah was in use; and most the population of the province center did not have a chance to maintain their personal hygiene³⁸. Horses and cattle bred by the residents directly in their

³³ *Express Poleski*, 1933, no. 264, p. 4; *Ibid.* 1934, 22 sierpnia, p. 4.

³⁴ SABO. F. 1. OP. 2. D. 3505. L. 13.

³⁵ *Ibid.* F. 2005. Op. 1. D. 126. L. 6, 9.

³⁶ Lauresh L. Прамысловасць горада Ліды ў 1920–1930-я гады [The industry in the town of Lida in 1920–1930s]. *Працэсы ўрбанізацыі ў Беларусі: XIX – пачатак XXI ст.* [Urbanization patterns in Belarus: 19th – early 20th centuries], *рэдкал.: Я.А. Роўба і інш.* [in Rouba Ia. A (ed.)] Grodno, 2010, pp. 181–188.

³⁷ SABO. F. 1. Op. 5. D. 151. L. 31.

³⁸ *Ibid.* D. 60. L. 2, 4.

households made it difficult to keep clean even the central streets of the town³⁹. Per Brest county doctor O. Anselm, the efforts taken in 1929 to improve the Brest sanitation were continued by the municipal authorities, but they could not achieve any significant results due to inadequate performance and lack of sanitary personnel. In 1932, the state administration had to take control over the sanitary issues in the town again, appointing 'sanitary guards' from the starostvo ranks as well as magistrate employees, who had to inspect the private properties together with the police and make the town residents obey the prescribed instructions⁴⁰. In 1935, the Brest starosta deputy F. Usayevich suggested giving back the statutory obligations to control the sanitation issues in the town to the municipal government in Brest⁴¹.

The significant success in improvement of Pruzhany and Beryoza, which was described above and was reported by the municipal authorities, was not obvious to everyone. Inspections held in 1933 by Pruzhany starosta Lisovski in Beryoza and the province inspector of municipal bodies Hmelevski in Pruzhany revealed squalid streets, "a lot of dirt and disorder"⁴². There was an anonymous message attached to the inspection report, which said that Pruzhany inhabitants, especially the Christians, were outraged by the unfair assignment of sharwerk, as they were "to work in the streets near the market where the Jews live", "while the streets where Christians live are flooded with water, excrements and dirt. Dombrovski Street, for example, is impossible to cross, and children do not go to school because of the dirt. Despite mentioning it regularly to the burgomaster, people have been drowning there for three years; whereas cats, dogs and other carrion have been decaying in ditches ... but the burgomaster neglects people's health, which does not require any finances..."⁴³. At the same time, one of Beryoza residents sent a letter addressing the Ministry of Internal Affairs and complaining about the domination of Jews in the town administration. Per this document, the deputy burgomaster N. Zakheim, the "local king and god", was oppressing the Christians at every opportunity; for example, there were paved streets only in the Jewish part of the town, and "the rest of the streets were good only to drown dogs". Dissatisfaction with the municipal government's actions resulted in the request to replace them with a commissar, who "would have all the powers in the town, so that it would be all in order"⁴⁴. Although one cannot entirely trust the anonymous, they reflected the mood of at least part of the town residents.

In the opinion of C. Galasiewicz, who was head of the department of self-administration on the Novogrudok province board, a lot of things to improve the sani-

³⁹ Ibid. Op. 4. D. 1205. L. 10.

⁴⁰ Ibid. Op. 5. D. 151. L. 2–3.

⁴¹ Ibid. D. 60. L. 2.

⁴² Ibid. Op. 4. D. 37. L. 43, 93–94.

⁴³ Ibid. L. 110.

⁴⁴ Ibid. L. 196–197.

tation and well-being of the towns in Novogrudok province were done during the Polish control, but there were still more things to be done. As before, there was shortage of clean water, the lack of baths was acute, the “dirt and grubbiness reign supreme in our towns and villages”. Galasiewicz considered educating the residents, which meant wakening them from the state of “passivity and apathy; inciting their personal initiative, encouraging the desire to live under civilized conditions” – that was more important than any state investments in the development of the towns⁴⁵.

As a matter of fact, the anti-sanitary state of west Belarus towns was based on the residents’ unawareness of the necessity to meet any sanitary-epidemiological requirements. As an example, in 1937, the annual report of the Brest county explained why erection of concrete wells instead of wooden ones in Polesye did not improve the quality of water. Their point was that due to their habits and prejudices, the local people did not believe the statements that the water cleaned in deeper layers of soil gets into the well through its bottom part and the spaces left between the concrete rings, which did not prevent the pollution and made such construction useless⁴⁶. Two public lectures on sanitation planned separately for the Jews and the Christians in Pruzhany in 1930 did not take place as nobody wanted to attend them⁴⁷.

Conclusion

Thus, the level of well-being and the sanitary state in west Belarus towns in the 1920–30s remained critically low, and the improvement was hindered by the following factors: financial difficulties experienced by the local authorities, underestimation of the sanitation issues by the municipal employees, and the inhabitants neglecting the hygienic standards.

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⁴⁶SABO. F. 1. OP. 5. D. 22. L. 2.

⁴⁷Ibid. D. 43 L. 73.

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**A review of the book: Sargis Torossian ‘From Dardanelles to Palestine.
Memoires of an Armenian officer of the Turkish army’**

Abstract. This review evaluates the significance of the memoirs by a Turkish officer of Armenian descent regarding the events of the World War I on its various fronts, as well as the genocide of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The uniqueness of S. Torossian's experience sheds light on many issues that cause disputes among historians and politicians of both past and present.

Keywords: World War I, Armenian genocide of 1915, the Ottoman Empire, Young Turk movement, the Gallipoli Campaign of 1915, Armenian legion

In 2014, the Armenian genocide Museum-Institute of National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia (Yerevan) published Sarkis Torossian's memories (1891–1954) ‘From Dardanelles to Palestine. Memoirs of an Armenian officer in the Turkish army’ [1]. The author was a man of uneasy fate. Being of Armenian descent, he served in the Ottoman Empire army, and as part of it, he participated in some battles of World War I, lost his nearest and dearest during the persecution started by Turks against Armenians; then he fought against Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's adherents in the ranks of the Armenian legion and contributed to anti-Turkish actions among Arabs.

The Head of the Armenian genocide Museum-Institute, Doctor of Historical Sciences G.A. Demoyan in a brief preface to the Russian edition called Torossian's memoirs “unprecedented and unique in plot”, talking about his life, which “intertwined heroism and dedication with betrayal and intrigues of ill-wishers as well as love and pain of loss” [1, p. 3].

S. Torossian's memoirs were first published in English in the USA in 1947 [2] with the preface by John Archibald MacCallum (1892–1973), a prominent Australian

politician and an educator who happened to fight against the Turks in Egypt and Germans in France in 1916–17 as a member of the British army.

Describing these published memoirs, MacCallum noted their importance as a historical source of information about World War I and the confrontation of Triple Entente with Turkey. “Subsequent historians of the Great War,” he wrote, “when they come to deal with tragically abortive efforts of the Allies at the Dardanelles, and Allenby’s historic conquest of the Palestine, will find in this book a valuable source of information and the material which will give color to their story” [1, p. 13]. J. MacCallum also noted a very powerful anti-war potential in Torossian’s war memoirs. Per him, everyone who read this book would lay it aside “with the determination to do all in their power to ensure that a better way shall be found to settle our political, racial, and religious disputes, than by resort to arms” [1, p. 13].

It seems interesting to complement these assessments with G.A. Demoyan’s discourse, who pointed out that Torossian’s memoirs allow to see many events of World War I in the Orient from quite an unexpected point of view, and lead to the conclusions which differ significantly from the well-established estimates and characteristics. This feature is determined by the author’s personality; it required several years to change his views: from a zealous service in the Turkish army to irreconcilable struggle against the forces which stood under the banner of Turkish patriotism.

“Parallel stories...,” G.A. Demoyan writes in his book, “unsaid and deliberately concealed under a ban of somebody’s behoof, are unconditionally part of the whole and are worth being read...” [1, p. 5] This statement is not to be denied; we cannot also underestimate the fact that S. Torossian’s assertions were determined by the circumstances of his dramatic and extraordinary personal fate. However, this fact doesn’t diminish the significance of his memoirs as a historical source, but to some extent makes them particularly interesting.

The publication of Torossian’s memoirs in Russian is undoubtedly an important event both for the professional historians studying World War I and for everyone interested in it. The only thing to regret is its small circulation of 500 copies.

Sargis Torossian was born in the town of Everek (in Kayseri area) in a big and quite wealthy Armenian family. Per his memories, from an early age he lived in the continuous state of suspense and fear that the Armenians felt fearing their safety and lives in the Ottoman Empire. “As I recall my boyhood,” S. Torossian goes on to say, “it seemed to me that there was something material about the very atmosphere, the very buildings in which we lived, where we worshipped and where we went to school. It was like living in a beleaguered city, in an armed camp, only there were no arms, since the Christian subjects of Ottoman Turkey were permitted no weapon, not even a sabre. There was always something electric in the air, eternally charged with rumors and ferocious restraint, with grim patience and perpetual fear” [1, p. 18].

