

**HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF ACADEMIC ORIENTALISM IN
RUSSIA**

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ABSTRACT

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The objective of this thesis is to examine the history of Oriental studies in Russia from the beginning of the first Russian interaction with Oriental societies to the end of the 19th century. In particular, the thesis attempts to explain under what conditions Russia had started conducting research on the language, history, geography and culture of the East and how Russian Oriental studies evolved from the practical aims to the academic goals. The central hypothesis of this thesis is that there is a close relationship between Russian Oriental studies and Russia's expansion to the East. Therefore, this thesis is an attempt to understand effects of Russian diplomatic, religious, military and of course academic goals on the Oriental studies.

Keywords: Oriental Studies, The Asian Museum, St. Petersburg University, Kazan University, Moscow University, Faculty of Oriental Language

ÖZ

RUSYA'DA AKADEMİK ORYANTALİZMİN TARİHSEL KÖKENLERİ

Mustafa Özbaş

Yüksek Lisans., Avrasya Çalışmaları

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Bu tezin amacı Rusya'da şarkiyat çalışmalarının tarihini Rusların Doğulu topluluklarla ilk ilişkilerinden 19. yüzyılın sonuna kadar incelemektir. Tez özellikle hangi şartlarda Rusya'da Doğu'nun dili, tarihi, coğrafyası ve kültürü üzerine araştırmaların yapıldığını ve Rus Şarkiyat çalışmalarının pratik amaçlardan akademik hedeflere doğru nasıl geliştiğini anlatmaya çalışacaktır. Bu tezin temel aldığı varsayım Rus Şarkiyat çalışmalarıyla Rusya'nın Doğu'ya yayılması arasında yakın bir ilişkinin olduğudur. Bu nedenle tez Rus diplomatik, dini, askeri ve elbette akademik amaçların Şarkiyatçılık çalışmalarına olan etkilerini anlamaya çalışmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Şarkiyat Çalışmaları, Asya Müzesi, St. Petersburg Üniversitesi, Kazan Üniversitesi, Moskova Üniversitesi, Doğu Dilleri Fakültesi

To My Grandfather Küçük İbrahim...

Dedem Küçük İbrahim'e...

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sincerity is the belief that we are telling the truth. However, who can be sure of that?

Meşa Selimoviç¹

Russia is not only in Europe, but also in Asia; because the Russian is not only a European, but also an Asiatic. Not only that: in our coming destiny, perhaps it is precisely Asia that represents our main way out...

Dostoevsky²

The well-known Russian Orientalist Vasili Vladimirovich Bartold writes in his book *Istoriya Izucheniya Vostoka v Yevrope i Rossii*³ dated 1911 how the European perception of the history of East changed over time and that there was no effort on how to conduct scientific research on the East by means of the same methods used in Western history studies.⁴ Over the 'universality of history' Bartold argues that this only implies the history of Western societies and not the history of Eastern societies even in the 19th century:

¹ Meşa Selimoviç. *Derviş Ve Ölüm*. İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 1988, p. 14.

² F. M. Dostoyevsky. *Polnoye Sobraniye Sochinyeniy*. Cankt-Peterburg: 1896. vol. 21: 513–523.

³ The title of his work in English can be translated as "History of the Study of East in Europe and Russia".

⁴ Vasiliy Vladimirovich Bartold. *Sochineniya*. Tom IX: Raboty Po Istorii Vostokovedeniya. Izdatelstvo "Nauka" Glavnaya Redaktsiya Vostochnoy Literatury. Moskva: 1977 p. 206.

"Understanding the history of East has become difficult due to lack of information and biased attitudes of the European scholars. The Europeans, under the influence of the rising superiority of the European civilization since the 17th century, looked down upon the people of the East."⁵

These claims sound as if they were stated after the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*⁶, which was written more than 70 years later. However, Bartold seems to be aware of both the East itself and the East as perceived as 'the Other' by the West. Although Bartold argues that this perception and attitude of the West goes as back as 17th century, it is especially the 18th and 19th centuries when the Europeans view themselves as superior.⁷

While Bartold has been accepted as one of the cornerstones in oriental studies, there is need for finding a different term to express Orientalism. Such a need is due to the numerous negative meanings that have been connotated with the term 'Orientalism' over time.

About 50 years ago, the academic disciplines that studied the East or the Eastern societies were called in general as 'Orientalism' and the people working in these fields were called 'Orientalists'. However, in order to become an 'Orientalist' that individual needed to be able to read various works in their original language, conduct comparative studies, and analyze

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁶ Edward Said. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon, 1978.

⁷ Ortaylı, İlber. "Joseph Hammer Ve Osmanlı Tarihçiliği." *Gelenekten Geleceğe*. İstanbul: Ufuk Kitapları, 2005, p. 31.

very well the history, cultures and societies of the East. Therefore, the 'Orientalist' as a title was not easy to obtain and was a source of pride. However, in the mid 20th century, after the end of World War II, research over Eastern societies by Western scholars brought with it micro-level studies rather than macro-level and the broad meaning of 'Orientalism' was narrowed down. Oriental studies were divided into various sub-fields such as Central Asia, Middle East, Near East, China, Korea, Japan and took such names as Central Asian Studies and Middle East studies. As a result, this development which brought Orientalism or oriental studies into debate, have taken solely negative meanings as also argued by Edward Said in Orientalism. Said, relating Orientalist information to imperialist economic and political powers, depicts Orientalism as an instrument of exploitation used by the Western imperialism:

"The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European material civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles."⁸

As Said has also included the academicians in his definition of Orientalism, this has attracted serious opposition and criticism from the Orientalist academicians claiming 'scientific objectivity'.⁹ Therefore such a

⁸ Said, *op. cit.*, in note 6, pp. 1-2.

⁹ Yücel Bulut. *Oryantalizmin Eleştirel Kısa Tarihi*. İstanbul: Yöneliş Yay., 2002, p.15.

reaction had also an impact on the terms 'Orientalism' and 'Orientalist'. That is why, at the 29th International Congress of Orientalists, it is no surprise that a decision was taken not to use the term any more and even change the name of the congress. .¹⁰

John MacKenzie, criticizing the negative meaning of orientalism after Edward Said, argues:

"The word (Orientalism) originally had a wholly sympathetic ring: the study of languages, literature, religions, thought, arts and social life of the East in order to make them available to the West, even in order to protect them from occidental cultural arrogance in the age of imperialism. For Edward Said, in his highly influential book *Orientalism* of 1978, far from protecting oriental cultures from overwhelming imperial power, far from permitting eastern cultural forms to survive, Orientalist studies became themselves an expression of intellectual and technical dominance and a means to the extension of political, military and economic supremacy. Orientalism came to represent a construct, not a reality, an emblem of domination and a weapon of power. It lost its status as a sympathetic concept, a product of scholarly admiration for diverse and exotic cultures, and became the literary means of creating a stereotypical and mythic East through which European rule could be more readily asserted."¹¹

It is also important that Turkish terms "Şarkiyatçılık" or "Müsteşrik or Şarkiyatçı" very well correspond to Russian "Vostokovedenie" and "Vostokoved" without carrying any of the negative connotations associated with "Orientalism" and "Orientalist". In Russian, Orientalism and Orientalist are also referred as "Orientalistika" and "Orientalist"¹² and the scholars

¹⁰ Bernard Lewis. "The Question of Orientalism." *New York Review of Books* 29, no. 11 (1982), p. 50.

¹¹ MacKenzie, David and Curran Michael W. *A History of Russia, the Soviet Union, and Beyond*. Stamford: Wadsworth, 2002, p. xii.

¹² *Slovar Inostrannykh Sloz*. Moskva: Russkiy Yazyk, 1980, p. 359.

working on the East were named as "Vostokoved". By this way in the Russian academia calling someone as "Vostokoved" does not necessarily mean that this scholar is Orientalist in the negative meaning of the term as it has been in the Western scholarship.

It is not the aim of this thesis to study the oriental studies in Russia or Russian relations with the East as put forth by Edward Said. When Said's work is analysed, it can be seen that there are a few references to Russia. However, to a certain extent Said has considered Russia in the same way as French or British scholarship did.¹³ However, Said also mentions that Russian imperialism is different than French or British:

"Russia, however, acquired its imperial territories almost exclusively by adjacency. Unlike Britain or France, which jumped thousands of miles beyond their own borders to other continents, Russia moved to swallow whatever land or peoples stood next to its borders, which in the process kept moving farther and farther east and south."¹⁴

One may contend that it is doubtful to claim that Russian imperialism is different than the Western due solely to this was in its close proximity. Adeb Khalid underlines nevertheless that these exclusions are important for Said as they strengthen his arguments. So, it seems Said is also aware that the way Orientalism has developed in Russia is different than that of in Western Europe. However, it is obvious that there are many evidences in

¹³ Said, *op. cit.*, in note 6, p.1.

¹⁴ <http://www.zmag.org/ZMag/articles/barsaid.htm>

Russian history both to support and weaken these arguments.¹⁵ Of course, in Russia oriental studies first came about for practical reasons in order to learn the languages of societies, which Russians were trading or fighting with. With the beginning of the 15th century these were coupled with the efforts to convert the Muslim population in the newly conquered lands into Christianity. The reasons for these initial studies stemmed from practical needs. However, these studies formed the basis of academic level oriental studies. Particular interest in the East with practical requirements took on a more formal established form during the reign of Peter. However, the academic intentions at the time did not fully replace the practical ones. It can be argued that the practical concerns were included within an academic framework. The people who were educated at oriental institutions later worked in state institutions and sent to missions in the East. Therefore, there is direct relation between power and knowledge in Russian oriental studies. However, the topic that I will discuss here is that oriental studies in Russia were fostered through various channels and it is not possible to talk about only a certain type of oriental studies or of Orientalist scholars.

This thesis contends that orientalism in Russia in practical sense started as a result of the needs of Russian merchants, military, diplomacy

¹⁵ See Adeeb Khalid. "Russian History and the Debate Over Orientalism." *Kritika* New Series - 1, no. 4 (2000): 691-99 and Maria Todorova. "Does Russian Orientalism Have a Russian Soul? A Contribution to the Debate Between Nathaniel Knight and Adeeb Khalid." *Kritika* New Series - 1, no. 4 (2000): 717-27.

and clergy. Therefore, the types of oriental studies emerged out of these historical needs in Russia are as follows:

- a) Commercial
- b) Military
- c) Diplomatic
- d) Religious

First of all, the need for commercial activities in the development of Russian princedoms they were in need of communicating with other societies. Since all the commercial activities were related closely with the dominance of the river routes and commercial centers the Russian princedoms fought with the "enemies" in these areas. Moreover, the acceptance of Orthodox Christianity by the effects of Byzantine and the expansion of the Russian state in the steppes produced another understanding among the Russians about the Eastern peoples and caused to arise the distinction between the Christian and non-Christian populations. It is clear that Christianization process of non-Christian populations started together with the expansion of the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Russia's orient. All these different historical needs gave birth to the idea of the "self" and the "other" which were only an "enmity" before Peter the Great and his efforts on modernizing his country. Therefore, that is why it is possible to talk about commercial, military, diplomatic and religious Orientalists or oriental studies even in the 18th century when the basic and necessary academic institutions founded. However, in the period between the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century these oriental

studies took an academic form together with the start and consolidation of the modernization process in Russia. The histories, languages and cultures of Eastern societies started to be examined in particular Orientalist/academic institution, but it was also not abnormal to come across diplomat orientalists or military orientalists in earlier periods. This is due to the fact that with the conquests there occurred a need for translators and this need was met through opening various kinds of schools teaching eastern languages. From time to time there was also a practise to find civil servants outside their spheres, for instance this can be seen in the function of the Lazarev Institute.

