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CONTENTS

Lyudmila Lykholet Recounts	3
Every Beginning is Hard	5
The Path of Emigration	10
Healing People Emotionally	12
The Jewish School of Dortmund in the Mid-19th Century Based on a Press Report	13
Abai on Human Maturation	17
Some Sketches About the Germans in Russia during the 16th–19th Centuries	22

Liudmyla Lykholot

Liudmyla Lykholot Recounts

Pensioner

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Abstract

Refugee Liudmyla Lykholot recounts her experiences in the besieged Ukrainian town of Vovchansk in the year and a half following the Russian army's invasion. In the completely bombed-out town, she looked after abandoned pets. She fled to Germany in May 2024.

Keywords: *Liudmyla Lykholot | Russian army's invasion of Ukraine | Vovchansk | care of abandoned pets | Ukrainian refugees in Germany*

When I first heard the explosions in Vovchansk in February 2022, I thought they were part of a military exercise. However, in September, the Russian army started to bomb my city.

One day, I was at home when I suddenly heard a terrifying roar overhead. My house started shaking and I was too frightened to run outside. Just seconds later, I heard something hit the ground, followed by a loud explosion. I later learned that the Aggregate Plant had been destroyed. Many people fled the city, abandoning their pets – mostly dogs and cats. I started to feed them.



The Worried Tomcat
Drawing by Inna Kutishenko

I used to cook for four dogs and four cats that lived right next door to me. Another five cats had been abandoned 500 metres from my house. I rode my bicycle there to feed them, too.

During one of these rounds, I heard a whistling sound overhead and thought, "If that comes down right

now, it's all over for me." The explosion occurred 150 metres away when a rocket hit a five-storey building. I gathered all my strength, kept going and fed the cats anyway. On the way back, the loud sound of a rocket flying overhead accompanied me once again.

I made these trips every day. A few days after arriving to look after the animals, I went into the house to feed them. I had forgotten to close the gate in the fence and planned to go back and do so. However, just as I touched the door handle to step outside, there was a massive explosion.

A shell hit my neighbour's garage, just seven metres away. I was saved by the fact that I was unable to open the front door. The windows had been blown out and the door was completely distorted. A massive fire broke out in the neighbouring house. I called the fire brigade and the police.

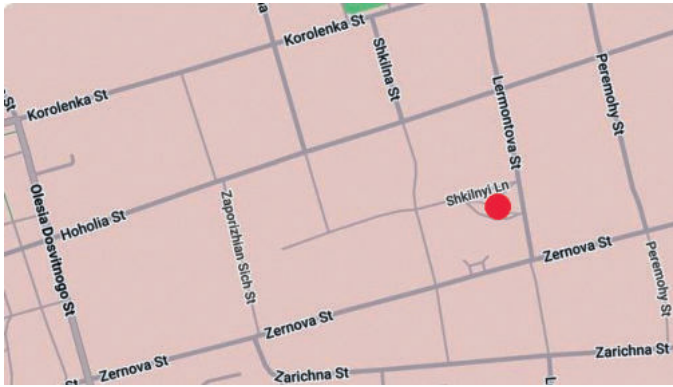


https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2024-09-05_-_Presidential_Brigade_UAF_-_Vovchansk_05.jpg?uselang=de

I lived in this state for a year and a half, visiting the animals daily. Over time, the shelling became more intense and frequent. Leaving the house was practically impossible. I hid in the middle room. I did not dare go down into the cellar as there were no neighbours nearby.

One day, I went out into the garden to collect firewood for heating the house. Suddenly, there was a loud explosion nearby. All the windows in my house were blown out.

I found myself compelled to leave my hometown of Vovchansk. Before leaving, I decided to board up the windows and cover them with plastic sheeting. While I was doing this in the evening, there was a burst of automatic gunfire. I stopped and the shooting stopped too. When I started boarding them up again, the shooting resumed. This happened two or three more times. Ukrainian troops were positioned along Lermontova Street, while Russian troops were moving along Korolenka Street. I was caught in the crossfire. I never did manage to board up the windows. Two days later, on 16 May 2024, I left.



Pushing my small cart ahead of me, I finally reached the river. The bridges had been destroyed, leaving only a pedestrian walkway. I crossed it and made my way to the other side. Explosions boomed incessantly and, time and again, I threw myself to the ground as I caught sight of fiery glows. Drones and guided aerial bombs passed overhead. Burning houses were visible.