Nevertheless, the young Sargis Torossian had an unusually bold dream of becoming an officer of the Turkish army. The legislation of that time seemed to create unsurmountable obstacles on his way. However, while Torossian was educated in Turkish State College in Adrianople (Edirne), he befriended a young arab Moharrir, whose father was brigadier general. Through this influential military man's help, the young S. Torossian secured a position in the Artillery College in Istanbul together with Moharrir.

After graduation in 1914, Torossian was appointed the rank 'second lieutenant' [1, p. 24] and was sent to Germany for three months of intensive training. Before Turkey joined World War I, he was appointed commander to fort Ertogrul on cape Helles (south-west end of Gallipoli Peninsula), which guarded the entrance to the Dardanelles.

The beginning of World War I made the young officer not only anxious, but inspired and dreaming of military feats. "We were young, and the war had the sound of a great adventure and the promise of decorations and honor. We never gave a thought to the battle's din, and the bloody, gory, sordid mess of it" [1, p. 25].

However, young officers' optimism was greatly inspired by the overall mood in the Turkish society of that time. The rise of bellicose patriotism in summer and autumn of 1914 was colorfully and reliably described in his memoirs: "The air of Constantinople was charged with frenzied rumor. Bands were playing everywhere; soldiers marching, bayonets flashing; a smart German officer, great numbers of them suddenly, like an immigration; cavalry; clanking spurs; flag waving; cheering; shouting; <...>" [1, p. 25].

It is easy to see that the scenes described by Torossian were very like the ones revealed in Saint-Petersburg and Moscow of that time, as well as Vienna and Berlin, London and Paris; in cities and towns in all countries that entered or were ready to enter the fierce struggle.

On 3 November 1914, the English and the French fleet under the command of the British vice-admiral Sackwill Carden bombarded the external fortifications of Dardanelles. Though the fort Ertogrul, where Torossian was located, wasn't damaged, the young officer witnessed terrible destruction and death of people in the nearby fort Sed-ul-Bahr, where British shells had fallen in the ammunition store room.

The Soviet military historian Kolenkovsky described the results of bombardments resorting to a German source: "360 shells exploded, as well as 10 000 kg of gunpowder. The explosion in Sed-ul-Bahr destroyed temporarily all six guns, four of which were brought back into the combat condition in a few days; whilst two others remained idle for a long time. <...> The English consider that 80 people were killed and wounded in Sed-ul-Bahr" [3, p. 20].

It all looked much more terrible and tragic for Torossian, who observed the battle with his own eyes. From his point of view, about 500 soldiers and officers perished

in the fort. “They,” the memoirist wrote, “had been literally blown to pieces. Colonel Halil Bey was the only survivor, and when I saw him, he still was half crazed from his experience” [1, p. 31].

It is worth noting that the bombardment of 3 November was aimed at stopping Turkey from taking part in the war on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary, but its political result was directly opposite [4, p. 92–93]. The young officer of Armenian descent was shocked, and his illusions were dispelled. “This war business,” Torossian remembered, “was turning out to be a nasty bit” [1, p. 31].

On 13 December 1914, S. Torossian happened to observe one more episode of the fight for the Straits, deplorable for the Turks: a British submarine torpedoed the Turkish warship *Mesoudieh*. “I could see the sailors,” the memoirist recalls, “rushing wildly to the life boats, others jumping overboard. It all seemed a little mad, a little incredible. <...> Men dotted the water everywhere; a cutter foundered; life buoys bobbed about; men were swimming. When she sank, there was a great gushing of steam” [1, p. 32].

In February 1915, during a British large-scale operation against the Turkish fortifications on the shores of the Dardanelles, S. Torossian was in the thick of things. On 19 February, during the new firing of Turkish fortifications, fort Ertogrul’s batteries had to fight the English and the French ships. The result of the battle was unfortunate for the Turks [4, p. 161–64]. Per Torossian, the British dreadnought *Queen Elizabeth* for two hours “kept up a constant fire ... until Fort Ertogrul was a mess of shambles” [1, p. 37].

The bombardment renewed on 5–7 March and then on 18 March [4, p. 177, 192]. Whilst commanding the artillery, Torossian repeatedly demonstrated his personal courage and composure, but on 18 March he was wounded by fragments of an accidental shell and was taken to hospital. As we know, the British and the French did not manage to seize the Strait of Dardanelles. Later, reflecting on the reasons of this outcome, S. Torossian claimed that the English and French high command held off on purpose, as a complete rout of Turkey would have led Russia to strengthen its position in the region significantly.

“The vision of imperial Russia holding Constantinople,” Torossian went on to say, “was too much for the little men of the chancelleries; it became a nightmare and so an easy victory was somehow made over into a very shabby second hand defeat” [1, p. 45].

However, plenty of military historians have been of a different opinion, suggesting that Entente’s commandment realized the impossibility of seizing the Dardanelles solely with the fleet without any landing [3, p. 56–57].

The courage demonstrated by S. Torossian during the defense of the Dardanelles drew attention of high Turkish commandment and promoted him to captain. Moreover, the young officer received an audience at the Minister of War Enver Pasha. “Af-



ter staring at me for fully a minute,” Torossian remembered, “His Excellency arose and introduced me as the Armenian hero of the Dardanelles to his German advisers marshall Lehman von Sanders and general Vondergoltz” [1, p. 53]. The almighty minister of war questioned the newly-promoted captain about the advantages and drawbacks in the fortifications of the Dardanelles and offered to choose from two appointments: come back to Ertogrul or take over the command of the field artillery regiment of the eighth division. Torossian chose the latter. However, the regiment was located on the shores of the Dardanelles not far from Sed-ul-Bahr seized by the English landing.

Since June 1915, the Turkish government was deporting and fiercely persecuting the Armenian population of the Empire [5, p. 83]. Despite all Torossian’s merits, his parents were also deported, and after a lot of hardship they perished. However, Torossian did not know of their fate for a long time.

A lot of nearest and dearest people of “the Armenian hero of the Dardanelles” suffered. Besides, as Torossian explained, there was an attempt of assassination aimed at him, organized by Talaat Pasha, one of the most prominent leaders of Young Turks. Nevertheless, he remained in the ranks of the Turkish army; in summer and autumn of 1915 he took part in the battles in Gallipoli peninsula still demonstrating the fortitude but thinking of breaking up with the Turks and even of revenge.

In September 1916, Torossian received an appointment and was made assistant to the commander of the forty-sixth artillery regiment on Macedonian front. In November, he was made responsible for the command of the 51st artillery battalion, which took part in German-Turkish attack on the Romanian front. In these battles, Torossian demonstrated his courage again; he was wounded and deserved the battle orders. His memoirs about that period of his service contained interesting descriptions of the fighting, descriptions of the Turkish army as well as Germans and Bulgarians, its allies.

At the end of 1916, the 51st battalion was ordered to return to Istanbul. Very soon Torossian reunited with ‘his’ 46 artillery regiment and headed to the Mesopotamian front with it. On the way to his new place of service, he repeatedly met some Armenian refugees and witnessed sufferings and calamities that overtook Armenians of the Ottoman Empire.

Torossian himself had to go through many hard times. This is how he described the march to Mosul, for example, at the end of May – early June 1917. “The roads were rough and filled with jagged rocks, and the march was slow and dreary, over a land that alternated between desert and malarial marsh. The sun was merciless, so much so that traveling by day became impossible. We would squirm for shelter in the thick marshes and boil the muddy germ infested scum to drink. Mosquitoes would descend upon us in hordes. Malaria and typhus broke out, and hundreds died.

<...> The last march was day on 9 June 1917, an army of specters with staring eyes and blackened lips made a pretense at marching as they filed into Mosul” [1, p. 104].

The relationship between the Turkish army and the local people was quite complicated and not always peaceful. S. Torossian described the morals of Mesopotamian arabs with great expression and quite vividly: “...their attitude toward strangers,” he said, “varied from tribe to tribe. As a rule, they were hospitable to guests and then, after they had repasted heavily and were asleep, would attack and murder them” [1, p. 105].

At the end of July 1917, S. Torossian had to take part in quite a dangerous undertaking – an expedition for food for the Turkish army to one of the tribes. “Two weeks before our arrival in Mosul,” Torsion wrote in his memoires, “the general commander, Khalil Pasha, having experienced resistance to his food levies on part of larger tribes, had sent fifteen hundred Turkish soldiers to solicit foodstuff or forage if necessary. They never returned, and the severed heads of officers were sent back in sacks as their answer” [1, p. 106].

It is also worth noting that the above-mentioned Khalil Pasha, who commanded the Turkish army on the Mesopotamian front, was Enver Pasha’s uncle and participated in the battles in the Caucasus, where he became known for the cruel massacre on Armenian and Greek population. It was quite understandable that Torossian described this warlord’s bad luck so thoroughly.

The memoirist managed to get some food in the end. To win over the sheik, he resorted to a very brave method – he helped the Arabs to defeat their neighbors Kurds.

In early October 1917, the 46th division, which included Torossian’s artillery battalion, “was ordered to the front” [1, p. 111] because of the English gaining ground on the banks of the Tigris. In the following battles, the author of the memoires demonstrated his talents of a commander again. Among other things, to confuse the British pilots he “ordered the construction of dummy cannons made of stove pipe and had them placed at points of easy visibility to the enemy” [1, p. 112]. This method was partially effective – the air bombardment damaged the Turks significantly; Torossian was wounded again, and this time in his hand. He also had to recover from the attacks of the British infantry (mainly Hindko soldiers).