In this thesis, I examined different variations of oriental studies until the end of the 19th century. As a result, despite different opinions on the periodization of Russian oriental studies, in general the period before the Kievan Russia until the end of 17th century is named as oriental studies with a practical cause, the period of Peter the Great is named as oriental studies with an academic cause.¹⁶ While these periods may not coincide with the orthodox historical Russian periodization, they serve well to the study of Orientalism. At the same time this periodization does not exclude one another as academic oriental studies also have a practical role of training

¹⁶ For a sample periodization in Russian oriental studies before the October Revolution see G. F. Kim & P. M. Shastitko. *Istoriya Otechestvennogo Vostokovedeniya Do Serediny XIX Veka*. Moskva: Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1990, p. 7.

civil servants for state institutions. By the end of the 17th century, practical needs were fulfilled within institutional frameworks.

As a result, this thesis will try to find answers to the following questions: What were different channels fostering Russian oriental studies? Under what conditions Russia had started conducting research on the language, history, geography and culture of the East? What are the effects of the other societies, which the Russians fought or traded with over the Russian oriental studies? It is clear that such a study can be undertaken by only utilising Russian sources. However, as Svetlana Krillina puts it:

“... for many Western scholars, work done by Russian orientalist remains nearly a terra incognita, due primarily to the language barrier.”¹⁷

It is true that while there are a considerable variety of books in French and German over Russian oriental studies, this is not very common in English. Therefore, in order to undertake this research I aimed to reach and utilize as many Russian sources as I could. Since conducting research by means of Russian sources requires an extensive amount of time, I chose to limit the scope of this thesis as the period until the end of the 19th century with a focus on the nature of the oriental studies in Russia and their relation to Russia’s foreign affairs and therefore did not include the Soviet period.

¹⁷ Svetlana Kirillina. "Russian Historiographical Tradition in Oriental Studies: the Arab Periphery of the Ottoman Empire." *EJOS* II, no. 1 (1999): 1-13, p. 1.

CHAPTER 2

RUSSIA'S INTERACTION WITH THE EAST: COMMERCIAL AND MILITARY ORIENTALISM

2.1 Early Relations with Eastern Peoples

Eastern Slavic tribes which are known to be the ancestors of today's Russians –such as Poliane, Severiane, Viatichi, Radimichi, Dragovich, Ilmen and Krivichi- were settled on the west of today's Russia and around the river banks of Dnepr, Pripyat, Bug and Volkhov in Ukraine.¹⁸ These tribes who made their living by food gathering, fishing, trade and agriculture moved towards the east and the south and resettled around the rivers of Volga (Edil), Kama and Oka due to the Varenagian migration from the north and the erosion of agricultural lands. Before the Varenagian expansion, these settlement areas were known to be inhabited by Turkified locals such as Khazars, Finno-Ugric, Bulgars, Bashkorts, Chuvashes as well as other nomadic groups along the Volga. Steppes of the Lower Volga, Don and Dnepr rivers were occupied not only by Turkic speaking tribes but also

¹⁸ For origins of Russians, see George Vernadsky. *The Origins of Russia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.; Marija Gimbutas. *The Slavs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.; Omeljan Pritsak. "The Origin of Rus." *Russian Review* (1977): 249-73.

sedentary Persians left from Scythians and Sarmatians. The rivalry between the Varengians and the Khazars over trade with the Slavs, Persians and Arabs via the rivers of Don and Volga marked the 9th and 10th centuries. While the Khazars had boats for river trade, they did not possess any ships that would transport their goods to Istanbul through the Black Sea. Moreover, the Varengians had trade fleets that had put them superior in sea-commerce. Hence, these two factors were to the detriment of Khazar trade.¹⁹ However, the Khazar influence over the Slavic tribes before the Kievan Russia and indirectly over the political, social and cultural spheres of Kievan Russia is considerably high. One evidence to this is that the first Russian "kagan" has been announced in history before a Russian prince.²⁰ The well-known Russian Orientalist Bartold argues that the military campaigns of Russia against the Khazars strengthened the idea of a "state" in the 10th century Russia.²¹ It is also argued that numerous place names come from Khazar, which is a dialect of Turkish. An example for this, although perhaps an exaggerated one, is that J. Brutzkus argues that Sambat comes from the words *sam* (meaning high, upper or mother) and *bat* (meaning powerful); and within this framework, corresponding to Vyshgorod, meaning *high fortress*. Similarly, he argues that Kiev, a

¹⁹ Kaplan, Frederic I. "The Decline of the Khazars and the Rise of the Varangians." *American Slavic and East European Review* 13, no. 1 (1954): 1-10.

²⁰ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 357. The first ruler who used this title was the Kiev's first ruler Vladimir.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.359.

settlement by the seashore comes from the combination of the words *kıyı* (*küi*) and *ev*.²²

In the 10th century after the attack of the last Slavic group paying tribute to the Khazars to the capital of the Khazar Khanate under the rule of Prince Svyatoslav in the years 966-967; the Pechenegs acquired the control of the steppes of the Black Sea. Under the pressure of the Uighurs the Pechenegs had been moving towards Lake Aral and further to the west in the 8th century.²³ There were also the Cumans or Polovetsy who were expanding into these lands in the 11th century.²⁴

As a result, the rivalry of the Slavic tribes over the control of trade routes and the migration flow from the north had put the Slavic tribes into constant contact with the eastern peoples and cultures. This interaction had also resulted in the mixing of Eastern people with the Slavic tribes. This mixture and cultural interaction may help explain the similarities in both sides in their traditional norms, beliefs and social structures.²⁵ At the beginning of the 10th century upon the invitation of the ruler of Volga Bulgarians, Ilteber Almus to Ibn Fazlan to teach Islam to the Bulgarians;

²² J. Brutzkus. "The Khazar Origin of Ancient Kiev." *Slavonic and East European Review* 3, no. 1 (1944): 108-24.

²³ Richard Pipes. *Russia Under the Old Regime*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974 p.35.

²⁴ A. Zeki Velidi Togan. *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*. İstanbul: Enderun, 1981, p. 159.

²⁵ Galina M. Yemelianova. *Russia and Islam*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p. 2.

Fazlan had provided information about Russian clothes and dressing. However this information was not in line with that of Ibn Rusteh and Ibn Havkal.²⁶ This may be due to the fact that the Russians might have even changed their dressing culture within these societies. This text also provides evidence that the Russians had adopted numerous cultural rituals through cultural interactions. As Halperin argues, even animosities require the knowledge of the military, political, social and economic particularities of the enemy, which results in close interaction.²⁷ The Soviet Orientalist Smirnov had also stated in his book on the Studies on the History of Islam in Russia:

The desire to learn about the enemies made the Russian rulers to gather special information about Turks and Crimean Tatars, sending out envoys, investigating the European sources on the history of Turks and Tatars, state structures and religions.²⁸

Concerning this early period of Russian history, as the Russian literary tradition had not been established until the 12th century, most of the information on the Russians and other Turkic groups were recorded by Arab travellers. The earliest written record in Russia, Primary Chronicle²⁹, also known as the Tale of Bygone Years or Laurent Chronicle goes back to the

²⁶ Ibn Fazlan. "Ibn Fazlan Seyahatnamesi.", Ed. Ramazan Şeşen. İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1995, p. 69.

²⁷ Charles J. Halperin. *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, p.2.

²⁸ N. A. Smirnov. *Ocherki Istorii Izucheniya Islama v SSSR*. Moskva: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1954, p.17.

²⁹ Thomas Riha, Ed. *Readings in Russian Civilization*. 2nd ed., Vol. Russia Before Peter the Great, 900-1700. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1969, p. 7-9., and Serge A. Zenkovsky. *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974, p. 43-73.

12th century. It describes an account of Russian history between the years 852 and 1120 including the events mentioned above. Therefore this is the very first source indicating Russian views on the societies that they had come into contact with. It is mentioned in the chronicle that there were missionary envoys coming to Vladimir, the son of Svytoslav. There were Arab and Bulgarian missionaries coming from the upper Volga who were promoting Islam, the Khazars from the lower Volga promoting Judaism, and Byzantine missionaries promoting eastern Christianity. Vladimir gathers the council of seniors and sets up an envoy team of ten people to be sent to the lands of these religions in order to acquire further information. The first envoy is sent to the Bulgarians. By this way initial information on the Bulgarians and Islam is brought to Russian lands. According to this information the Bulgarians worship in a shameful way in temples they call mosque and there is no happiness among them but only sorrow and a terrible smell.³⁰

All these commercial relations and cultural and social interactions require the knowledge of languages or use translators. So, it might as well be possible that there was also someone with the language skills in Vladimir's envoy or there was a translator found in the Bulgarian lands. Frye argues that there may be some Russians serving this need, however states that Eastern merchants in Kiev, Vladimir and other places might have also

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

acted as translators.³¹ Bartold has also indicated that Russians might have examined the Eastern languages for practical causes on some occasions.³²

In the 10th century, the conversion of Volga Bulgarians into Islam and the Abbasid support compelled the pagan Russians to seek alliances against both Volga Bulgarians and Jewish Khazar State. Yemelianova underlines this factor and argues that with the conversion of Vladimir into Orthodox Christianity Kievan Russia would guarantee the support of Byzantine.³³

After the conversion of Russians into Orthodox Christianity travels for the purpose of pilgrimage, known as *Hozhdeniya* had started.³⁴ So, interests based on commercial and geographical factors were directed towards the Holy Lands under the influence of religion. These journeys to the East in general and Middle East in particular by sea route from Istanbul make up the first Russian journeys to be found in Russian records.³⁵ These travelers of pilgrimage were called *Palomniks* due to the palm tree leaves they

³¹ Frye, Richard N. "Oriental Studies in Russia." *Russia and Asia: Essays on the Influence of Russia on the Asian Peoples*. Ed. Wayne S. Vucinich, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972, p. 31.

³² Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 363.

³³ Yemelianova, *op. cit.*, in note 25, p. 8.

³⁴ B. M Dantsig. *Blizhniy Vostok Ve Russkoy Nauke i Literature (Dooktyabrskiy Period)*. Moskva: Glavnaya Redaktsiya Vostochnoy Literatury, 1973, pp. 6-10.