During the first three kilometres of my journey, bombs rained down on the city. At one point, a large German shepherd came towards me, stared me in the eye and growled. I was terrified and began to tremble. But then I pulled myself together, remembering that a dog might lunge if it senses fear in a human. I started talking to the dog. At first, the dog backed away from me, but then he lunged at me again, staring intently into my eyes. I commanded: "Stop that!" The dog stepped aside, clearing the path for me. I remember his gaze to this day.

After a while, a car appeared on the road. The driver took me to a medical aid station. From there, volunteers sent me to Kharkiv. I eventually travelled to Germany from there.

On 26 July 2024, I arrived in Plauen, a city in the Free State of Saxony in the Federal Republic of Germany.



https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Вовчанськ_Церква.png



Denis Vitchenko: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Соборна,25,Вовчанськ.jpg>



Vizu: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Nature_of_Vovchansk?uselang=de#/media/File:Волчанск_Волчья_против_течения_IMG_8129.JPG

David Gevorkov

Every Beginning is Hard. Aller Anfang ist schwer

Catering manager, cheesemaker
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Abstract

David Gevorkov, a native of Georgia who lived and worked in Ukraine for many years as a successful catering manager, describes his first years in Germany as a refugee. He and his wife received a warm welcome from many Germans. At the same time, however, some of the officials responsible for their integration have shown little empathy for their problems and aspirations. Nevertheless, David wants “to be useful to Germany and pay taxes”.

He has developed a concept. It will be a cheese café catering for children and adolescents in the mornings and afternoons, and for adults from around 6pm onwards. This dining establishment is particularly important for the younger generation. Children and adolescents need calcium for healthy bones and teeth. Cheese promotes growth. In addition to milk and fruit quark, soft and semi-hard cheeses are an important part of a healthy children's diet due to their high calcium and protein content. David can produce various types of cheese, including ones made according to child-friendly recipes. The cheese café is also intended to be a venue for hosting the project developed by the citizens' initiative of Ukrainian refugee parents, entitled: “Theatre-Pedagogical Workshop for the Artistic Integration of Refugee Children and Adolescents”. Theatre activities can help to overcome many pedagogical challenges related to improving children's linguistic expression, and their intellectual, artistic and aesthetic education and musical development. Participating in theatrical performances enables children to act out various real-life situations. This helps them to understand the world around them better and introduces them to German culture.

At the same time, theatre-based educational initiatives can lay the groundwork for providing implicit group social therapy to alleviate post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in refugee children and adolescents, particularly those from Ukraine. Svitlana Fridinska, his wife, is a qualified psychologist and could take responsibility for this part of the project.

Keywords: David Gevorkov | refugees from Ukraine | integration | socialisation | cheese café | post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)

Stichwörter: David Gevorkov | Flüchtlinge aus der Ukraine | Integration | Sozialisierung | Käsecafé | Posttraumatische Belastungsstörung (PTBS)



Mein Name ist **David Gevorkov**, meine Frau ist Svitlana Fridinska. Nach dem Kriegsbeginn flüchteten wir Ende April 2022 aus der Stadt Odessa in der Ukraine.

1967 wurde ich in Tbilissi / Georgien geboren. 2005 siedelte ich nach Odessa um. Als ausgebildeter Gastwirt gründete ich in Odessa einen Feinkostladen und die Beratungsfirma “Service-DA LTD”. Ich betrie verschiedene Städte in der Ukraine (Restaurants, Hotels) und entwickelte neue Konzepte zur Optimierung der Betriebsabläufe und Steigerung der Geschäftseffizienz. Dann griff Russland die Ukraine an.

Man hat uns in Deutschland sehr gut aufgenommen, wir bekamen Bekleidung und Verpflegung. Die Deutschen brachten uns zunächst ins Lager Sindelfingen. Wir blieben 4 Tage dort, dann wurden wir in das Lager in der Stadt Esslingen gebracht. Man empfing uns sehr gut dort, gaben uns 3-mal am Tag zu essen, alle Bedingungen waren sehr gut. Zwei Wochen blieben wir in diesem Lager. Dann kam ein Brief bezüglich unserer Umsiedlung, ein Auto kam und brachte uns in die kleine Gemeinde Beuren, sie brachten uns in einer 30 Quadratmeter großen Einzimmerwohnung mit großem Balkon neben dem Thermalwasser unter.