In early December 1917, the 46th division was ordered to the Palestine front. Originally it was stationed around Tel-up-Half village (in Syria). Torossian found out that there was a large camp for deported Armenians nearby. Having visited it, he met his sister and learnt from her about the death of his parents and their sufferings. His sister’s story, as well the stories of the people of his nationality, who were expelled from their homes and bullied, naturally acerbated Torossian against the Turkish authorities.

On the Palestine front, Torossian’s 46th artillery regiment camped near the town of Nablus on the western banks of the Jordan. Here, he had to face difficulties related to

the local climate and nature again. S. Torossian remembered: “The weather became unbearably hot and hordes of mosquitoes from nearby swamps infested the camps and spread typhus and malaria. Hundreds of officers and soldiers were ill in the hospitals for five or six weeks at a time” [1, p. 131].

In spring and summer 1918, the 46th regiment took part in severe battles on the final stage of Sinai-Palestinian campaign. The Turkish army was exhausted and bloodless, their morale felt low [6, p. 199]. Rumors that the Armenian legion would participate in the new attack on the Turkish forces alongside with the British and the French (and that was true) influenced Torossian immensely [1, p. 134].

However, his life changed greatly after a short while.

In mid-August, the Arab supporters of independence from the Ottoman Empire contacted S. Torossian. Per memoirist’s story, he had lost his dear woman, an adopted daughter of arab Pasha, who was of Armenian descent and died of tuberculosis. His personal tragedy, the horrors of the war and severe persecution of Armenians reinforced his intention to struggle against the Ottoman government.

S. Torossian worked out action plans at several meetings with the Arab sheiks. He undertook to organize that the force of Arab cavalry mobilized to Turkish army would change sides and support the English and the French troops with their first major attack. The opportunity turned up on 20 September 1918. Torossian described emotionally how leading Arab horsemen were sabering the rear of the seventh and eighth Turkish armies, that were retreating under the British pressure.

He admired the Arab warriors: “In all my military career, I had never witnessed such keenness of vision, such alertness, such rash courage and discipline as shown by these desert horsemen” [1, p. 151]. He wrote with much liking about the future king of Iraq Feisal ibn Hussein (1883–1933), who commanded the Arab troops in general Allenby’s expeditionary building.

A renowned British agent and traveler, one of Arab revolt sponsors, Lawrence of Arabia, on the contrary, did not arouse much enthusiasm in Torossian. The memoirist pointed out that he was just a ‘paymaster’ to whom “the sheiks with their men presented for payment their bills properly approved by the Arab leaders” [1, p. 154].

At the beginning of 1919, Torossian with a small platoon of Armenian volunteers was sent to Cilicia, occupied by Armenian legion [7, p. 85]. His aim was to defend the local people and fight many Turkish units that were attacking the refugees coming back home, as well as civilians. However, very soon his situation as well as that of Armenian legion became uneasy and dangerous: England and France gave up their militant action against Turkey, and their troops were gradually withdrawn from Cilicia.

Torossian considered the allies’ unwillingness to continue the war with Turkey as a betrayal. As an example, of such an outcome, he described the events in the city of Marash. “...French forces,” he continued, “were recalled from the vicinity of Marash, leaving the inhabitants easy victims to the Maranders. In less than a week

afterwards, the Turks entered the city and massacred over twelve thousand Armenians” [1, p. 161]. Torossian had a small platoon and had to act creatively to provide the Armenians with defense. He often used his knowledge of psychology, as well as Turkish officers’ opinions and manners.

At the beginning of 1920, the situation became desperate in the memoirist’s opinion. He considered Mustafa Kemal’s adherents to be enemies and their actions ‘banditry’ [1, p. 163]. “French soldiers were massacred as the Turks grew more confident and stronger,” Torossian wrote, “and thus the betrayers too were betrayed. The country was overrun with rebellion” [1, p. 163]. S. Torossian tried to wage guerilla warfare against the Turks, but then he realized its hopelessness. “Our quest was obviously hopeless and we were overwhelmed by history,” he noted bitterly.” I decided at last to put aside my sword and gun. Cilicia was not the Armenian homeland but a seething cauldron in which intrigues were brewed in the blood of my people” [1, p. 170]. Thus, Torossian resigned from the army.

Summarizing the facts from the Armenians’ history in World War I, he grimly concluded that all the leading European states intended to make use of the Armenian people and their desire for independence to their own benefit.

It is worth emphasizing that many of S. Torossian’s judgements are one-sided though. However, it does not diminish their significance as a historical source.

Unfortunately, the reviewed publication of S. Torossian’s memoirs has certain drawbacks: first, it lacks nominal and geographical indexes; there are also very few short comments to the text. Nevertheless, the published book seems to be an essential contribution to the historiography of the problem.

The review is recommended to those interested in historical sciences.

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**‘Borders and frontiers in the history of Russian South’
(the materials of all-Russian scholarly conference, Rostov-on-Don,
publishing house of Southern Federal University, 26-27 September 2014)**

Abstract. This review is devoted to the collection of articles ‘Borders and frontiers in the history of Russian South’, which included articles covering, to various extent, problems within the framework of the interdisciplinary approach towards borders and frontiers, known in Russia as the science of limology. The review discusses advantages and disadvantages of the collection compilation, covers the articles themselves, based on their scientific relevance and authors' specialization, as well as reviews on the topic of Austrian military frontier as a specific example for historical comparativistics.

Keywords: frontier, borders, borderzone, limology, historical geography, history of Russian South, one's own – another's, cultural memory, Cossacks

In autumn 2014, the all-Russian conference was held in Rostov-on-Don, dedicated to the borders and frontiers in the history of Russian South. Following the conference, a collection of papers, further revised into articles, was published. The compilers forwent the principle of grouping the articles as per their problems, but rather arranged the material in the alphabetical order by the authors' names¹. In this review, an attempt is made to present a thematic analysis of the articles in the context of their applicability to the study of history of military frontiers in Habsburg monarchy.

1. Terminology and methodology

Per the statement of A.V. Baranov expressed in the article ‘Methods of investigating frontier communities in historical geography (on the materials of Russian

¹ The digest of articles has already been reviewed by Y.D. Anchabadze, and in several shortcomings the author calls the absence of a problematic approach to the composition of the volume. See: *Retsenziia na: Granitsy i pogranič'e v iuzhnorossiiskoi istorii. Materialy Vserossiiskoi nauchnoi konferentsii (g. Rostov-na-Donu, 26–27 sentiabria 2014 g.)* [Review on: Borders and borderland in the history of Russian South (the materials of the all-Russian scientific conference), Rostov-on-Don, 26-27 September 2014). *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie*, no. 3, pp. 180–183.

South)', the contact zone is defined as the periphery of the center (core) of civilization, whilst not necessarily being on the outskirts of the state geographically. Its main feature is dependence on the centre, and the imitation of it (p. 72). The contact zone is formed by real objects of three types – area (territory), boundaries (linear contours) and metropolitan centers. In this case, the area of the contact zone can be small; its main quality is 'permeability' for the mutual influence of communication participants (p. 72).

Another author, E.I. Maletov, gives the following definitions of key concepts: a border is a line of external limit of the territory of one state, which separates it from the adjacent territory of another state; borderlands are contact zones, in which the interaction of cultures, neighboring countries, peoples and regions actively occurs. At the same time, these are the zones of potential territorial conflicts (for example, interethnic or religious) and struggle for spheres of influence (p. 347). The definition of a border per Maletov fully corresponds to its traditional understanding in Russian limology (Latin 'limes' – English 'line') – the science of borders and borderzones as a kind of their general interdisciplinary trends of study, the foundations of which was laid by the American geographer F. Turner.

Meanwhile, the frontier is also a moving border. One of the articles written by a team of authors from Tambov (D.S. Zhukov, V.V. Kanishchev, S.K. Lyamin) maintains that the "frontier dynamics is not just the movement of the border; it is transformation of space, transition to a new quality" (p. 235). At the same time, they give the following definition of a frontier: "a territory that at a certain stage of history is not identical to the future metropolis, but which after a while becomes a completely homogeneous part of the 'motherland' state and society (p. 235). The authors rested upon the available statistical data to provide an example of a mobile frontier and modelled the process of incorporating the territory of almost uninhabited and very poor cultivated Russian 'wild field' into the Russian state itself from mid-16th to mid-19th century.

However, consideration of the term 'frontier' is possible in other foreshortenings. O.S. Yakushenkova in the article on 'Transformation of corporeality under the conditions of frontier heterotopy' gives the following interpretation to the subject of her research: most often it is "a special territory between the settled, cultivated or civilized world and the wild or virgin world". Hence derives the term 'frontier body' – space (in the Foucaultian sense), which naturally appeared to be the bearer of this savage, unbridled features and so forth (p. 613). The man on the other side of the frontier is an 'Alien' – a savage, a child of nature, i.e. equivalent to the animal environment (p. 614). Being on the border of the oecumene, the Alien has a 'natural' body (p. 615), which even if perceived to be close to the human one, was endowed with certain properties that bring it closer to the nature. As an example, the strange language of the Alien was close to the language of the beasts (p. 616). We can say that

the author finds the key to the understanding of the problem of stereotypes in neighbouring or contacting peoples. However, her theory does not seem to be quite appropriate for the understanding of the ‘body’ of such artificial frontiers as the military boundary of Habsburg Monarchy.