³⁵ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 361.

brought with them.³⁶ First Palomnik priest depicting Hozhdeniya, Priest Daniel, gives important information about the journey to candidate Palomniks, however does not provide any information on the political situation or the life styles of the people of the lands he stayed for 16 months.³⁷ This may be due to the decision of the Church to discourage these journeys. Priest Daniel had also undertaken this duty and in order to avoid people going on these journeys, he described holy places with extreme detail. He had stressed in his book that it would suffice to read his book in order to have extensive knowledge about the holy places rather than taking an extremely hard journey to Palestine.³⁸

After conversion into Christianity, the Russians were also able to learn about the antique Eastern culture and traditions through Christian and Byzantine sources. The works of history and mythology, memoirs relating to antique East, the lives of priests in Egypt and Syria had been translated and copied. However, the aim of the people who were translating and copying these works is far from studying the East.³⁹ For instance, in the book copies made by the Russians before the Mongolian invasion, the Eastern lands were depicted by means of exotic animals and birds. In addition, among the works

³⁶ Dantsig, *op. cit.*, in note 34, p. 7., and Ayşe Pamir Dietrich. *Rus Edebiyatı (XI. - XVII. Yüzyıl)*. İstanbul: Multilingual, 2003, p. 50.

³⁷ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 361.

³⁸ Dietrich, *op. cit.*, in note 36, p. 50.

³⁹ Kim & Shastitko, *op. cit.*, in note 16, pp.10 – 13.

of this period, in the book Vladimir Monomah: Instruction to His Children, there is statement that Vsevolod, the father of Vladimir, knew five languages.⁴⁰ However, it is not clear how Vsevolod learnt these languages at home. While Bartold indicated that this may be possible through small booklets but he himself is doubtful about language education in Russia at the time.⁴¹

2.2 The Mongol Invasion and the Russian Military Confrontation

The invasion of Mongols into Russian lands marks the beginning of a new era as well as debates that are still valid today. How has the Mongolian invasion affected the history of Russia? While some scholars argue that the Mongolian invasion tore Russia off from Europe, reoriented it towards the East and became backward; some other Orientalists including Bartold argue that under the Mongolian rule there was political revival in Russia and the seeds of Russian culture were planted. These scholars argue that the period after the death of Yaroslav (1054) until the Mongolian invasion was a period of continuous break up, internal warfare and insecurity in terms of conducting trade. Furthermore, in contrast to the popular view, Bartold

⁴⁰ Zenkovsky, *op. cit.*, in note 29, p.98., and Olga Gladkova. *Povesti Drevnyey Rusi*. Moskva: Izdatelstvo Baluyev, 2002, p. 243. "Chto umeyete khoroshego, to ne zabyvayte, a chgo ne umeyete, tomu uchites – kak otets moy, doma sidya, znal pyat yazykov, ottogo i chest ot drugikh stran." "*Forget not what useful knowledge you possess, and acquire that with which you are not acquainted, even as my father, though he remained at home in his own country, stil understood five languages.*"

⁴¹ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, pp. 362 – 363.

argues that Russia came under European influence during the Muscovite period rather than Kievan period:

"Even the founding of the Mongolian Empire had not provided any expansion in the geographical horizon and according to the West, it put forth Russia's backwardness."

On the other hand, Richard Pipes argues that the Mongolian invasion caused the Russians to turn their faces to the East.

"Between the middle of the thirteenth and the middle of the fifteenth century, Russia was effectively separated from Europe and integrated into the oriental world."⁴²

However, as previously discussed, considering the effect of nomadic Turkic tribes, Scythians and Sarmatians over eastern Slavs, Russia had already been intertwined with the East both geographically and ethnically.

Unlike his statement above, Pipes has also stated that

"Until the fifteenth century, Russia had indeed been a terra incognita, a part of legendary Tartary, the home of Scythians and Sarmatians, about whom Europeans knew no more than about the inhabitants of the continents in fact newly discovered by the great maritime explorers of that age."

On the other hand Frye claims that before the Mongol invasion, it is hard to believe that there was a Russian sense of their position between the East and the West. In addition, the Russians might have looked down upon both Busurman (Muslim) and Nemets⁴³ (German) as they perceived both as

⁴² Richard Pipes. Introduction to Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Commonwealth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966, p. 2.

⁴³ Nemets which means German is derived from the verb *nemet'* meaning to *become speechless*. Therefore *nemoi* means *dump*.

barbarians one from the East and the other from the West.⁴⁴ However, it may be argued that Christianity making its way among Eastern Slavs might have founded the basis of future perceptions that Russia was different than and superior over the East.⁴⁵

There is of course the negative side of the Mongol invasion of Russia apart from the positive aspects. The brutality of the invasion, and the Mongols raging and raiding the Russian cities were depicted in detail in written records including the works of Carpini covering the years 1245-1246. Carpini tells about countless human corpses and that the number of households in Kiev dropped to 200:

"While passing through Kiev we saw countless bones and skulls belonging to corpses lying around. Once Kiev was a very big crowded city, but now there is nothing left as there are only 200 houses and their inhabitants have turned into slaves. Passing from here, Mongolians have destroyed whole Russia."⁴⁶

Similar witness accounts can be found in other documents as well.⁴⁷

Riasanovsky states that the Mongolian invasion between 1237 and 1241 has been the most traumatic event experienced in Russian history, as it was the

⁴⁴ Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32. For more information about the impacts of Mongol yoke in Russian cultural life, see Halperin, *op. cit.*, in note 27, p. 120-126., and Yu. V. Krivosheyev, *Rus i Mongoly: Issledovanie Po Istorii Severo-Vostochnoy Rusi XII-XIV Vv.* Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatelstvo S.-Peterburgskogo universiteta, 2003.

⁴⁶ Carpini, Giovanni de Plaona. "The Mongol Mission." Edited by Christopher Dawson. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1955, p. 29.

⁴⁷ Zenkovsky, *op. cit.*, in note 29, pp. 196 – 207; Dietrich, *op. cit.*, in note 36, pp. 59-61.

first and last time the whole Russia had surrounded to an outside power.⁴⁸ Smirnov also states that ideas and comments on Islam first appeared in Russian texts in the 11th century and these were supported by the journeys of Russian travelers to Istanbul, Athens and Palestine. Smirnov argues that during the 13th century the Mongolian invasion nearly made it impossible to conduct these kinds of journeys. So, the Mongolian invasion had an inevitable impact on the production of written documents as well and this may help explain the lack of Russian memoirs on the outside world during the period.⁴⁹

So, it has become extremely difficult to examine the Mongol invasion period due to the lack of Russian literature on the subject. However, while some argue that Mongol invasion is the reason why there was no literary tradition in Russia at the time. Pushkin also argued that the Mongol invasion was the reason why Russia missed Renaissance; it is also argued that even before the Mongol invasion Russian literary culture was much lower than Western Europe and not comparable to the Islamic world.⁵⁰ Until that period all commercial activity and relations were conducted from the East to the West. Therefore while the Eastern merchants visited Russia, the Russians who would happen to be in Eastern lands would mostly be prisoners of wars

⁴⁸ Nicholas V. Riasanovsky. *A History of Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 72 – 76.

⁴⁹ Smirnov, *op. cit.*, in note 28, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, p.32.

or slaves.⁵¹ So, both before the Mongol invasion and during 200 years of the invasion Russia had a passive position in relations with the East. The influence of the West on the other hand, was not coming from Western Europe but Byzantine. Despite all these, it may also be argued that the Mongol invasion transformed Russia and the passive position of Russia in relation to the East started taking a more active role. Within this context Frye argues the following:

"It is commonly believed that the rule of the Golden Horde over Russia, ca. 1240-1480, isolated Russia from West. Actually, in my opinion, it was during this period that Western Europe really discovered Muscovy, for this is the time of the movement of Western centers of commerce and industry from South to North ... We must not forget that the Russian cities of Pskov and Novgorod joined the Hanseatic League; hence Western European merchants and envoys came to Russia in greater numbers than previously. The expansion of the Ottoman Turks and their conquest of Constantinople in 1453 made the Russian route to the Orient more attractive than it had been. There were many Western Europeans, artisans, and others at the court of Ivan III of Moscow (1453-1505), and the number continued to grow. Therefore, although the Mongol yoke may be held responsible for many facets of life in Russia, such as Oriental protocol at the court of the tsars, the Russians were hardly cut off from the West by the Mongols."⁵²

Similarly, Robert Crumney argues that Mongols paved the way to the unification of Russians who were divided between the Orthodox Church and the Great Kniaz.⁵³ Considering that it was much easier to collect taxes under one big kniaz rather than several of them, Mongol contribution to

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32. Prof. Dr. Halil İnalçık also says that after 1512, ending peaceful relations between Muscovy and Ottomans, Tatar raids became a continuous process and only between 1606 and 1617, 100.000 slaves were bought from Russia and sent to Turkey. See İnalçık, Halil. "Osmanlı-Rus İlişkileri 1492-1700." *Türk-Rus İlişkilerinde 500 Yıl 1491-1992*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999, p. 27.

⁵² Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, p. 32.

⁵³ Robert O Crumney. *The Formation of Muscovy, 1304-1613*. Longman: London and New York, 1987, p. 29-30.

Russians is important in this respect. Smirnov argues that the Russians fighting against the Turks, Crimean Tatars and other nomadic societies accelerated the pace of founding centrally governed states in Hungary, Austria, Russia and Eastern European states.⁵⁴ Donald Ostrowski underlines the similarities between the 14th century Muscovite and Kipchak institutions and claims that fundamental political and military institutions in both societies demonstrated parallel attributes.⁵⁵

As the Mongols weakened Moscow started to expand into other kniaz. In this period envoys were sent abroad including India and Iran. In 1466 an envoy including a merchant from Tver, Afanasii N. Nikitin, went to Shemeka before Shirvanshah. However, no merchant was able to make use of the diary of Nikitin, which he wrote about the places he visited. In his diary, Nikitin had provided travel information on Shemeka, Derbent, Baku, Iran and India. It can be inferred from texts written by Nikitin that he learnt daily languages since he made use of Tatar, Persian and Indian terms and expressions.⁵⁶

As a result, in the period between the 9th and 15th centuries the relations of Russia with the East and any motives to learn about the East

⁵⁴ Smirnov, *op. cit.*, in note 28, p. 16.

⁵⁵ Ostrowski, Donald. "The Mongol Origins of Muscovite Political Institution." *Slavic Review* 49, no. 4 (1990): 525-42. Bartold also agrees with this idea. Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 364.