Dann waren wir mit allerlei Papierkram beschäftigt. In unserer Gemeinde bereitete die Mitarbeiterin des Rathauses, die alle Flüchtlinge betreute, die Bürgergeldunterlagen auch für uns vor. Wie wir später er-

führen, war unserer Kuratorin ein Fehler unterlaufen, und wir mussten zwei Monate lang ohne Grundversicherung ausharren. Ich musste die Kuratorin, die diesen Fehler gemacht hatte, um etwas Geld für Essen bitten. Zunächst gab sie uns 100 Euro für zwei, weil sie dachte, dass alles schnell geklärt werden würde, aber es wurde nicht geklärt, und beim nächsten Mal gab sie uns 50 Euro. Auf meine Frage, wie wir zu zweit mit 50 Euro im Monat auskommen könnten, antwortete sie, dass wir sparen mussten oder so etwas in der Art.

Nun, wir haben diese Zeit irgendwie überstanden und die Zahlungen wurden geleistet. Im Zuge dessen wunderten sich die Lohnbuchhalter in Esslingen, wie verantwortungslos unsere Unterlagen ausgefüllt wurden. Tatsächlich waren wir selbst mehr als zwei Monate unterwegs und haben das geschafft, obwohl wir weder Deutsch noch die Straßen kannten. Wir waren selbst in all diesen Ämtern und wir haben das alles erreicht, wenn auch mit Mühe!!!

Wir lebten ziemlich lange in dieser Wohnung und freundeten uns mit dem Nachbarn an, der uns manchmal beim Ausfüllen von Dokumenten und anderen Dingen half. Es war der liebe Nachbar Akim, ich glaube ein Österreicher, wir sind allen Deutschen und allen anderen, die uns helfen, dankbar.

Wir haben 2 Jahre in dieser Wohnung gewohnt und eines Tages hat mir unsere Betreuerin vom Rathaus geschrieben, dass wir uns eine Wohnung suchen mussten, weil wir 800 Euro zu viel Nebenkosten hatten, und der Eigentümer oder die Eigentümerin uns deshalb nicht wohnen mochte, obwohl das Jobcenter bezahlte die Wohnung und wir laut den Papieren dort noch lange wohnen konnten. Wir waren überrascht und baten, uns genau diese Mehrausgaben vorzulegen, woraufhin uns die Sachbearbeiterin antwortete, dass es keine solche Quittung gäbe und dass diejenige, die uns die Mehrausgaben berechnet hatte, gekündigt hätte. Wir verstanden immer noch nicht, warum es keine Quittung gab, und sie sagte, dass wir zum Jobcenter gehen mussten, um dies aufzuklären. Wir gingen zum Jobcenter und erzählten ihnen das alles. Sie waren überrascht und verlangten diese Quittung. Wir antworteten, dass sie uns keine Belege gegeben hätten. Dann stellte das Jobcenter eine Anfrage an unser Rathaus und an diese Kuratorin selbst, und wir haben immer noch keine Bestätigung bekommen. Wir waren bereit, diese 800 Euro zu zahlen, wenn sie uns einen Schuldnachweis lieferten. Wir riefen sogar die Kuratorin an, was eigentlich gegen die Vorschriften verstieß, und waren sehr überrascht, warum und auf welcher Grundlage das alles geschah!

Daraufhin begannen wir mit der Wohnungssuche. Wir suchten fast drei Monate lang, konnten aber keine finden. Am Ende teilte uns die Kuratorin mit, dass wir in ein kleines Zimmer verlegt würden, und betonte dabei mit einem sarkastischen Lächeln, dass es aus irgendeinem Grund keinen Balkon geben würde. Auf die Frage, ob wir sehen können, wo es sei und wie es aussehe, antwortete sie, dass wir alles nur beim Umzug sehen würden.

Und dieser Tag kam, wir bereiteten die Wohnung vor, wuschen alles, sammelten den Müll ein usw. und schickten der Kuratorin Fotos von der sauberen Wohnung. Die Kuratorin kam mit einem Team aus drei Männern. Wir halfen auch beim Einladen unserer Sachen ins Auto. Durch Zufall fiel meiner Frau Svitlana Fridinska ein Glas mit eingelegtem Gemüse aus der Hand und es verschüttete sich auf dem Treppenabsatz. Natürlich hat meine Frau sofort alle drei Treppenläufe auf allen drei Etagen geputzt.