In the article ‘Significance of the cultural memory under the conditions of frontier heterotopy’, S.N. Yakushenkov based his research on historical memory. He writes: “Modern intercultural dialogue on the territories that can be attributed to frontier zones is not possible without orientation to certain significances, usually tied up to the cultural memory of frontier ethnic groups” (p. 605). A sign inscribed in the historical context and acting as a value reference is meant by significances in this respect; it is also fixed in any form of praxis. Because “on the frontier territory, a wide variety of ethnic actors participate in the formation of cultural memory”, their significances are as diverse and sometimes mutually exclusive” (p. 606).

L.V. Baeva in her article “The zone of the northern Caspian and the lower Volga region as a frontier: classification and characteristics” pays much attention to the typology of the concept of ‘frontier’. The author distinguishes civilizational, intercultural, confessional, ethnic (anthropological), linguistic, military-political, technological, information and value frontiers as well as mental, theoretical and paradigmatic frontiers (pp. 56–57). She notes that ‘a frontier person’ is a special phenomenon of the frontier, a person open to new decisions, elections, changes in places, characterized by high receptivity to the new, mental freedom, creative, syncretic vision of reality, adventurousness, intolerance of restrictions, strict regulations and organization of life” (p. 61).

To complete the description of the articles devoted to the methodology of studying borders and borderzones, I would like to disagree with Y.D. Anchabadze, who writes about the inability to view the frontier in the same manner as a zone of conflict and intercultural communication². In fact, any frontier can not be imagined without these two factors, and this is confirmed by specific historical studies in the reviewed collection.

2. Cossacks as border community

R.G. Takidjian in the article ‘The problems of transformation of Don Cossacks in the system of Russian south-east frontiers in the 16th–20th centuries’ offers original periodization of the history of Don Cossacks. At the first stage, from the 14th until the end of the 17th century, “the predecessors of the Cossacks and the first permanent Cossack communities”, ‘paramilitary communities’ in the geographical area of Don-Azov region and the steppe of Ciscaucasia, which was associated with the disintegration of the Golden Horde. It was at this stage that the Cossack “sub-ethnos (co-

² Anchabadze Y.D. Review on: Borders... p. 181.



ethnos) of the great Russian people” was established, which consisted of three main ethnic and confessional groups: number one – east Slavic ‘Orthodox old believers’, Turkic-Caucasian Muslims and Oirat Lamaism. The second stage covers end of the 17th century up to the 1860s. There was inclusion of the lands belonging to Cossack into the Russian Empire and transformation of the Cossacks themselves towards early 19th century into ‘sub-ethnic quasi-condition’. At the third stage – before the beginning of the 20th century, the areas of the Don army was finally established as a ‘ethno-social unity’ of Cossacks as opposed to the visiting population. At the fourth stage, or in the Soviet period in the history of the Cossacks (1917–91), a policy of decossackization’ was pursued against them. Finally, nowadays the revival of ‘neo-Cossacks’ is observed (pp. 542–47).

A more general periodization of the historian researching the Cossacks S.V. Chernitsyn has several differences from above. In his article ‘The Don military and their neighbours. The trends of ethnocultural contacts with the ethnic metropolis under the conditions of a military frontier’, he points out two periods in the pre-Soviet history of Don Cossacks. The first (the turn of the 15th –16th centuries – first quarter of the 18th century) covers the formation of Don Cossacks up to the “active political integration of the ‘Donskoy’ land into the Russian Empire”, which was accompanied by the loss of autonomy, as well as the start of social and cultural changes. In the second period (the first quarter of the 18th century and early 20th centuries), the Don Cossacks turned into an estate, and the Cossacks became a sub-ethnic group of the Russian people (pp. 570–71).

Another historian of the Cossacks Y.A. Bulygin in his article ‘The origins of Don Cossacks’ business on the southern border of the Russian Empire’ draws our attention to the natural and climatic factors. “Steppe stretches have always been a symbol of freedom for the Russian people: steppe is praised in songs, representing the object of dreams; it involves a love for wandering, and search for will” (p. 144). He also concludes that the policy of the authorities became one of the factors involving the Cossacks into entrepreneurship. “The government’s actions contributed to the development of Cossack land ownership, legally securing this land for the army, as well as the noble status for big officials and officers, which led to the emergence of a whole layer of entrepreneurs emerging from the Cossack environment” (p. 152). The historian names “the need to sell the ‘war booty’ obtained because of military campaigns” as one of the reasons to give a “natural answer to the realities of time”, which prompted the Cossacks to enter the market (p. 152).

The contribution of the contemporary Austrian historian studying peoples of the Russian Empire is considered by N.A. Mininkov in the article ‘The Cossacks as a boundary community in the historical concept of A. Kappeler’. His conclusion is quite interesting in that “the steppe boundary was a place not only of a fierce durable and persistent struggle. This was also the place of various contacts between the local

communities and individuals”. Kappeler puts attention to the contacts – commercial and cultural ones (p. 373), as well as the phenomenon of ‘personal ties’ with the steppe zone, from where the very diversity of Cossack ethnicity originated, the presence of elements from the neighbouring cultures in the Cossack culture itself (p. 373). Mininkov notes that the concept of the Cossacks as a border community, is given by Kappeler a ‘new perspective’, proceeds “from recognizing it as a community capable of establishing diverse contacts with their neighbours” (p. 373).

Using the Turner theory of the frontier, Kappeler points out “some similarities between the Cossacks and the communities of the ‘wild West’, such as open borders and presence of confrontation in the relations of Cossacks with the neighbouring nomads. Moreover, the ‘frontline signs’ established in the Cossack milieu were only ‘extinguished’ by the Soviet authorities; so Kappeler no longer considers the modern ‘renaissance’ of Cossacks after the collapse of the communist ideology as revived Cossacks, but rather ‘neo-Cossacks’, although he sees the continuity of ‘neo-Cossacks’ with regards to the Cossacks of the 20th century (p. 378). Finally, the Austrian historian calls the Cossacks only one of the manifestations of a certain way of life, spread from the Adriatic to the Urals; thus, building a bridge from the Russian and Ukrainian Cossacks to the borderlands of Habsburg monarchy and the ‘uskoks’ on the Adriatic coast.

The article of the Rostov historian A.Y. Peretyatko ‘Assessment of the border role in the history of Don Cossacks by the authors of the 1860s–1880s: N.I. Krasnov, M.N. Kharuzin, S.F. Nomikosov is dedicated to an important period in Cossacks history in Russia and the ‘granichars’ (Grenz infantry) in the monarchy of Habsburgs (1860s–1880s). In fact, unlike Habsburg monarchy, where the transformation of the empire into a dualistic Austro-Hungary occurred, and the military frontier was completely abolished together with the estates of the ‘granichars’; in Russia, the Ministry of Defence decided not to disband the Cossack troops, including the Donskoy field of troops. If one of the reasons to abolish the military border in Habsburg monarchy was the loss of any threat from the south (from the Ottoman Empire), then in Russia, as the historian of the Cossacks N.I. Krasnovin wrote in the 1960s, the need for Cossack troops was caused historically by their border position (p. 426). After a decisive statement of the Ministry of Defence not to abolish the Cossack troops, Krasnov radically changed his position. Now he and S.F. Nomikosov argued that the Cossacks rather did not exist because of that border, however they existed despite it, and that after losing the border location, the Cossacks would even win because the border had always hampered their civil development (p. 426). M.N. Kharuzin was one of the first to draw attention to the fact that the Cossacks originated on the border of the sedentary and steppe worlds. In addition, considering the history of the Cossacks from a Slavophile point of view, the scientist concluded that their life was a typically Russian option, however formed under the steppe conditions (p. 426).

3. ‘Zasechnye’ (abatis) features of the Russian state and development of the ‘wild field’ in the 16th-18th centuries. Relations with the Ottoman Empire, Crimean Khanate and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

D.A. Lyapin in his article ‘Specificity of the structure of local self-government in the cities of upper Don in the first half of the 17th century’ provides data that can be compared with the construction of the military boundary of Habsburg monarchy. The peculiarity of the Russian zasechnye (abatis) features of the 17th century was in the fact that the time was characterized by weakening of the central power in the country after the experience of the Distemper (Vague time). Therefore, the development of the local self-government bodies was considered, including that on the border line. Thus, the local administrative functions were carried out by the local world community. However, the city's population also chose such important posts as ‘*gubnoi starosta*’ (‘guba’ meant ‘estate’) and the siege head. Thus, for a long time, only the post of a voivode was appointed from those above.