⁵⁶ Dantsig, *op. cit.*, in note 34, pp. 20–21., Kim & Shastitko, *op. cit.*, in note 16, pp. 20-22., Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, pp. 365-366.

stems from practical concerns. There is a need to know Eastern languages both to conduct trade and better know the enemy. In this period the people used for translation purposes were not Russians but Turkic-Tatars. So, since the very beginning of Russian relations with the East, the Tatars play a major role. As will be discussed later, the Tatar domination in the fields of translation and documentation would become a source of discomfort with the rise of the Muscovite rule and creation of a Russian identity. That is why the Russian people would start receiving training in the following periods. In the post-Mongolian period, the Russians inherited the Mongolian way of administration. Apart from all these discussions, it is apparent that the Russian experience both before and after the Mongol period is unique. Hence, if one needs to research where Russian Orientalism diverges from Western Orientalism, the point of departure should be this initial period when Russia first came into contact with the East.

CHAPTER 3

RELIGIOUS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE ACADEMIC ORIENTALISM

3.1 Russian Expansion into Central Asia and Siberia

After the end of the Mongolian period, Russia started interacting with the outside world including its neighbours in the West. In the post-Mongolian period, although the Golden Horde came to an end, other khanates descending from Chingiz Khan, the Kazan Khanate, Astrakhan, the Crimean Khanate, Siberia and the Nogais were competing to inherit the Golden Horde. Even the Crimean Khanate, the strongest of these, was not at an economically or militarily sufficient level. That is why Moscow could manage to make use of the power struggles within the Kazan Khanate and bring several prominent leaders of Kazan to the Russian side.⁵⁷

Moscow's conquest of Novgorod in 1471 and the confidence this provided paved the way to a more active political strategy against Kazan after 20 years of indirect pressure. Eventually, in 1552, Kazan was added to Russian territory under the rule of Ivan the Terrible. Soon after the conquest of Kazan, Ivan the Terrible conquered Astrakhan in the same way he conquered Kazan by making use of domestic political struggles. Astrakhan

⁵⁷ Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Rusya Tarihi. Başlangıçtan 1917'ye Kadar*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999, pp. 152-159.

was in the middle of the Volga Delta at the crossroads of East-West trade routes.

The conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan had not only turned the balance of power in the steppes to the advantage of the Russians but also played a crucial role in the development of Russian state and society. First of all, despite the existence of Crimea, Siberia and Nogai Khanates from the Chingizid descent, the Russians thought that they were militarily superior to their neighbors in the steppes. Second, through both conquests there was a huge increase in total population with the addition of non-Russian population. This situation made Russia multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic, which led the Russian leadership to found the bases of an empire. This also necessitated the creation of new political strategies. Concerning the gaining of knowledge for the Russian bureaucracy, the conquests of the 16th century increased the interest in the East. However, different than the Mongolian period, the rising interest in the post-Mongolian period was accompanied by the Russian perception that they were no longer under the rule of an Eastern power and they became more powerful. During the Mongolian period, while Moscow was administratively linked to the Mongolian Empire, there had not been any influx of eastern people into Moscow. However, after the conquests of Kazan and Astrakhan there was a significant eastern addition to the Russian population. With the addition of the Eastern people, it can be argued that the cultural interaction which used

to be at the administrative level had spread to the whole strata of the Russian society.

Before the conquests of Kazan and Astrakhan, Russia received information on Central Asia through the Nogais.⁵⁸ After the 15th century several Nogai tribes had aligned with Russia against the other Chingizid descendents. During the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan Nogai Ismail had played a crucial role and was awarded by Ivan the Terrible with the city Romanov along side of Volga. In 1561, Nogai Tohtar Kutimov, his brothers together with 70 other prominent Nogais pledged loyalty to Moscow and accepted the Russian dynastic hierarchy.⁵⁹ The relations were not only on political grounds but also on commercial grounds. While the Russians bought all their horses and furs from the Nogais, the Nogais bought from the Russians various products of sedentary societies particularly clothing. The Nogais bought these products from Russia on the north and from Bukhara on the south. Prince Ismail had written to his brother Yusuf:

“In order to conduct trade your men go to Bukhara and mine go to Moscow. Going to war with Moscow is enough to make me walk naked and not able to find thread to sew shrouds for our deaths.”⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 368.

⁵⁹ Yemelianova, *op. cit.*, in note 25, p. 33.

⁶⁰ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 368., “*Tvoi lyudi khodyat torgovat v Bukharu, a moi khodyat k Moskve; a tolko mnye zavoyevatsya s Moskvoyu, to i samomu mnye khodit nagomu, i mertvym ne na chto budet savanov shit.*”

This situation, the hesitation of north and the south on economic and indirectly political dependency, will be a major feature of the Central Asian steppes in the following centuries.⁶¹

While controlling Kazan and Astrakhan, Russia started pursuing a more effective policy towards the Crimean Khanate in the second half of the 16th century. The relations with Crimea and the Ottoman Empire had commenced in the 15th century. In this period while Moscow was under the threat of the Golden Horde – Polish alliance, the Ottoman Empire paid special attention to the developments in Iran and Arabia. In 1475, Ottomans' acquiring Kaffa, the most important trade port on the Black Sea, made the Crimean Khanate dependent on the Ottoman Empire. The Golden Horde's intention to invade Moscow and Crimea brought the Ottoman Empire and Russia closer. During the Genoese period, Russia was buying eastern products such as spice and silk and Aegean region products such as wine via Kaffa. After the Ottoman Empire settled its power on the Crimean peninsula, the continuation of trade on both coasts of the Black Sea became important for the Russian State. Moscow also wanted to conduct free trade in the Ottoman lands making use of similar privileges given to Venetian and Genoese merchants. As part of the rapprochement process against a mutual enemy in 1492 Ivan III informed the Ottoman authorities in Azov and Kaffa that the Russian state wanted to establish good relations with the *Sultan*.⁶²

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

⁶² *Sultan* means the sovereign of the Ottoman Empire.

As a result of a positive response from the Ottomans, the Russian envoy Plescheyev arrived in Istanbul in 1495. However, as the Ottoman protocol did not consider the Great Kniaz as peers to Christian Kings, the Sultan did not send any envoy to Ivan III. Peaceful relations between the Ottoman Empire – Crimea and Russia denigrated in the 16th century as a result of Russian policy to replace the Golden Horde and acquire control in Eastern Europe.⁶³ Although Russia started a war against Crimea, the Russian armies were defeated in 1559 by the support of the Ottoman Empire to Giray's armies. Therefore, the Russians had to postpone their plans to conquer Crimea.

The Crimean defeat didn't stop Russia's aim to conquer the former territories of the Golden Horde. After the 1580s, Russia intended to conquer the Siberian Khanate. In 1581, Russian armies and the Cossacks under Ataman Yermak supported by rich, entrepreneur families such as the Stroganoff family, crossed the Ural Mountains and moved to Siberia, where Turkic, Uighur and the other northern peoples were living. With the help of firearms, Russians could easily prove their superiority. The Cossacks, who were functioning as Russia's military instrument, were confronted only in southern Siberia by an enemy with equal arms. Thus, it took a long time to conquer the land of the Buriats. Sixty years after Ataman Yermak's military expedition, the Russian armies were seen on the Pacific shores. So, it took only two generations to conquer a region as big as Siberia. They founded

⁶³ İnalçık, *op. cit.*, in note 51, p. 26.

the cities of Tumen (1586), Tobolsk (1587) and Tomsk (1604) to strengthen their authority in Siberia.⁶⁴

3.2 The Orthodox Church and Russian Religious Expansion

The rise of the Muscovy first among the other kniazdoms, then its independence from the Mongol hegemony and moving to territories left by the Mongols changed the mentality of sovereignty of the Muscovy. The *Udel* system, which emerged after the kniaz of Yaroslav, Vladimir, and based on the principle of sovereignty of every kniaz only in their own territory, changed after Ivan III and Vasili II, when other kniazes acknowledged their sovereignty.⁶⁵ Consequently, the Muscovite kniazdom became the kniazdom of all Russia. When Ivan III united all Russian kniazes and established a contact and then struggled with the non-Russian peoples that created “the idea of unity” among the Russians. The idea of unity of the Orthodox populations in Russia not only led the Church to give full support to the expansion of the Russian state, but also the activities of the Church in the East helped the development of oriental studies in Russia. Additionally, the marriage of Ivan III and Byzantine princess Sophia Paleolog produced organic relations between the Church and the State and created a positive perception of the state within the Church hierarchy. Accordingly, following the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Empire (1453), he was told to be the heir of Byzantine emperors. Consequently, the Muscovite kniaz

⁶⁴ Yemelianova, *op. cit.*, in note 25, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁵ Kurat, *op. cit.*, in note 57, pp. 83-87.

was presented as the most superior protector of the Orthodox community, who had lost their protector by the fall of Constantinople. As a result, the Russian Orthodox Church started to claim, Moscow as the third Rome. This claim elaborated by Philophei, a priest from Pskov monastery, is as follows:

"Previously, the centre of world hegemony used to be Rome; then it became New Rome (Constantinople). Both cities of Rome have fallen down. However, the Third Rome survived, that is Moscow. According to the principle of "divine trinity" of Christianity, there won't a be a Fourth Rome; thus, Moscow is the new center of the world hegemony... Muscovite sovereigns are the heirs of Byzantium Empire and the superior protectors of Orthodoxy. Because Orthodoxy is the single true religion and faith, Moscow is the center of truth and hegemony in the world."⁶⁶

As a result, the Orthodox Church's claim of Russian hegemony over their co-religionists helped the Russian sovereigns to form their principles of sovereignty and their desire to "rule the world". The ambitions of the Russia should follow her historical destiny and Constantinople would be certainly conquered by the Russians one day. In order to strengthen that claim they produced myths about the Byzantine roots of the Russian Empire and the Byzantine coat of arms, the double-headed eagle, was acknowledged as the Russian coat of arms.⁶⁷

The Orthodox Church's idea of religious hegemony consolidated the effect of the church in state affairs. Also at the time of Ivan the Terrible the idea of the Third Rome was encouraged by metropolitan Makarii. That period after the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan, as we have already mentioned,

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-141.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-141. For more information see Dmirti Obolensky. "Russia's Byzantine Heritage." *Oxford Slavonic Papers* I (1950).

added a considerable non-Russian and mostly Muslim population to the Russian population. Thus, the policy against the non-Russians and non-Christians was applied by the Orthodox Church. The result of this policy was the suppression of Islam and the Christianization of non-Christian peoples in Russian conquered lands, and that was considered to be one of the most crucial conditions for the continuity of state. Yemelianova argues as follows:

“The official Byzantinization of the Russian state enabled its rulers to overcome their political and psychological dependence on the Genghizids and to legitimize their claims to Russia’s imperial mission as the gatherer of the former Golden Horde’s territories and the civilizer of its population. Byzantine Orthodox Christianity was supposed to enhance the divine and sacral authority of the Russian tsar over his multi-ethnic and poly-confessional subjects. Therefore, the enforced comprehensive Christianization of Russia’s population was regarded as a vital condition for the stability of the state.”⁶⁸

Consequently, while the Orthodox Church was becoming the supplier of the official religion to state policies, the suppression of Islam - except few exceptions⁶⁹ - developed into the main tenet of integration of non-Russian territories to the Russian state. The period until the time of Peter can be characterized as a period when many Orthodox Russians developed enmity against the infidels, especially against the Muslims. However, until the time of Peter, this enmity didn’t turn into a feeling of superiority to an underdeveloped enemy.