Doch gleichzeitig erzählten die Arbeiter der Kuratorin von diesem Vorfall, und sie kam schreiend angerannt, warum deutsche Männer einem die Sachen tragen sollten und dass wir wie Schweine seien. Ich habe ihr aber geantwortet, dass es keinen Grund gibt, uns so zu beleidigen, dass wir keine Schweine sind, sondern Menschen, die vor dem Krieg geflohen sind, und dass diese Arbeiter von Ihnen auch das Geld für diese Arbeit bekommen. Und wir halfen auch, unsere Sachen zu tragen.

Als wir zum Umzug vorbereiteten, packten wir unsere Sachen in großen schwarzen Zellophantüten ein. Eine der Tüten nahm Sabina in die Hand und warf sie aus dem dritten Stock, weil sie dachte, dass es so schneller ginge. Diese Tasche enthielt unsere persönlichen Gegenstände, und natürlich zersprang die vom Balkon im dritten Stock geworfene Tasche, als sie auf dem Boden aufschlug. Sabina lachte sich darüber kaputt; einer ihrer Mitarbeiter entschuldigte sich bei meiner Frau, Svitlana Fridinska.

Am Ende brachte sie uns zum Hotel. Und ja, es ist definitiv ein kleines Zimmer ohne Balkon, wie versprochen, obwohl es in diesem Hotel viele andere Zimmer mit Balkon gibt und die leer sind. Ich weiß nicht, warum das so ist!? Als wir im Hotel ankamen, sagte sie plötzlich, dass wir eine Menge Kleidung und andere Sachen hätten und alles wegwerfen mussten. Ich antwortete, wie können wir das einfach so wegwerfen, das sind unsere Sachen aus der Ukraine inklusive. Sie antwortete, dass es ihr egal sei. Dann sagte ich ihr, dass ich jetzt unseren Deutschen Freund anrufen würde und er einige der Sachen zu sich nehmen würde.

Sie und ihr Mitarbeiter lachten und glaubten nicht, dass uns ein netter einheimischer Deutscher helfen würde. Sie sagte, ich solle anrufen, gab mir das Telefon und ich rief an. Sie hörte unseren Freund und er sagte ihr, dass er bald eintreffen würde. Er kam, umarmte uns und sagte, dass er jetzt alles lösen würde. Natürlich waren die Kuratorin und ihre Mitarbeiter davon überrascht. Und plötzlich stellte sich heraus, dass unsere Sachen für einen Monat in ein nicht weit entferntes Zimmer des Rathauses gebracht werden konnten. Und ja, unser deutscher Freund sagte, dass wir die Dinge nicht selbst tragen sollten und dass dies die Aufgabe dieser Rathausbrigade sei.

Als wir anfangen, in diesem Hotel zu wohnen, stellte sich heraus, dass die Rohre alt waren und das Abwassersystem nicht richtig funktionierte. Das Waschbecken in unserem Zimmer füllt sich ständig mit Wasser. Wir haben der Kuratorin diesbezüglich geschrieben, und sie hat einen Mitarbeiter geschickt, aber er hat nichts unternommen.

Anschließend haben wir versucht, die Rohre unter dem Waschbecken selbst zu reinigen. Genau in diesem Moment kam die Kuratorin mit ihrem Mitarbeiter und nahm das Rohr weg. Ich fragte, wann es zurückgestellt würde. Sie haben geantwortet, wann es repariert sein würde. So sind drei oder vier Monate vergangen und niemand hat etwas repariert. Wir stellen einen Eimer darunter und waschen uns damit morgens das Gesicht und putzen die Zähne und sagen: „Sei froh, dass du wenigstens ein Dach über dem Kopf hast. Hurra, wir sind glücklich...“

Eine andere Episode. Wir wurden mit unseren Habseligkeiten ins Hotel gebracht und plötzlich, ich weiß nicht mehr genau, nach 1 oder 2 Monaten, kam ein Papier vom Rathaus von dem Dienst, der uns und unsere Habseligkeiten beförderte und irgendwelchen Müll rausbrachte. Wir auch trugen Sachen und Müll dabei. In dem Schreiben hieß es, dass wir 375€ schulden, weil angeblich 5 Personen und 5 Stunden gearbeitet haben und sie den Müll entsorgt haben, und wir ihnen deshalb 375€ schulden. Daraufhin habe ich Sabine Böck geschrieben, warum sollen wir, Flüchtlinge, denn einen so hohen Betrag zahlen. Dieses Geld haben wir nicht. Und zweitens, warum wurden wir nicht vorher darauf hingewiesen, dass wir möglicherweise zahlen mussten, wenn es angeblich viel Müll gab und dieser Müll dann entsorgt werden musste. Ich habe keine vernünftige Antwort erhalten.