At the example of Gribovsky’s article, it can be understood how the border between the monarchy of Habsburgs differed from that of Russian lands with the vassals of the Ottoman Empire, primarily Crimean Khanate. In the first case, the border was accurately defined on the terrain, in the second – the borderland served as a wild field not delimited between the states. Moreover, in this case Russia was an obvious exception from Europe. The author notes that “for Poland (as well as for Habsburgs – *A.D.*), a careful attitude was peculiar towards the borders and the acts regulating them” (p. 187). Moreover, Poland insisted on the continuity with the possessions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; during the negotiations with Porte it defended its possessions and its access to the Black Sea. Whereby the southern border of Russia was not fixed at all in international treaties. The author explains this phenomenon by the fact that “the Black Sea steppe was much more difficult to differentiate because of the motley and rapidly changing striped landscape formed as the result of the almost uncontrolled resettlement of the inhabitants of the borderland” (p. 190).

An important feature in Gribovsky's article is the description of the phenomenon related to the possibility of cooperation between the bordering societies, having nothing in common both religiously and linguistically; and moreover, traditionally hostile to each other in case of an external threat common to each of them. Thus, at the beginning of the 18th century, during the attempt to draw an exact boundary between Russia and the Ottoman Empire across the steppe, which the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the Crimean Khanate considered to be theirs, the Cossacks and Tatars began to draw closer and tried to jointly resist both Russians and Turks. Thus, the Turks had to pacify the obstinate vassal-khan by using force, and the Russians had to show extreme diplomatic efforts to keep Zaporozhians from rebelling, whereas on the Don the uprising still broke out.

4. *The Caucasian frontier*

The meaning of the arrangement of the north Caucasian frontier is mentioned in the article by I. K. Tkhamokova ‘The Caucasian line and Kabardians: to the problem of ethnocultural borders’. In the article, the author explains the creation of a strengthened border in the North Caucasus because “the actual inclusion of Kabarda in the empire was a long and complex process”, while “the authorities sought to separate Kabarda from the steppe Ciscaucasia, which was rapidly conquered by the Russian settlers” (p. 560). The historian notes that the “people who lived on the different sides of the Caucasian line, although they were considered subjects of the same state, differed for a long time in socio-political and legal system, religion, language, economic features, material and spiritual culture”. This was expressed in the fact that “on one side of the border, the power of the tsarist administration operated, whereas the laws of the Russian Empire were active on the other – the Kabardinian princes maintained their rights, whereas the norms of customary law and Sharia functioned” (p. 563). The contacts of the Russian population on the line and Kabardian behind it acquired the form of mostly fighting clashes or smaller skirmishes. Therefore, the Cossacks adopted only weapons, combat equipment and the shape of the saddles, as well as military clothing from the mountaineers. Tkhamokova notes the stability of the ethnocultural borders in the Caucasus in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Thus, the Kabardian princes who received Russian education and even got such education in Petersburg, did not feel Russians themselves; they served in the Russian army, grew up in rank, received military awards; but when they returned to their homeland, they were removed and dealt with in accordance with the mountain traditions. Thus, the intersection of the line meant for them a change in the social role (pp. 568–69).

In the article ‘The trade relations of highlanders and official power: the way to overcome the North Caucasian frontier in the first half of the 19th century’, E.G. Berberova writes that the “trade in the borderlands was concentrated in the hands of representatives of certain nationalities, mainly Armenians, Greeks and Jews”, because “for many mountaineers, it was not simply prestigious, but rather disgraceful to be engaged in trade” (p. 106). In addition, the author points out that “educated in the spirit of the cult of a warrior, the mountaineers arrogantly treated those who did not share their views”. At the same time, “we see similar prejudices in the Cossacks, who were mentally close to their rival neighbours” (p. 106). The important thing in the author's description regarding the interaction of the mountaineers with the Russian borderline is as follows: “Freedom in moving along the line for trade purposes was one of the conditions for the mountaineers to take an oath of allegiance to the imperial throne” (p. 110). At the same time, per the situation at the beginning of the 19th century, as Tkhamokova maintains, the Kabardian could cross the Caucasian

line only based “on the tickets of the Russian police officer” that were issued under the warrant of the supreme prince of Kabarda” (p. 562).

The North Caucasian frontier of Russia was like the military frontier of Habsburg monarchy in the fact that the Germans also moved here. In the article of T.N. Plokhotniuk ‘The German vector of the North Caucasus frontier’, the narration is centred around the story about two main waves of German colonization in the North Caucasus. These waves represented resettlement of Lutheran Germans dating back to the second half of the 19th century. Before this time, the colonization of these places by the Germans was proceeding slowly because of the fear of living on the line of combat operations (p. 439). However, the Russian authorities helped settle only those from the first wave. Plokhotniuk explains this by the desire of the authorities to use the settlers primarily as a ‘certain catalyst’ or a ‘fixer’ to the processes in both production and spiritual spheres so that in the next contact zone of the Christian and Islamic world, it would not only be the strength of Russia's geopolitical position that was ensured, but also the stability of the Christian civilization” (p. 445). Thus, unlike Habsburg monarchy, where only Catholic Germans resettled on the military border to strengthen the state religion on it, the Russian authorities were interested in Protestants, who in contrast with the Catholics, were less Orthodox than the Orthodox Christians, but could Christianise the Muslim mountaineers, and convert to Orthodoxy themselves over a course of time.

The idea of a significant difference between the Russian frontier and other European borders, namely its mobility (the goal of moving the border to the south) is further developed in the article by Y.Y. Klychnikov ‘The influence of specific features of the Crimean frontier on the military-political activities of A.P. Ermolov’. Thus, the author absolutely agrees in concept with the Tambov team of historians (D.S. Zhukov, V.V. Kanishchev, S.K. Lyamin) regarding the mobility of the frontier, as well as with L.V. Baeva and her ‘energy of the frontier man’.

Considering the Cossack regions through the prism of the boundary methodology, the concept of ‘one's own – another's, historical memory, psychohistory, etc., Russian researchers have advanced in the development of the domestic interdisciplinary research in the relevant areas. A special contribution is made to the progress of Russian limology as a domestic variation of a larger trend of interdisciplinary boundary studies.

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CHRONICLE OF SCIENTIFIC LIFE

International scientific conference ‘V.V. Vereshchagin and the Orient: anticipation of Eurasianism’

On 26–28 October and 14–25 November 2016, an international scientific conference ‘*V.V. Vereshchagin and the Orient: anticipation of Eurasianism*’ took place in Cherepovets, devoted to the 174th anniversary of the great Russian artist of the latter part of the 19th-early 20th century. The conference was arranged by the Department of History and Philosophy of the Institute for Humanities of Cherepovets State University in collaboration with the Vereshchagin House Museum, Cherepovets Museum Association and the Department of Cultural Affairs of Cherepovets city administration and was conducted with the financial assistance of Russian Foundation for Humanities (project No.16-01–14039).

The work of the conference was arranged into two parts. The first part included the plenary and section meetings. The reports devoted to the key issues of the considered topic were made at the plenary meeting on 26 October. **Doctor of Philology Sciences, professor A.V. Chernov (Cherepovets)** in his speech addressed the problem of the Orient reflection in the authorial identity of V.V. Vereshchagin in the context of anticipated Eurasianism. Having considered its different aspects, the contributor made quite a well-founded conclusion that “the constant and keen interest of the artist in the Orient, his contribution to the acquaintance of the Russian society with the different images of the Orient could rightly play its role in the appearance of the Eurasian problematics”. **Doctor of Philosophy Sciences, professor S.T. Makhlina (St. Petersburg)** considered the question on the reflection of the Orient topic in the creative legacy of V.V. Vereshchagin. As the speaker noted, when touched upon his main artistic paintings related to the above-mentioned subject theme, “the Orient has always been attractive for the Russians – this was the unexplored, mysterious, strange and tempting trend of emerging interests and aspirations. And it is not without reason that Vasily Vasilyevich Vereshchagin was interested in the Orient as he devotedly luxuriated in the beauty of life...” In the report of **Doctor of Philology Sciences, professor of Cambridge University F.I. Melville (United Kingdom)** presented at the conference, it was noted that despite the keen interest of V.V. Vereshchagin in the ‘multifaceted’ Orient, one of the most central parts in his creative activities is taken by the ‘Russian Orient’– Central Asia. Whereby, as the author points out “in Vereshchagin’s creativity, ‘Russian Asia’ is not simply an orientalist theme but rather a whole ideology, which can be defined as the ‘battlism of a pacifist’: this was shaped whilst working in the genre aimed at praising the glory of the national armaments, he started showing his audience the contrary meaningful and violent atrocities of any

war, making an advantage of mostly the local realia”. *Art History PhD E.V. Kim (Rostov)* noted that during the first trip of Vereshchagin to India (1874–76), he created approximately 150 sketches, of which only 87 are known nowadays. Thus, as the speaker noted, almost half of the works of the said series disappeared from the view of contemporary researchers. At the example of one of the sketches of the said series – ‘Morning in Kashmir (lakes and mountains)’, which is kept now at Rostov museum, E.V. Kim talked in details about the creativity of the artist. *The research scientists of the State Tretyakov Gallery (Moscow) V.M. Yegorova, E.A. Terkel and L.A. Chetvertukhina* in their report addressed the topic ‘Japan in the life and creative activities of V.V. Vereshchagin’ and considered the materials (travel essays, including unpublished scenic sketches) related to the trip of the artist into the Land of the Rising Sun. In the final report of the plenary meeting, *Doctor of Historical Sciences, leading research worker of the Institute for Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow) E.G. Zadorozhnyuk* analysed the main approaches to the consideration and interpretation of Eurasianism, having pointed out that “in its positive part, this is the new vision of history and the fates of Russia at the centre of Eurasia” and that the appeal to the creative work of V.V. Vereshchagin constantly reminds us “of the Eurasian nature of the Russian civilisation”.