⁶⁸ Yemelianova, *op. cit.*, in note 25, p. 36.

⁶⁹ At the time of Kazan’s archbishop Guriy and German, the “voluntary transition” to Christianity turned to be the main understanding. See Robert P Geraci. *Window on the East*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp. 18-19.

3.3 The Development of Translation Works

It is expectable that Russia, which was geographically very close to Muslim peoples, would obtain information on Islam directly through the Muslim peoples, especially after the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan. However, the information was not coming from the East but through translations from the West, and that information was anything but a critical analysis of Islam.⁷⁰ More than that, they held descriptive information on Islam. Nonetheless, they were not just describing Islam as a religion, but they were reflecting the interest of the church and criticizing Islam as a "pseudo-religion" "confronting the truth, the Christianity". Therefore, they were not explaining Islam but seeking to expose the "true face" of Islam. Accordingly, in 1611, the anti-Islamic polemics of Abu Kurra, called Fyodor Abukara in Russian, was translated.⁷¹

The annexation of the new territories and the new peoples to Russian state and Russia's attempt at the Christianization of non-Christian peoples necessitated definitely employing people educated in this field and skilled in local languages. With the help of Tatars under their service, the Russian government had the necessary cadres of translators to sustain the relationship with Muslim states. All translations from Eastern languages or from Russian to Eastern languages were made by Tatars through Tatar language. In the 17th century, when Russian needed translators in their

⁷⁰ Smirnov, *op. cit.*, in note 28, pp. 21-25.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, pp. 21-25.

relationship with the Kalmuks, who had terminated the Nogais, the translation was processed in two levels. First, the documents were translated to Tatar and then to Kalmuk or Russian. In the example of the Kalmuks, the translators were the baptized Tatar or Cossacks, who had learned the Kalmuk language, while they were prisoners of the Kalmuks, and they had absolutely no education in translation. Their knowledge of language was limited to daily or vernacular language and their knowledge on the people was superficial.⁷² The Russian bureaucracy was differentiating the staff translators (*perovidchiki*) and interpreters (*tolmachi*). The Perovidchikis were less skilled in languages and they were used in translating oral messages or speeches.⁷³

This position of the Tatars and the Tatar language within the Eastern peoples explains why in the 18th century in Russia oriental languages were taught more widely. Tatar language was for some time the language of diplomacy between Iran and Russia. The documents written in Persian were translated by the Tatars and they were shaped like Russian official documents. Additionally, in the 1640s, there were Russian translators as well. In a document from 1644, a priest is mentioned: "Poluekt Zverev of Novgorod, who teaches Tatar, Arabic and Persian in Astrakhan".⁷⁴ In 1679

⁷² Michael Khodarkovsky. *Where Two Worlds Met: The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600 – 1771*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London. 1992, pp. 63-64.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64

⁷⁴ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 374.

among the employees of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs in Moscow were the Tatar and Kalmuk translator, Taras Ivanov and Kalmuk translator Vasili Martynov.⁷⁵

3.4 Diplomatic Activities and Russian Orientalism

In that period, there were many Russian ambassadors sent to Central Asian cities. It was aimed to free the Russian prisoners in Central Asian cities, most of whom were caught by the Turcomans on the Caspian Sea as fishermen or tradesmen. Hafiz Tanish, who wrote the biography of the most powerful Uzbek khan, Abdullah, told how a delegation from Russia was stopped in Urgench in 1583 and released only on Abdullah's order. In this story Moscow is mentioned as the "capital of the *Frenk* [i.e. European] sultans".⁷⁶ It is interesting that while in some Persian sources before Peter the Great, the Russians are called *Uzbek-i Ferengi* (European Uzbeks), in Hafiz Tanish's story they are defined just as *Frenk*.⁷⁷

Following the conquest of Siberia, Russia established a relationship with China. Yet, in the 16th century, the Russian Empire sought to learn the routes to China influenced by a British, John William Merrick, who had visited Russia several times. Besides, some Russians were sent to Britain

⁷⁵ Khodarkovsky, *op. cit.*, in note 72, p. 64.

⁷⁶ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 369.

⁷⁷ Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, p. 34.

with him to obtain some information about the routes to China.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, we cannot argue, that until the time of Peter those relations were considered to be important. The main reason of it was the geographical distance between China and Russia. Thus, it took a long time for the tradesmen to cover the distance between these two countries.

In the midst of the 17th century, the geographical terms developed more with a well-defined, clearer terminology. The envoys to Central Asia had a new mission: gathering information on trade routes to India. These envoys were collecting Russian slaves as well. Among these slaves, Michel Fedorovich, Anisime Gribov, Ivan Fedotov, Boris and Semen Pazukhine brothers can be mentioned.⁷⁹ In 1653, when a the Russian envoy was in Kazvin, a converted Persian under Russian service Vasili Aleksandrovich Davudov and a Tatar of Kazan, Muhammed Yusuf Kasymov were also sent. Davudov should just go to Bukhara and make the Russian slaves to be released. Kasymov would "learn the overland, mountain or sea route to India". Kasymov should be very careful for river routes, which were very important for Russian trade and colonization. The muscovite government was aware of the existence of a big river, Amu Derya, in Central Asia. Kasymov should have learned, "where this river originates, where it flows, which passages it crosses, which peoples were living on its shores, what

⁷⁸ Kim & Shastitko, *op. cit.*, in note 16, p. 32., Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 377.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

industries they possessed and which countries peoples were living around it". They had translators in assistance.⁸⁰

The broadening of Russia's horizon pushed the cartography as well. There were neither in ancient sources nor in the sources of Middle Ages information about the confronted new peoples and the newly conquered territories by Russia. However, in the 17th century, the maps about those countries attracted the attention of European science as well. The first example of them was the "Big Picture", what was lost except its notes, from the year 1600. in 1667, the vaivode of Tobolsk Pierre Ivanovich Godunov was ordered to "describe and draw all Siberian territories and peoples with their borders, rivers and cities", and his map was printed immediately in Moscow. European science benefited from that study as well. For example, Nicolas Corneliszon Witsen draw the "map of Asia and Europe, north and east" based on the information of Russian data and sources and in 1692 he published his work "Northern and Eastern Tataristan", which was translated to various languages.⁸¹

In short, form the Mongol conquest to the time of Peter the Great, the hegemony over the other Russian kniazes expanded to all of the heirs of Golden Horde. Following the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan, the relations with Iran and Central Asian khanates were established, and after the

⁸⁰ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, pp. 371-372.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 381-382.

conquest of Siberia the first contacts with China were made. In the 15th century, through the Crimean Khanate, Russia opened relations with the Ottoman Empire. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, claims were brought forward contending that Russia was the Third Rome founded on the Byzantine legacy, and a new understanding of sovereignty was developed. As a result of increasing power of the Orthodox Church, the attempts of Christianization for non-Russian and non-Christian peoples on the newly acquired territories began. Thus, all that expansion necessitated new cadres skilled in languages. However, in that period – except few exceptions – translators were chosen from the Tatars. Before Peter, this relations required cartography as well, and although the conducted investigations contributed to European science, they were carried on practical purposes.

3.5 Orientalism at the Time of Peter the Great

The enthronement of Peter the Great or Peter I (1696)⁸² is remembered with the reforms to modernize Russia. He was a genuine admirer of the West, and he made his first journey to Europe in 1698. Although he couldn't complete it because of the outbreak of the Streltsy⁸³ uprising in Moscow, he could find the chance to observe the Western life style. He made changes in Russia parallel to his observations since the

⁸² Peter the Great shared the throne with Ivan V, between 1694 and 1696. After Ivan's death, he became the sole ruler.

⁸³ *Streltsy* is literally "shooters".

beginning of the 18th century. Firstly, he introduced a dress code for civil servants and banned and fined who wore Russian clothes, coats and also Circassian coats and lamb fur coats. Peter I banned moustache and beard for the peasants as well. The City dwellers had to pay a yearly tax for moustache and beard. In 1700, Gregorian calendar replaced the Julian calendar used in Russia. In order to inform the people about the reforms and transmit the laws, the first Russian newspaper, Sankt-Peterburg Vedomosti was published in 1702. Peter the Great made reforms in military and bureaucratic spheres as well, with the purpose of creating a European army and a modern centralized state structure. Peter was aware of the significance of education to facilitate a Western military, and founded the Artillery School in 1701, the Glück High School to raise officers and bureaucrats in 1705, the Engineering School in 1713 and the Naval School in 1715. In 1725, the Academy of Sciences was established to teach natural sciences – especially mathematics – and social sciences, like history and law.⁸⁴

Beside these developments, Peter the Great founded the city of St. Petersburg, which determined the commercial and cultural of his country and became the symbol of Westernization and Russia's window to the West. Consequently, Moscow, the Russia's heart was now replaced by reason, and

⁸⁴ Lindsey Hughes. *Russia in the Age of Peter the Great*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998, pp. 298-330.

St. Petersburg turned into the center of cultural, political and administrative reforms.⁸⁵

Peter the Great attempted to end the tension between the state and church persisting since the time of Aleksei (1645 – 1676) as well. Yet, after the death of the patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, Adrian in 1700, Peter the Great expressed his authority by not accepting the appointment of the new patriarch. With the legislation of the Spiritual Reorganization Law and the Sacred Synod based on this law, the administration of the church was presented to this synod.⁸⁶ The basic aim of all reforms in the sphere of religion was diminishing the increasing power of the church vis a vis the state and weaken the anti-Western tendencies of the church and its negative attitudes towards non-Christian or alien elements. Probably, those concerns affected the establishment of Sankt Petersburg as well.

For Peter the Great, the future of Russia lied in opening to the Black Sea and turning Russia into a sea power. Accordingly, the first military expedition was made to Azov and it was taken from the Ottoman Empire between 1695 and 1696. Right after the conquest, a Russian fleet was constructed on the Caspian Sea. But it couldn't be used properly and it was left to rot. Additionally, they started to build a canal to connect Don and

⁸⁵ *Serditse Rossii Moskva, a um Sankt-Peterburg.*

⁸⁶ Alexander, John T. *The Petrine Era and After, 1689 – 1740.* in *Russia: A History.* Ed. By Gregory L. Freze. 2nd Ed., Oxford University Press, p. 103.