After that, the work of the conference was continued in its sections. In the *section 'The Orient in the creative work of V.V. Vereshchagin and his contemporaries'* (the section moderators: Art History PhD E.B. Kim; professor, member of Union of Russian Artists V.I. Philippova) nine reports were presented. *The consultant of the university RNB Global University in Rajasthan (Bikaner, India) S. Kumar and Candidate of Philology Sciences, associate professor Z.V. Antonova (Cherepovets)* devoted their report to the Indian impressions of V.V. Vereshchagin, embodied into his paintings, as well as conducted an analysis of the painting ‘Suppression of the Indian riot by the Englishmen’ (1884), from the point of view of the execution depicted in it (the so-called ‘devil wind’); the accent was made on the historical situation in India during the first and the second trips of the artist. *The senior research fellow of Cherepovets Museum Association A.A. Kozlov (Cherepovets)* in his report made a review of the least known paintings of V.V. Vereshchagin from his Indian trips, which are in the private collections, and the *Candidate of Historical Sciences, associate professor K.A. Demichev (Nizhny Novgorod)* considered the historical realia, which found their reflection in the famous artist’s painting ‘English execution in India’. *Candidate of Philology Sciences, associate professor S.S. Kasatkina (Cherepovets)* in her report paid attention to the specific embodiment of the images of the oriental cities in the creative work of V.V. Vereshchagin. *Candidate of Philology Sciences, associate professor A.E. Novikov (Cherepovets)* appealed to the analysis of the oriental images in the notes, memoirs and letters of V.V. Vereshchagin. *Doctor of Historical Sciences, associate professor M.K. Gogitidze (Tbilisi, Geor-*

gia) and the *senior specialist of Telavi Iakob Gogebashvili State University (Telavi, Georgia)* in the review of the life and activities of the artist, paid attention to ‘Georgian’ pages of his biography, having noted that V.V. Vereshchagin devoted a considerable amount of time to “acquaintance with the life of the Georgian and other Caucasian peoples”.

The reports of *professor V.I. Philipova, Art History PhD, associate professor S.N. Galukhina and student of Cherepovets State University D.N. Kalinina (Cherepovets)* were devoted to the peculiarities of the graphic mastery of V.V. Vereshchagin and the developing of the theme of the Orient in his creative activities and in the works of his contemporaries (V.D. Polentov and V.Y. Yakobi). The topic of Crimea, images of Chufit-Kale in the paintings of the artists of the 19th–early 20th century (K.F. Bogayevsky, V.K. Yanovsky, A.P. Mogilevsky and others) was reflected in the report of *Candidate of Historical Sciences, senior research scientist D.A. Prokhorov (Simferopol, Republic of Crimea)*.

At the section *'Russia and the Orient: cultural-religious and social-economic aspect of interrelation'* (section moderators: Candidate of Philology Sciences, associate professor E.M. Ivanova; Candidate of Philosophy Sciences, associate professor Y.L. Balyushina), nine reports were presented. *Candidate of Historical Sciences, associate professor N.V. Aleksyeva (Cherepovets)* considered in her report the question of influence of the Greek Church on the formation of the institution of spiritual eldership in the Russian Orthodox religion. *Candidate of Philology Sciences, associate professor E.M. Ivanova (Cherepovets)* considered the possibility of using ‘Central Asia texts’ of the Russian ‘travelling’ literature (firstly, the essays of V.V. Vereshchagin) in the process of teaching Russian as a foreign language. *Candidate of Philology Sciences, associate professor A.V. Sedov (Cherepovets)* noted that “L.N. Tolstoy is rightly the first Russian thinker who tried to understand the spiritual legacy of the Orient on a large scale and within multilateral context” and considered his ‘Calendar of Wisdom’ in the context of Chinese philosopher Laozi. *Candidate of Philology Sciences, associate professor E.N. Semykina and student of Belgorod State University Y.S. Kirichenko (Belgorod)* addressed the interpretation of the Indian motives in the creative work of K.D. Balmont. Samarkand impressions of the duchess P.S. Uvarova reflected in the essay “The trip to Tashkent and Samarkand” (1891) were considered in the report of *Candidate of Philology Sciences, associate professor R.G. Nazaryan (Samarkand, Republic of Uzbekistan)*, whereas *Candidate of Historical Sciences A.S. Vdovin and PhD student of Krasnoyarsk State Pedagogical University E.I. Kochkin (Krasnoyarsk)* in their report touched upon some aspects of Russian-Chinese scientific relations at the end of the 19th century. *PhD student of Cherepovets State University D.V. Golovanova (Cherepovets)* analysed the usage of the oriental theme on the pages of problem arithmetic books of the late third of the 19th–early 20th century). *Doctor of Economy Sciences, professor A.A. Bessolitsyn*

(*Moscow*) focused his attention on the peculiarities and problems in the development of export of domestically produced flour into the countries of the Orient at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries and early 21st century. *Candidate of Philosophy Sciences, associate professor Y.L. Balyushina (Cherepovets)* in her report paid attention to the social-philosophical aspect of usage of the elements of the oriental cultures in the everyday life of the modern provincial towns.

At the section '*Eurasianism as a phenomenon of social-humanitarian thought*' (section moderator: Doctor of Historical Sciences, senior research scientist E.G. Zadorozhnyuk), five reports were presented. *Candidate of Philosophy Sciences, associate professor O.V. Kozlova (Cherepovets)* in her report correlated the ideas of Eurasianism with the modern social-political situation in the world. *Candidate of Philosophy Sciences, associate professor L.E. Loiko (Minsk, Republic of Belarus)* pointed out the important role that V.V. Vereshchagin played in the creation of the integrated image of the Eurasian culture into the Russian public conscience of the 19th century: he was among the first cultural professionals thinking through the growing meaning of spiritual connections of the Russians with India; his interest to the topic of integral perception of the Eurasian culture was also connected (in the presenter's opinion) with the artist's travelling to China, Philippines and Japan. *Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor A.N. Yegorov (Cherepovets)* turned to the polemics with the Eurasians centred around the circles of Russian emigration of 1920-30s on the pages of the journal 'Contemporary notes'. *Doctor of Philosophy Sciences, professor I.N. Tyapin (Vologda)* considered in his report the interrelation of geopolitical formation of Eurasianism and political ethics of the Russian idea in the context of history and modern times, whereas *Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor B.V. Petelin (Cherepovets)* referred to the analysis of geopolitical realia of modern Russia, among which the Eurasian factor has a significant meaning.

At the section '*Oriental vector of Russian geopolitics and history: past, present and future*' (section moderator: Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor D.V. Aronov), four reports were presented. *Candidate of Historical Sciences, associate professor O.V. Nesterova (Michurinsk, Tambov region)* considered the doctrine of 'open door policy' in China suggested by the USA in 1899 and the position of the Russian diplomacy towards it. *PhD student of Cherepovets State University A.S. Borzykh (Cherepovets)*, using the memoirs of V.V. Vereshchagin and other eyewitnesses (V.I. Nemirovish-Danchenko, N.V. Maksimov), tries to recreate a more complete and precise picture of life and work of sisters of mercy during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. *Candidate of Historical Sciences, associate professor D.V. Shchukin (Yel'ts)* analysed the main aspects of oriental trend in the political practice of the Party of People's Freedom and its faction during the III State Duma of Russia in early 20th century, whereas *Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor D.V. Aronov (Orel)* refers

to the understanding of problematics of the Slavonic unity in the external political position of cadets in the context of Bosnian crisis of 1908-09.

On the second day of the conference, 27 October, the work of four sections took place. The following sections continued their discussions *'Russia and the Orient: cultural-religious and social-economic aspect of interrelation'* and *'Oriental vector of Russian geopolitics and history: past, present and future'*, as well as another section was arranged – *'V.V. Vereshchagin. The identity of the artist in the context of the epoch'*.

At the section *'V.V. Vereshchagin. The identity of the artist in the context of the epoch'* (section moderator: Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor O.Y. Solodyankina), six reports were presented. *Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor O.Y. Solodyankina (Cherepovets)* in her report covered the paradox nature of the identity and creative activity of V.V. Vereshchagin. *Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor V.A. Koshelev (Veliky Novgorod)* considered the inter-relations of two great contemporaries – V.V. Vereshchagin and I.S. Turgenev – through the prism of their mutual estimations. The peculiarities of the activity of V.V. Vereshchagin in his counteraction towards war through the artistic depiction of violent realia of the war time reflected in his works, were covered in the reports of *professor, member of Union of Artists of Russia V.I. Philippova (Cherepovets)* and *Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences, associate professor V.A. Androshchuk (Cherepovets)*. *Doctor of Philosophy Sciences, professor A.I. Loiko (Minsk, Republic of Belarus)* in his report pointed at the role of V.V. Vereshchagin in the accomplishment of the mission of intercultural dialogue by the creative art. *Senior specialist of Cherepovets Museum Association, honoured cultural worker of the Russian Federation E.P. Rimmer (Cherepovets)* considered the peculiarities of the identity and fate of V.V. Vereshchagin-the elder (the artist's father), making a significant influence on the formation of the personality of V.V. Vereshchagin-the younger – the future artist).

On 27 October, the section *'Russia and the Orient: cultural-religious and social-economic aspect of interrelation'* continued its work (under the guidance of Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor R.S. Kolokolchikova). On the second day of work, 12 reports were presented. *Doctor of Psychology Sciences, associate professor, senior research scientist M.R. Arpentyeva (Kaluga)* compared the indigenous and transcultural psychometrics of spiritual development applied in the East and West. *Candidate of Political Sciences, associate professor V.A. Matvienko (Yelets, Lipetsk region)* considered some aspects of all-faith interactions of Russian and the Orient. *Head of Memorial House-Museum of the Vereshchagin's L.Kh. Malikova (Cherepovets)* told about the specifics of economic ties of Russia and the Caucasus in early 20th century, which were formed at times in a rather peculiar way, sometimes acquiring semi-detective nature, to which the story of kefir appearance in Central Russia testifies, for example, per the presenter. *Doctor of Historical Sciences, pro-*

fessor R.S. Kolokolchikova (Cherepovets) noted that labour migrations (including from the east of the country) in the 1970s–early 1980s found their reflection in the ethnic structure of the population in Cherepovets. The report of *Candidate of Biology Sciences, associate professor N.Y. Poddubnaya (Cherepovets)* was devoted to the activity of N.P. Kolomiytsev in the research of the ornithofauna of Central Asia and the Far East. *Candidate of Philology Sciences E.V. Shalashov* considered the specifics of using the oriental motives in the literary works of A.A. Kondratyev. *PhD student of Department of Russian Studies BUFS Liu Wenjia (Beijing, PRC)* in her report presented the review of translations of the literary works of N. Rubtsov in Chinese and the research of the creative work of the poet in China; and *PhD student of Bashkir State University G.A. Ibragimova (Ufa, Republic of Bashkortostan)* told about the development of Buddhism in the sociocultural space of contemporary Russia. *Doctor of Philology Sciences, professor L.E. Bezhenary (Iasi, Romania)* in her report addressed the understanding of the traditions of a family, dynasties and motherhood in the oriental (Azerbaijan) culture. The report of *PhD candidate of SISU Yao Chunhui (Shanghai, People's Republic of China)* contained information about the tutorial ‘Outstanding leaders of the Western culture: which names are worth mentioning in China’, which created quite an unusual range of information for a European, and which gives a chance to look at the Western culture (where Russia belongs) through the eyes of a Chinese. *The judge of the Moscow District Court N.A. Burdanova (Saint-Petersburg)* considered the peculiarities of gaining the legal status of parents’ rights in Russia in the context of various cultural connections of its peoples. *Candidate of Historical Sciences, research scientist of the RAS Siberian branch A.A. Suleimanov (Yakutsk, the Republic of Sakha)* in his report presented information on the mutual Russian-Japanese research conducted on the territory of Yakutia at the end of the 20th century–early 21st century, which allowed to fill in a whole range of previously existing research lacunas, prepare more tenable hypotheses regarding climate changes, and on the whole to broaden the scientific beliefs on the evolution of climatic processes on the Earth.

At the section '*Oriental vector of Russian geopolitics and history: past, present and future*' that continued its work on 28 October (section moderator: Doctor of Political Sciences, professor E.A. Markov), four reports were presented. *Doctor of Political Sciences, professor E.A. Markov (Cherepovets)* considered the problems in the relations of Russia and Slavonic countries in the context of their interaction with the East and the West. *Candidate of Historical Sciences, senior lecturer D.V. Tumakov (Yaroslavl)* presented the review of the events of the First Chechen War of 1994–96. *Candidate of Historical Sciences, senior research scientist of the Far-Eastern Division of the Russian Academy of Science V.A. Gaikin (Vladivostok)* in his report compared two Eurasian projects: the project ‘Tumangan’ favoured by the United Nations and related to the creation of the Eurasian Land Bridge bypassing Russia, and

the concept of Eurasian Union put forward by Russia, almost simultaneously (in early 1990s). *Candidate of Historical Sciences, senior research scientist of Iran sector, the Middle East Research Centre, RAN Institute of Oriental Studies L.M. Ravandi-Fadai (Moscow)* in her report considered the various aspects of modern Russian-Iranian relations.

At the concluding plenary session, the results of the first part of the conference were summed up. It was noted that the presentations of the participants were accompanied by fruitful discussions and live disputes of the reports. At the conference, various theoretical-methodology approaches were piloted and endorsed, which appeared in the existing socio-humanistic scientific tradition when reflecting upon the issues of the interaction of cultures, studying cultures of the Orient countries, the ideas of the artistic legacy of V.V. Vereshchagin, the role of the Orient in his biography and artistic activity, ideas related to the Eurasian component of the domestic philosophical and social and political policy. New approaches regarding solution of the issues related to the interaction of Russian and the Orient have been suggested, as well as those in the development of the dialogue of cultures.

The second part of the conference included master-classes for the students of Cherepovets State University *on the topic 'Traditional culture of the Orient and artistic activity' by the leading designer of Fab Lab company (Milan, Italy – Moscow, Russia) D.I. Solovyova*, which took place during the period of 14–25 November.

On 22 November, a round-table discussion was held on the topic *'Influence of historical-philosophical ideas of the Orient on the modern artistic activity'*, during which the questions of influence of different philosophical traditions of the Orient were discussed (Vedism, Confucianism, Legalism and others) on the development of the modern public philosophical ideas and the artistic tradition. The oriental ideas, motives and images take even more significant space in the contemporary culture, and the historical-philosophical ideas related to it require deeper and multilateral understanding.

Thus, more than 50 researchers participated in the work of the conference – among them there were research scientists, museum employees, Higher Education staff, PhD students, master's degree students and undergraduates – from different cities of Russia and from abroad (China, Romania, United Kingdom, Uzbekistan, Italy, India, Georgia and Belarus). Based on the results of the conference, the collection of articles was prepared and published.

A. Novikov

GUIDE FOR AUTHORS

MANUSCRIPT STRUCTURE AND STYLE REQUIREMENTS

1. General requirements to the contents of articles

1.1 Articles presenting results of original scientific research are accepted for publication in the journal, as well as reviews, scientific reports and bibliographical reviews on the latest Russian and international studies in history and political science.

1.2 The journal publishes only original research papers not previously published elsewhere and not containing any incorrect or excessive citation.

1.3 Submitted articles should correspond to the subject matter of the journal in the following key areas:

- History
- Political Science

1.4 Submitted materials should be characterized by academic novelty and integrity. This presupposes that an article contains a historiographical overview.

- Per international standards of publication, a reference list should include no less than 20 sources, where international editions amount to one third of the total number of publications.

- Most of the references should be from Scopus, Web of Science, with DOI and URL.

- Excessive self-citation should be avoided (references to the author's works should not exceed 10 % of overall number of references).

1.5 Manuscripts, which do not correspond to the subject matter of the journal or do not meet the style requirements, will not be considered for publication.

2. General style requirements

2.1 Manuscripts should be in the format of .doc (Word 1997-2002) or .docx.

2.2 The recommended volume of an article is one publication base sheet (40 000 characters with spaces).

2.3 Page parameters: 210 x 297 mm (A4 format), portrait orientation. Page margin: all 20 mm. Normal font, TimesNewRoman. Font size: 12 point in the main text, 10 point in footnotes. Line spacing: one and a half. The text should be without automatic hyphenation at the end of the line. The title of the article: bold font, center aligned. Page numeration: right bottom.

2.4 The text of the manuscript should be in a single file. Provisionally, the manuscript is divided into two parts: the first one contains UDC, information about the author, an abstract, key words, the text of the article and a list of references; the second one should be entirely in English and includes information about the author, an abstract (not mandatory), key words (not mandatory), a list of references.

3. Composition and presentation rules for the section in the Russian language

3.1. Information about the author of the article: last name, first name and patronymic (if applicable) of the author in full, degree/s (if any), title (if any), position, affiliation (name of the organization, place of work/study (in full), city, country, author's contact details: telephone number and email address.

3.2. UDC and the title of the article.

3.3. An abstract of **400-600 characters**, which must be informative and informative (it should briefly reflect the content of the article as close as possible, as well as its structure and conclusions).

3.4. Key words (8–10).

3.5. The text of the article. The article should have the following structural elements:

- a) Introduction;
- b) Main body;
- c) Conclusion.

3.6. List of references.

4. Rules on graphic presentation data

4.1. Drawings, tables, diagrams, charts, etc. are to be numbered, the sources are to be provided and printed within the margins of the page.

4.2. All highlights in the text of the article must be only in italics (not in bold or underlined).

4.3. Depending on the complexity of graphic materials, the Editorial Board retains the right to remove them from the text.

5. References in the text and in footnotes

All footnotes are given per page in 10-point size. (*Author*. Title. Place of publication (without publisher's name), year of publication. Pages) at the bottom of each page.

When referring to an electronic resource, a full and accurate link to the Internet resource and the date of retrieval are to be added at the end of the footnote.

In case the source is an archive document, the name of an archive in full without abbreviation is to be given first followed by an abbreviation in brackets. Fund. Series. Record. Sheet. When referring to documents from the same archive, only abbreviation is used for its name.