Volga rivers.⁸⁷ The opening of peace treaties between Venice, Austria, Poland and the Ottoman Empire destroyed Peter's plans. In 1699, although the Treaty of Karlowitz was signed with the participation of Russia, the final agreement couldn't be made, because the Ottoman Empire was still holding the Straits of Kerch. Peter, who understood that he could not carry on the battle against the Ottoman Empire by himself and move to the Black Sea, decided to declare war to Sweden and to seize the Gulf of Fin and Riga from them. So, in the beginning of the 18th century, the "Great Northern War" with Swedish King Charles XII started and lasted 21 years. Thus, Russia was comprehended to be a great power. Also the Ottoman acceptance of a constant Russian ambassador in Istanbul can be considered as the Russian recognition as one of the great powers in Europe. It was mentioned that previously the Ottoman Empire didn't send an ambassador to Russia in response for their ambassador Pleshchev. At the end of the war with Sweden, the Swedish King Charles XII had to take shelter in the Ottoman Empire. After conquering Estonia and Lithuania in the Baltic, Russia turned to the Ottoman Empire, which was in alliance with Sweden, and declared war to it in 1711. Thus the Pruth War started, which ended with Russia's defeat. Russia was cautious of a conflict with the Ottoman Empire. In 1712, Russia gave the castle in Azov back to the Ottomans, destroyed the castle in Taganrog (Taygan), where the Russian fleet was anchored and the fleet was abolished.

⁸⁷ However, this project could only be finalized by the USSR, in 1952.

On the other hand, Peter the Great expanded Russian conquests to the Caspian shores and – with the Ottoman support – they declared war on Iran. At the end of the war, Derbend, Baku, Geylan, Mazenderan and Astrabad were left to Russia in 1722. Consequently, Russia moved to the south of Caucasia. When Peter the Great, who was interested in the khanates in Turkistan as well, was informed that there were great gold mines in the vicinity of the city of Yarkent in Eastern Turkistan, he sent there a military expedition to Central Asia in 1715. But that attack proved to be unsuccessful.⁸⁸ Definitely, another reason for this expedition was Peter's perception of these khanates as the gate to the Indian Ocean.⁸⁹

At the time of Peter the Great, there were some developments in the Far East as well. In 1697, Russia by using the Cossacks as before expanded her borders in Siberia to the Kamchatka Peninsula and Kanuch River. In consequence of these, they established relations with Japan. As a result of the conquest of Siberia, which was initiated at Ivan the Terrible's time and finalized at Fedor Ivanovich's reign, the Russian expansion came to an end by the Chinese forces and in 1689 the Treaty of Nerchinsk was signed between China and Russia. Thus, Russia couldn't reach the Okhotsk Sea, but established commercial relations with the Qing Dynasty. There have been many Russian envoys visiting China before this agreement as well.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Kurat, *op. cit.*, in note 56, pp. 262-263.

⁸⁹ MacKenzie, *op. cit.*, in note 11, p. 179.

⁹⁰ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, pp. 383-384.

At the time of Peter the Great, these battles and conquests increased the pace of Russia's commercial and diplomatic relations with the East. Before Peter the Great, the attempts to advance to the waste territories of Siberia and the land left by the Golden Horde was not successful in confronting Russia with great Eastern powers or civilizations. But during the period of Peter the Great, both relations with the Ottoman Empire and Iran and the Far East created direct contacts between Russia and powerful foreign states. The development of diplomatic relations resulted in changing Russia's attitude towards the East by increasing her knowledge about that part of the world. All those issues opened the way to learn all kinds of scientific inquiries in an organic integrity, through systematical study of the East, collecting works of historical documents and material culture, learning Eastern languages, history, religious culture and life style.⁹¹

As it has already been mentioned, the translators of the Russian state in their relations with Central Asia, Caucasia, Iran and even with further regions were the Tatars. The change initiated by Peter the Great in diplomatic, administrative and educational activities resulted in the decreasing of the Tatar hegemony in international relations. He decided to deepen the relations with the East, in order to obtain more persistent knowledge, and he sent with the *ukas*⁹² of 1700 two or three monks to

⁹¹ Smirnov, *op. cit.*, in note 28, p. 25.

⁹² In English *ukas* means "decree".

China, so that they can study Chinese and Mongolian. This is chronologically the first step of the Russian state start the education of Eastern languages. When the seat of the Siberian Metropolitan (in Tobolsk) had become empty, state planned to send “two or three monks, who were not very old, well educated and able to learn Chinese and Mongolian languages” together with the new metropolitan bishop. Later on, these monks would use that information to study Chinese and Mongolian religious doctrines and spread the Orthodox belief in those peoples, and definitely they would do that for the benefit of the Russian commercial and political interest.⁹³ The monks couldn’t arrive at Beijing until 1716, but that was the beginning of the permanent Russian religious mission in the Chinese capital.⁹⁴

In Peter the Great’s period, on 16 of April 1702, a decree (ukas) was proclaimed about inviting foreigners from the West.⁹⁵ On the same day, the tsar took Japanese Denbey, whom Atlasov had met in his expedition to Kamchatka, from Siberian post to artillery service for studying Russian language and script. When Denbey learned Russian language and script, he was going to start teaching Japanese language and alphabet to four or five people. However, this project of Peter was not implemented. Although it is argued in some sources, that there was an attempt to build the first private

⁹³ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 277.

⁹⁴ Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, pp. 34–35. Until the Treaty of Kyakhta between the two powers, no constant embassy was opened.

⁹⁵ Among the Orientalists invited at the time of Peter the Great, G. J. Ker and V. M. Bakunin can be mentioned. They worked on translating the documents collected in the East.

school to teach Eastern languages in Russia,⁹⁶ Bartold asserts that there is no reference to that school in any source in the 18th century⁹⁷. There hasn't been a systematic teaching of Japanese, until 1736, when it was decided to start this program under the Academy of Sciences.

At the time of Peter the Great, Islam and its holy book, Quran were also studied. Although the first encounter of Europe with the Quran was in the 12th century through the translation of some of its sections to Latin by British Robert Retensi, first translation of the Quran in Russia was made under the order of Peter the Great, in 1716. However, also in this case, as it has already been mentioned, the translation was not made directly from an Eastern language but from de Rier's French text, which was written in 1647. Additionally, Dimitri Cantemir, who was appointed as the Ottoman ruler to from Moldavia and settled in Russia in 1711, wrote upon the Peter's request, his book "The System or Situation of Mohammad's Religion", published in St. Petersburg, in 1722.⁹⁸ In spite of its primitiveness and intolerant style, this work was not inferior in genuineness in its information and in its faithful interpretations of the facts when compared with the works written about Islam in Western Europe in the same period.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Smirnov, *op. cit.*, in note 28, p. 25.

⁹⁷ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 389.

⁹⁸ Vasiliy Nikitich Ermuratskiy. *Dmirtiy Kantemir*. Kishinev: Kartya Moldovenyaske, 1983, pp. 62-96. A. I. Babiy. *Dmitriy Kantemir*. Moskva: Mysl, 1984, pp. 87-90.

⁹⁹ Smirnov, *op. cit.*, in note 28, p. 27.

During his journey to Europe, Peter didn't comprehend European culture with its different aspects, but he bought collections, books, instruments, tools, arms and natural precious stones and sent them to Russia. So, in 1714, a well-known exhibition hall was founded, known first as the "Tsar's Cabinet", then "Peter's Kunstkammer" and finally only the "Kunstkammer".¹⁰⁰ With the help of academic expeditions in the 18th century, rare objects from all parts of the world, except Australia, were collected and Kunstkammer was so improved that it became unmatched in Europe.

The year Cantemir published his book, Peter the Great went on a military expedition to Iran in 1722. During this expedition, he visited the city of Bulgar, took measures to protect the ruins and ordered his translators to copy and translate the Tatar and Armenian inscriptions.¹⁰¹ During the expedition to Iran, the collection of Eastern manuscripts was created, and those manuscripts were brought to Sankt Petersburg afterwards. Because there were no trained Russian cadres in translation of these documents the Tatar and foreign orientalists were employed.

¹⁰⁰ D. E. Bertels. Vvedenie. In *Aziatskiy Muzei* – Leningradskoe Otdelenie Instituta Vostokovedenija AN SSSR. Izdatelstvo "Hauka". Glavnaja Redaktsija Vostochnoi Literatury. Moskva 1972. p. 6.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

The famous manuscript, "The Genealogy of Turks" written by Ebu'l Gazi, was also within these valuable Eastern sources; later on it was translated by G. Sablukov to Russian and published by I. N. Berezin in the series of the "Library of Eastern Historians".¹⁰² Manuscripts, coins and other artifacts of the material culture and written documents from the East were collected in "the Chamber of Rare Valuables", which was the first Russian institution in the field of oriental studies. A hundred years later, this room became the core of the Asian Museum of the Academy of Sciences opened in 1818.

Definitely, the most crucial leap of Peter the Great was the foundation of the Academy of Sciences (1725). The academy was first proposed by German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz and then by his student Cristian Wolff and it was established on similar institutions in Paris and Berlin.¹⁰³ The Russian Academy of Sciences, first members of which were foreigners, had two basic missions: To initiate systematic work on the latest developments in science and to train the first Russian scientists. The first Russian scientist of the academy was Mikhail Vasilievich Lomonosov, who founded the Moscow University in 1755.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Smirnov, *op. cit.*, in note 28, p. 25.; Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 395.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 415-416. Actually, even the Christian Wolff proposed to start with the university, Peter chosed to implement Leibnitz's advise. See Hughes, *op. cit.*, in note 84, pp. 307-308.

¹⁰⁴ Alexander Vucinich. Academy of Sciences. In *Encyclopedia of Russian History*. IV Vols., p. 4.

Leibnitz was interested in Eastern studies in Russia as well. In a letter he wrote to Peter the Great, he asked for information about the first Japanese caught on the Kamchatka expedition. At the same time, he demanded from Peter to send the list of words in Siberian and Caucasian languages. With regard to the Academy of Sciences, he was proposing the academy to study Eastern languages as an academic institution of higher education as well. He also attached a special importance to purchasing collected books and manuscripts from the East in his letters.¹⁰⁵

Until the establishment of the Academy of Sciences in 1725, the researchers, working on the East, were already busy with Eastern history, language, religion and numismatics besides their job as civil servants, and they were generally working in the Foreign Affairs Institution. In 1716, Peter sent five students to Iran together with Ambassador Artemi Volinsky to learn "Turkish, Arabic and Persian". The same pattern was followed when Rumyatsev was sent as ambassador to Turkey in 1724. Consequently, Peter sought to solve the need for trained persons, which was a constant problem of some centuries in studying the East, by sending students to foreign countries.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ A. V. Kulikova and E. I. Kychanov. *Vostokovedenie v Rossii v XVIII Stoletii*. In *Istorija Otechestvennogo Vostokovedenija: do serediny XIX veka*. Ed. By G. F. Kim and P. M. Shastitko. M.: Nauka. Glavnaja Redaktsija Vostochnoi literatury, 1990. Pp, 38 – 95.

¹⁰⁶ Vasili Vladimirovich Bartold. "Obzor Deyatelnosti Fakulteta Vostochnykh Yazykov." *Sochinyeniya Tom IX*. V. V. BartholdMoskva: Izdatelstvo "Nauka" Glavnaya Redaktsiya Vostochnoy Literatury, 1977, pp. 29-30.

As a result, at the time of Peter the Great the oriental studies were a significant part of his modernization project of his country.¹⁰⁷ Not only Western Europeans were invited to Russia, but Peter sought to understand the East through Western European perspective as well. The discussion of Russia's identity, whether it is Easterner or Westerner, started after the reforms implemented by Peter the Great. Additionally, the idea that Sankt Petersburg is the representative for the West and Moscow for the East determined the view of the Russian elites that Russia was different than the East and it was part of Europe. Thus, as Frye states Peter the Great was the first tsar among the Russian tsars, who acted absolutely like a Western European monarch. It should also be underlined that the use of the term Uzbek-i Ferengi (European Uzbeks) as mentioned above was impossible after Peter the Great.¹⁰⁸ From then on, although Russia was geographically inseparable with the East, it was considered culturally no more an Easterner, or - at least - it did not seem to be so. The schools and institutions were established on the Western models and, rare manuscripts and other materials from the East were collected in Kunstkammer. The foundation of the Academy of Sciences by Peter the Great for became a center researchers of the East. Hence, owing to Peter the Great, the East was not just a land of commercial and military relations or cultural exchange, but it became a field to be studied and comprehended. Therefore, the first

¹⁰⁷ Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, p. 35.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

scientific Russian studies in field of orientalist were implemented by the ambitious educational reforms of Peter the Great.

3.6 Oriental Studies After Peter the Great

Peter had planted the seeds for Westernization in Russia. The institutions set up for scientific activities have become the basis for the post-Peter period. However, what Peter had initiated was followed at the same pace and determination by his heirs after his death in 1725. The foundation of university departments teaching orientalism would be realised 80 years after Peter's death. However, still in the post-Peter period the foreign orientalists were invited to Russia, academic excursions were conducted in Siberia and Central Asia and language training schools were established in Russia.

One of the developments in oriental studies after Peter's death was the contribution of Mikhail Lomonosov to the field. Lomonosov who founded the Moscow University in 1755, supported the idea of opening an institute or academy in Russia which would teach eastern languages. He had three projects for this purpose.¹⁰⁹ There were only four chairs in the department of philosophy at the university he had founded: Philosophy, physics, history and oratory. Higher education in the field of eastern languages did not realise until the 19th century. The German orientalist G. J. Ker, a peer of Lomonosov who was invited to Russia in 1733 thought that Russia had to

¹⁰⁹ Bertels, *op. cit.*, in note 100, pp. 9-10.

conquer Turkey and Central Asia. He even had a plan for this.¹¹⁰ So, Ker who had parallel thoughts to Lomonosov connected the establishment of an academy with conquest of Turkey and Central Asia.

Around the years 1734–1735, the city of Orenburg was founded as a result of the military campaigns in eastern Urals. Orenburg maintained its administrative importance until the establishment of general governorship of Turkestan and the Steppes. Therefore, Orenburg became a center where information on the Central Asian Khanates and geographic and historical materials on the East were gathered.¹¹¹ In 1744, the Tatar-Kalmuk school was founded in Orenburg to train translators. P. I. Rychkov, Petra Ivanovich and his son Nikolay Petrovich were three prominent scholars working on the materials gathered in Orenburg. Petra Ivanovich wrote books on the history and topography of Orenburg and the history of Kazan.¹¹²

One of the important developments in the 18th century was the tolerance extended towards the Muslims and the members of other religions in 1785. Before this date, as a result of the efforts to suppress Islam in the region, 418 of the 536 mosques in Kazan had been demolished. The Tsarina Catherina II's order ruled that Christianity would expand without the use of violent means and the people who were baptized would be exempt from

¹¹⁰ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 305; Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, p. 36.

¹¹¹ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 409.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 409.

military service and tax and the ones who were not would have to pay double tax. These suppressive policies towards the Muslims resulted in a Baskort revolt in 1755.¹¹³ After this revolt there was a marginal change in the attitude of the rulers. After the conquest of Crimea in 1783, it became inevitable to extend tolerance to the Muslims. After the acceptance of regulations concerning primary schools, Baron Igelstrom who was in charge of the Simbirsk and Ufa administrations, was given the task to expand these schools in Kirghiz steppes. It was reported that the books were going to be published in Russian and Kirghiz. However, due to the lack of teacher candidates among the Russians and the Kirghiz, the clerics from Kazan were assigned these tasks, which resulted in the expansion of Islamic culture rather than the Russian culture in the steppes. In the same period, decisions were taken to encourage the Russians to learn eastern languages. In 1769, a Tatar class was opened at the College of Kazan. With the decree of 27 September 1782 it was ordered that Arabic would be taught at the primary schools in Tataristan, Iran and Bukhara, and Chinese would be taught at the primary schools in Irkutsk and Kolyvan. This also worked to the advantage of Tatars to expand their influence towards the north and the east. Following the religious tolerance, the Quran was translated for the second time from French in 1790 and for the third time from English to Russian in 1792.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ This revolt is also called as *Batırşah Revolt*. See, Zeki Velidi Togan. *Başkırtların Tarihi*. Ankara: Türksoy, 2003, p. 87.

¹¹⁴ Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, p. 37.

One of the most important contributions to oriental studies during the 18th century was the dictionary study, which was also supported by Katherina. This comparative dictionary (*Sravnitelnye slovari vcekh yazykov i narechiy, sobrannye desnitseyu Vysochyshey osoby*) comprised words from 200 different languages including 51 European languages and 149 eastern languages. In the dictionary, words from different languages, phonetically similar but different in meaning were put together.¹¹⁵

The 19th century was a period when oriental studies in Russia reached maturity together with and the Russian expansion towards Central Asia. Russian expansion into the Central Asian steppes first initiated by Ivan the Terrible in the 16th century accelerated in the 19th century. The invasion of Central Asia was undertaken by the conquest of Tashkent in 1865 and the conquest of Goktepe in 1881. Hive and Bukhara had accepted Russian rule as well. All these had an impact on the acceleration of the new works of art and texts found in the places newly conquered. The Russian administration was a crucial prerequisite in the region for the security of the expeditions. Therefore it is not unjust to claim that there is a certain coincidence between the expansion of the influence of Russia in Central Asia and the development of orientalist in St. Petersburg in the 19th century.

It can be argued that the studies and works belonging to the pre-19th century period was a preparation for this century. With the acceptance of

¹¹⁵ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 416.

the first university regulations in 1804, it was also decided that there would be an oriental languages chair within the history-philology faculty. Similar to the West, the oriental languages corresponded to the languages of Muslim peoples. The languages of the Far East were also included in the university curriculum in the following years. The chairs established at the Moscow, Kazan and Harkov universities and later at the St. Petersburg University in order to teach eastern languages, religions and literature played a crucial role in analyzing and studying the East seriously. The institutes such as Lazarevski and Rishchevski opened in Moscow and Odesa in the 19th century also played the same role. Although there were not immediate and surprising results, this decision enabled the training of scholars and permanent academic departments to conduct scientific research on the East. At the same time, this gave birth to three different schools of thought: Kazan with its Muslim population, St. Petersburg University as the Russia's window to Europe and the Moscow schools.¹¹⁶

It is not surprising that the first chair opened to teach eastern languages was founded in Kazan. As I mentioned before the Tatars and naturally Kazan had already occupied a distinguished place in all studies in Russia. C. D. Fren in 1807 founded the Department of Eastern Languages, especially to teach Arabic and Persian. Although the Tatar language was

¹¹⁶ Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, pp. 39-42.; A. N. Kononov and I. I. Iorish. *Leningradskiy Vostochniy Institut. Stranitsa Istorii Sovyetskogo Vostokovedeniya*. Moskva: Glavnaya Redaktsiya Vostochnoy Literatury, 1977, pp. 4-6.

taught at the beginning, the Department of Turk-Tatar Language was not founded until 1928. Kazan became the best place for oriental studies with opening of the chair of Mongolian in 1833 (under the administration of, Orientalist and later diplomat, O. M. Kovalevsky), Chinese in 1837 (archimandrite Daniel Svillov and under chairmanship of O. P. Vojtsehovsk), Armenian in 1839, Sanscrit in 1842 (under chairmanship of P. J. Peter) and Manchurian in 1844. There were great orientalists like I. N. Berezin, A. K. Kazam-Bek, F. I. Erdman, V. F. Dittel among professors of the university. However there were not many students in these departments until the government sent civil servants for training here. In 1850's, the Department of Oriental Studies of the university had been closed. Frye attributes this situation to opening of teacher collages and other schools for local population in Kazan and he indicates that people probably regarded these schools as more important than oriental studies.¹¹⁷ Beside these developments, taking of Fren's the Asian Museum presidency and so his move to St. Petersburg and in the same way Kazem-Bek's ,who was being accepted as an école himself, move to St. Petersburg to found a faculty for oriental studies can be accepted as noteworthy factors in the decline of oriental studies in Kazan.

St. Petersburg, which was the center of the Academy of Sciences, replaced the Kazan School. The Asian Museum founded with the order of S. S. Uvarov in 1818 was the first special oriental institution in the system of

¹¹⁷ Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, p. 39.

the Academy of Sciences. German academician Cristian Martin Fren, who was also the founder of Kazan Faculty of Oriental Studies, was appointed as the first director of the museum. With the foundation of the Asian Museum, the study of orient began in St. Petersburg. Until this date, St. Petersburg had already taken the first place among the European cities with her eastern manuscripts and objects belonging to the East. In spite of abundant materials to study the east, there were not qualified researchers to study these materials. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had founded a department to teach Eastern languages to the diplomats of future and civil servants. A real teaching of Eastern languages in St. Petersburg began in the Pedagogy Institute with Arabic and Persian. The institute was transformed to a university later in 1819, in 1819. The dean of the faculty was Kazem-Bek. J. F. Demanj was teaching Arabic and Mirza Cafer Topchibasev was teaching Persian courses. Ottoman Turkish was taught together with Arabic and Persian in 1822. Later Muhlinsky (Muhlinsky was the dean of the faculty for 7 years after Kazem-Bek), who was the student of Senkovsky and the first academician appointed to the Turkish chair, began to teach Ottoman Turkish as a separate course. A special faculty was founded for the Eastern languages in 1854. This faculty became the center of the Eastern studies in the empire of the tsars and then surpassed all the other centers in the country.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 106, pp. 55-106.