Examples:

Glebov S. Evraziistvo mezhdru imperiei i modernom. Istoriia v dokumentakh [Eurasianism between Empire and Art Nouveau]. M., 2009. P. 27.

Starostina T. Posleblokadnyi tranzit. Dnevnik [Transit after the blockade. Diary] // Sever. 2005. No. 5–6. Pp. 127–133.

Lazarev G. Frantsuzy ukhodiut iz Mali [The French leave Mali] // *Gazeta.ru*. 06.02.2013. URL: http://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2013/02/06_a_4954773.shtml (retrieved: 22.02.2014).

The State Archive of Vologda region (SAVR). F. 366. S. 1. R. 1188. L.3. (when referred for the first time)

SAVR. F. 3105. S. 1. R. 3. L. 1 verso. (when referred for the second time)

Vysochaishe utverzhdennoe Polozhenie o gubernskikh i uezdnykh zemskikh uchrezhdeniiakh ot 1 ianvaria 1864 g. [Statute on governorate and district institutions approved by the Imperial, dated 1 January 1864] // *PSZ*. S. 2. Dep. 1 V. XXXIX. St.-P., 1867. N 40457. Pp. 18–20.

Stocking M.K. (ed.) *The Journals of Claire Clairmont. 1814–1827.* Cambridge, 1968. P. 325.

Boisbouvier Ch. Mali : le retour de la Françafrique? // *RFI.fr*. 23.07.2013. URL: <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20130722-mali-presidentielle-francafrique-hollande-fabius-traore-tiebile-drame> (retrieved: 26.02.2014).

6. Rules for arranging the list of references

6.1. The list is to be numbered in alphabetical order.

6.2. The list is to include only scientific works.

6.3. **All references to sources should be given as footnotes and not included in the list of references at the end.**

6.4. **Monographs** should be presented as follows:

- *Last name, first name and patronymic (if applicable) of the author/s;*
- Title of the book;
- Information about the book in the following order: place of publication, publishing house, year of publication. Pages.

Examples:

Potemkina M.N. Evakuatsiia v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny: liudi i sud'by [Evacuation in the years of the Great Patriotic War]. Magnitogorsk: MaGU, 2002. 264 p.

Cross A.G. 'By the banks of the Neva': chapters from the lives and careers of the British in 18th – century Russia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 474 p.

6.5. **Dissertations and published summaries of dissertations:**

Arslanova Ch.R. Evakuirovannoe i deportirovannoe v Bashkirskuiu ASSR naselenie v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny (1941–1945) [Population evacuated and deported to Bashkirskaya ASSR in the years of the Great Patriotic War]: published summary of dissertation. Ufa, 2006. 25 p.

Iskhakova G.R. Sotsial'naiia politika Sovetskogo gosudarstva v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny (na materialakh Bashkortostana) [Social policy of the Soviet State in the years of the Great Patriotic War]: PhD dissertation. Ufa, 2002. 147 p.

6.6. **Articles in journals / collections of articles** are to be presented as follows:

- Last name, first name and patronymic (if applicable) of the author/s;
- Title of the article // Title of the collection of articles/journal;
- Publisher's imprint in the following order: Year of publication. Number. Pages. DOI index (if available)

Examples:

Kumanev G.A. Voina i evakuatsiia v SSSR. 1941–1942 gody [The war and evacuation in the USSR in 1941-1942] // *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia*. 2006. No. 6. Pp. 7–27.

Solodyankina O. Y. European widows as governesses in the 18th – and 19th-century Russia // *Women's History Magazine*. 2010. Issue. 63. Pp. 19–26.

6.7. **References to electronic resources** are to be provided in a similar manner, as in the previous sections, but at the very end of the reference the exact link to the internet resource and the retrieval date are to be added.

Example:

Stansfield G. Iraqi Kurdistan: political development and emergent democracy. Taylor & Francis e-library, 2003. URL: https://www.academia.edu/3271178/Iraqi_Kurdistan_Political_development_and_emergent_democracy (retrieved: 04.10. 2014).

6.8. When reference is made to an electronic publication (articles or monographs), the full name of the site is to be provided.

7. Composition and presentation rules for the section in the English language

7.1. Information about the author of the article:

- Last name, first name and patronymic (if applicable) in full, transliteration (for automatic transliteration we recommend using the site <http://translit.net/>; **it is essential to select LC standard** in the main menu of the site, in the 'Options...' section), degree (if applicable), title (if applicable), position, author's email address;
- Affiliation (name of the organization, place of work/study in full (full official name of the organization in English, post code, country, city, street (in transliteration), building).

7.2. The title of the article – English translation.

7.3. Not mandatory: Abstract in English, **between 400-600 characters in volume** (must be written using commonly used terms and expressions in the field, must constitute an independent text, be informative and rich in contents, as far as possible reflecting the contents, structure and conclusions of the article).

7.4. Not mandatory: key words in English (8–10 words or word combinations).

7.5. References.

8. Presentation rules for 'References' section

8.1. The structure of references to publications is to be totally identical to the list of references in Russian.

8.2. In the 'References' section, as in the list of used literature, only scientific articles and monographs are to be included.

8.3. All references to sources are to be given as footnotes.

8.4. **Monographs** are to be presented as follows:

- Last name, first name, patronymic (if applicable) – transliteration (for Russian authors), **LC standard**;

- *Title of the book in italics* – transliteration, **LC standard**, if the book is published in Cyrillic characters, followed by the English translation of the title in square brackets;

- Year of publication;

- Information about the publication as follows: location of publishing house, name of the publishing house;

- Pages,

- if the book is in Russian, add (In Russian) at the end.

Examples:

Ter-Minasova S.G. *Rossiia i Zapad: dialog kul'tur* [Russia and West countries: dialogue of cultures]. Moscow: Tsentr po izucheniiu vzaimodeistviia kul'tur, 2000. 320 p. (In Russian)

Bevir M., Rhodes R.A.W. *Interpreting British governance*. London: Routledge, 2003. 150 p.

8.5. Articles **in journals** are to be presented as follows:

- Last name, first name, patronymic (if applicable) of the author/s – transliteration (for Russian authors) **LC standard**;

- Title of the article – transliteration, **LC standard**, if the article is written in Cyrillic characters, followed by the English translation of the title, in square brackets;

- Information about the publication as follows: *Name of the journal (in italics)* – transliteration, **LC standard**, year of publication, number, pages, DOI index (if available);

- if the article is in Russian, add '(In Russian)' at the end.

Examples:

Dunin A. *Guvernery v starinu v pomeschchich'ikh sem'iakh* [Tutors in landowner families in old times]. *Istoricheskii vestnik* [Historical Herald], 1909, vol. 117, July, pp. 185–194. (In Russian)

Cross A.G. An Anglo-Russian Medley: Semen Vorontsov's other son, Charles Cameron's daughter, Grand Duke Alexander Pavlovich's English playmate and not forgetting his English nurse. *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1992, vol.70, no. 44, pp. 708–721.

Cross A. English – A Serious Challenge to French in the Reign of Alexander I? The Russian Review, 2015, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 57–68. DOI: 10.1111/russ.10756

8.6. Articles **in collection of articles** are to be presented as follows:

- Last name, first name, patronymic (if applicable) – transliteration (for authors whose name is in Cyrillic characters), **LC standard**;
- Title of the article – transliteration, **LC standard**, if the article is written in Cyrillic characters, followed by the English translation of the title, in square brackets;
- Information about the publication of the collection of articles as follows: In last name, first name, patronymic (if applicable) of the editor – transliteration, **LC standard, (ed.)**. *Name of the collection of articles (in italics)* – transliteration, **LC standard**, followed by the English translation of the title (if written in Cyrillic characters), in square brackets; place of publishing: the name of the publishing house in transliteration, year of publication; pages, DOI index (if available);
- if the article is in Russian, add (In Russian) at the end.

Examples:

Chudinov A.V. Frantsuzskie guvernery v Rossii kontsa XVIII v.: stereotipy i real'nost [The French tutors in Russia at the end of the 18th century: stereotypes and reality]. Karp S.Ia., Mezin S.A. (eds.) *Evropeiskoe prosveshchenie i tsivilizatsiia Rossii* [European Enlightenment and civilization of Russia]. Moscow: Nauka, 2004, pp. 330–334. (In Russian)

Solodyankina O.Yu. Personal transfer of the message and undesirable acquaintance to the addressee: reputation of the governess. Stogova A.V. (ed.) *Incidents and Failures in European epistolary culture*. Moscow: IVI RAN, 2016, pp. 125–154.

8.7. **Links to electronic resources** are to be provided similar to the previous sections, but at the very end of the entry the exact link to the internet resource and the retrieval date is to be added.

Examples:

Dabla-Norris E., Minoiu C., Zanna L.-F. 2010. *Business cycle fluctuations, large shocks, and development aid new evidence*. [Washington D.C.], International Monetary Fund. URL: <http://site.ebrari.com/id/10437418> (accessed: 20.06.2014).

Frot E. 2009 *Aid and the financial crisis: Shall we expect development aid to fall?* Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics, Stockholm School of Economics. URL: http://papers.ssrn.com/so13/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1402788 (accessed: 28.05.2013).