The Moscow school was formed both by studies in the Moscow University and mostly studies in the Lazarevski Intstitut Vostochnykh Yazykov (Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages) that was founded by the rich Armenian Lazarev family in 1815. Oriental languages had begun to be taught as early as the 1750's in the Moscow University. Johann Mattias Schaden, a professor at Tübingen University, had been invited to teach Hebrew courses in 1756. A. V. Boldyrev, who was the student of the great Arabia and Persia specialist Cilvestre de Sasi, joined to the Moscow University in 1811. Boldyrev was an Arabist and specialist in Persian and was regarded as the founder of the Moscow school, later he became the rector of the Moscow University in 1833. After the dismissal of Boldyrev from the university because of his democratic political thoughts, the center of oriental studies in Moscow moved to the Lazarev Institute.¹¹⁹

At the beginning the Armenian Lazarev School was founded to educate the Armenian children in 1815. Later the name of the school was changed as the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages by the state in 1827 and it was put under the administration of the Ministry of Public Education. The Lazarev Institute functioned as a special gymnasium for 20 years by teaching Armenian, Persian, Turkish and Arabic. The Institute was transformed into a gymnasium and began to give a higher education in mentioned languages. The Institute was training teachers for the Armenian schools, the Armenian priests and most importantly civil servants and

¹¹⁹ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 467.

interpreters for Russian service. Thus the Lazarev Institute became an instrument to supply civil servant need of Russian government.¹²⁰

There were also developments in Sinology in 19th century. An Orthodox Church had been founded in Beijing in 1689 and Archimandrite Khilarion Lezhajsky had come here with his entourage for missionary activities. The forerunners of Sinology were I. K. Rossohin and A. L. Leonev. Both of them knew Chinese very well and they were interested in translation historical, philosophical and geographical texts.¹²¹

However, the most distinguished place in the Russian Sinology école belongs to Nikita Jakolovlevich Bichurin (1777-1853). Bichurin became a monk in his 22 years of age and served as the head of the Russian Orthodox mission in Beijing. He learned Chinese, Manchurian and Mongolian and studied history, geography, religions and philosophy of these states. Bichurin published 14 books related to the problems of China, Mongolia, Central Asia, Tibet and Far East. The Beijing mission was following business of Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as religious missions. Ministry of Foreign Affairs was more aware of the value of information obtained by the ex-members of the mission settled in Beijing in respect to high clergy. The Ministry used information obtained by these people, including priest Bichurin, after their return from China in the Asian Office founded in 1819.

¹²⁰ *Encyclopedia of Russian History*. Editor in Chief James R. Millar. New York: Macmillan, 2004, pp. 832-833.; Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, pp. 40-42.

¹²¹ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, 452-453.

However Japanese did not receive as much attraction as Chinese. Although there were some attempts to found a chair of Japanese in the Faculty of Oriental Languages in 1871, it came into being in 1898 in St. Petersburg.¹²²

Apart from oriental studies in the universities, a branch was opened in 1823 to train the specialists in oriental languages for the service of the Asian Committee (1802) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is closely connected with the Russian policy of interference to Central Asia and Caucasus. One of the main driving forces behind the rise the Lazarev Institute was the need for training orientalist-diplomats who had been dramatically important with the Russian expansion from the midst of 19th century on. As it was mentioned, the Lazarev Institute became an instrument of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after a while. The well-educated, young and Orthodox students were accepted to this five-year school.¹²³ E. P. Kovalevski, head of the Asian Department and an orientalist-diplomat, sparked great scientific and diplomatic missions towards Asian states. Thus N. V. Hanykov in Iran and Afghanistan; N. P. Ignatiev in Hive and Bukhara, and N. G. Stoletov in Buhara and Afghanistan carried out missions.¹²⁴

Similar to what Ministry of Foreign Affairs had done, since the Russian Army needed orientalists, the Orenburg Neptyuevskiy Military Academy was

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 452-467.

¹²³ Frye, *op. cit.*, in note 31, p. 40.

¹²⁴ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, 439-451.

founded with the order of Alexander I in 1824. Military interpreters were trained for the Russian Army in this six-year school. A similar school was founded in Tashkent in 1897. Both Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the army was totally pragmatic in their approach to oriental studies. However all these efforts undoubtedly improved oriental studies in Russia.

Consequently, oriental studies in Russia included both academic and practical purposes in this period. Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the army and universities had different considerations, all of them tried to fulfill their needs for the orientalist. The penetration of Russia to Central Asia and the Caucasus accelerated these studies. As a consequence, there emerged three different schools having three different characteristics in Russia. Although the teaching of Eastern languages in the Moscow University lost its importance, the Lazarev Institute kept its importance because it provided civil servants to the government. The Kazan school already had different place due to its Muslim population. St. Petersburg being the seat of the Academy of Sciences and having abundant materials continued to be the center of oriental studies. As a matter of fact, most of the remarkable Russian orientalist of the 20th century came from the St. Petersburg school. Bartold indicates that *Kazem* Bek and Senkovsky created the Russian orientalism with their courses and works. And almost all the members of next generation were their students or their students' students.¹²⁵ Senkovsk served in St. Petersburg University between 1822 and 1847 and *Kazem* Bek

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 467.

between 1845 and 1870. O. I. Senkovski in Turkish; H.D. Fren and V.V. Grigorev in Persian; V. R. Rozen, V. S. Goleishcheva and B. V. Turaev in Arabic; I. P. Minaev and F. I. Shcherbatskiy in Indian; N. J. Bicurin and V. P. Vasilev in Sinology were outstanding figures in the academic circles of the Russian oriental studies.

Chapter IV

Conclusion

Minaev, one of the founders of Indology in Russia, states the following:

"In Russia, learning the East has never been abstract, it could not be so. We are so close to the East that we cannot have an abstract interest. Russia's interest is always closely related to the East and that is why the Oriental studies in Russia cannot exist without their practical reflection."¹²⁶

The oriental studies in Russia until the 19th century are not abstract in nature but emerged out of practical commercial, military and/or diplomatic reasons. Also in the development of oriental studies, the expansion of religion and the role of the Church are important. Therefore this thesis argues that oriental studies in Russia have the following features:

1. The studies on Eastern societies, which the Russians have come across, traded or fought with, were motivated by practical reasons.
2. The studies of academic nature at the institution level which initiated by Peter were parallel to Russia's geographic expansion towards the East.

¹²⁶ I. P. Minayev. *Ob izuchenii Indii v russkix universitetax*. Otchet o soctoyanii Imperatorskogo C.-Peterburgskogo universiteta i deyatelnosti ego uchenogo cocloviya za 1883 g. CPB. 1884, p. 89.

3. The Russian oriental studies reached to an academic level following the commercial, religious, military and diplomatic oriental studies of studying the other cultures and societies.
4. Earlier studies of orientalism developed to an academic level with the expansion of Russia's political power towards its own orient. This was in close connection to the process of modernization and the centralization of the state during Peter the Great. During the modernization period in the 18th century, the Russian state started to distinguish itself from other societies. In the process of the definition of the self of the Russian state, the other was especially the social and political formations in the Russian orient. The process of modernity through the centralization of the political, administrative, economic, educational institutions caused also the centralization of oriental studies at the institutional level.

As discussed previously, Russia's commercial and cultural relations with the East existed from the very beginning of Russian history. These relations have brought Russia into contact with different cultures and religions. However, it is hard to say that there existed major cultural differences in the early period since the distinct Russian culture was not present at the time. What started orientalism in Russia was the need to gather information on the societies Russia fought or traded with, the products of the East and Islam, which were perceived as opposed to Christianity. That is why orientalism attracted interest from the spheres of military, commerce and

religion. In the period from the beginning of Russian history until the 18th century, relations established due to geographical proximity, the Hojdenyas to the holy lands, and the books depicting the lives of churchmen became the starting point of Russian's learning process of the East in a practical way. After the end of the Mongolian rule and the Russian conquests of Kazan and Astrahan changed the balance of power in the region to the advantage of the Russians. The belief that Moscow was "the third Rome", put forth in the 15th century, had been an important step in realizing a Russian identity and also played a crucial role in Church's undertaking an influential role in the state apparatus. With the conquest of Siberia, relations with Japan and China had started and more diverse populations were added to the non-Russian population of Kazan and Astrahan. These developments brought the necessity for translation issues. The church wanted to promote conversion into Christianity, merchants to flourish their trade and the military to have better information about new lands. These needs were largely met by means of baptized Tatars, which indirectly put Tatars in a favourable position when it came to relations with the East.

The geographical expansion made cartography a necessity in terms of both military and commercial purposes. That is why the 17th century coincides to a period when the geographical terms are better defined. In this century, numerous envoys were sent to Central Asia to gather Russian captives and to India to explore trade routes. After Peter the Great became Tsar and then Emperor, the Westernization process in Russia took pace,

western style education institutions were established and foreign scholars were invited from abroad. Manuscripts, documents, valuables collected through military activities in the East also added to the material resources of Russian oriental studies. The 19th century was a time when the oriental studies in Russia reached its maturity and Orientalist faculties were established at the universities of Kazan, St. Petersburg and Moscow. In addition to these faculties, the military and the foreign ministry had opened schools within their institutions to train the necessary personnel. The requirement for such qualified personnel was so high that the Russian Foreign Ministry assigned Lazarev Institute as a school for training civil servants for the ministry. As a result of academic studies conducted at these universities, orientalism in Russia trained distinctly qualified people and gave birth to invaluable works in the field.

So, when we look at the 19th century, it can be seen that there is not a single type of orientalist. Different interest areas and motivations had also an impact on the nature of the orientalists, which as a result created "commercial orientalist", "diplomat orientalist", "military orientalist" and "academic orientalist". While the contribution of academic orientalists is not comparable to that of the others, it should be noted that all the other types of oriental studies paved the way to academic orientalism.

V. V. Bartold evaluating Russian orientalism argues that while Russian orientalism accomplished so much in the 19th century, it still fell behind the necessary level that it should have come.

We see that the oriental studies have not met the expectations rising from the geographic location of Russia, different elements making up its people, and generations long studies in the field since Peter the Great. Despite the successes accomplished, Russian science in general and orientalism in particular indicate the backwardness of the Russian culture. This has naturally reflected itself to Russian orientalism.¹²⁷

Barhold even claimed that S. F. Oldenburg's statement that 'Russia, neighbour of the East, has always known and understood the East very well' was not true. He argued that what should be stated is that "Russia preferred reading about the East from low quality Western books rather than directly analyzing the East."¹²⁸

However, the state of Russian orientalism in the 19th century is a clear evidence that the situation is not that grave. It had not even been one century since the academic oriental studies commenced. Therefore, while different schools and traditions flourished in this period, it would only be in the first half of the 20th century when these efforts gave their efforts. That is

¹²⁷ Bartold, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 482.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

why it is possible to see that there has been a change in Barhold's views in the 1920s. Barhold, in the letter he wrote to Zeki Velidi Togan on 23.11.1925, says that he saw Schwart's book "Iran im Mittelalter" and comments that German science fell behind Russian science.¹²⁹ So, oriental studies in Russia which started for practical causes, improved as the Western orientalist started coming to Russia after the beginning of the 18th century and took on an academic form with the establishment of orientalist faculties in the 19th century and when the 20th century arrived, the state of oriental studies in Russia had even surpassed that of the West.

¹²⁹ A. M. Yuldashbayev. "Iz Perepiski Vydayutshikhcy Vostokovedov." *Vatandash* 6 (2000), p.114.

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