Eigentlich, bezüglich dieser 375 Euro sagte sie, dass wir dieses Geld für unsere, wie sie es nannte, beschämenden Handlungen bezahlen sollten. Wir wissen und verstehen jedoch nicht, warum sie beschämend sind. Am 22. oder 23. Mai kam Sa-

bina unerwartet mit ihrem Hausmeister, der, wie wir verstehen, ihr Ehemann ist, in unser Hotel. Der Hausmeister aus irgendeinem Grund sagte, dass wir unsere Produkte wie Müll wegwerfen mussten!

Sabine rief uns in die Hotelküche und richtete uns dort ausdrücklich aus, dass, weil wir viele Lebensmittel dabei hatten, Schwärme von Mäusen und Ratten aufgetaucht seien. Wir waren überrascht und öffneten den Schrank, in dem unser Mehl, Zucker, Nüsse usw. lagerten. Nicht eine einzige Tüte mit Mehl, Zucker oder Nüssen wurde von Mäusen oder Ratten berührt, und was noch wichtiger war: Auch die offene Tüte mit den Lebensmittelabfällen wurde von Mäusen oder Ratten nicht angerührt.

Ich fragte: „Warum glauben Sie, dass diese Mäuse speziell gekommen sind, um unsere Produkte zu fressen und nicht die Produkte unserer Nachbarn?“ Und zweitens: „Warum haben sie die Säcke mit Mehl, Nüssen und Zucker nicht gefressen oder berührt, sie zerrissen und Spuren hinterlassen!? Wahrscheinlich haben die Mäuse gemerkt, dass es sich um Davids Produkte handelte, hatten Angst bekommen und hungrig davongelaufen sind, wahrscheinlich so...“ Ich konnte dieses verrückte Gespräch nicht mehr ertragen, bin weggegangen und habe gesagt, dass wir einen Termin mit einem Rechtsanwalt oder einem Versicherungsberater bezüglich unsere Rechtsschutzversicherung vereinbaren werden.

Am nächsten Tag kamen sie wieder, wieder Sabina und ihr Hausmeister. Meine Frau Svitlana Fridinska war zu Hause, ich nicht. Sie wollten überprüfen, ob wir die „Extraprodukte“ und alles, was sie aus irgendeinem Grund für unnötig hielten, entfernt hatten. Sabina lobte sogar, dass alles in Ordnung sei.

Der Sohn des Hoteleigentümers, der hier im Hotel wohnt, sagte uns, dass es keine Mäuse gäbe, was wahrscheinlich der Grund für die Ausreden von Sabina sei, dass sie uns zu Unrecht beschuldigt hätte oder so etwas in der Art.





Was ich machen kann und will

Eine russische Anwohnerin, die auch Deutsch spricht und schon lange hier in Beuren lebt, schlug mir vor, ein Treffen mit dem Bürgermeister von Beuren zu organisieren, und bat mich, für den Bürgermeister etwas Käse zum Probieren herzustellen. Ich habe es getan und wir sind zum Rathaus gegangen, um den Bürgermeister zu treffen.

Der Bürgermeister war überrascht und sagte beim Probieren des Käses, dass er sehr toll und lecker sei. Unsere Bekannte fragte den Bürgermeister, ob er uns helfen und Räumlichkeiten für die Käseproduktion bereitstellen könne, um Touristen zu dieser wunderbaren Gemeinde Beuren zu verlocken. Er antwortete, dass er darüber nachdenken müsse. Und plötzlich kam unsere persönliche Kuratorin und sie war sehr überrascht, dass wir bei einem Treffen mit dem Bürgermeister waren. Sie hat unseren Käse selbst probiert und er hat ihr und allen Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern des Rathauses geschmeckt. Und wir warteten darauf, dass sie uns endlich bei etwas helfen, so dass wir arbeiten, unseren wunderbaren Käse herstellen und Deutschland nützlich sein konnten. Wir würden Steuern zahlen und Deutschland nicht zur Last fallen.

Aber es passierte nichts. Es stellte sich heraus, dass unser Hotelnachbar entweder der Sohn des Hotelbesitzers oder der Besitzer selbst war, also bereiteten wir schließlich 1 kg verschiedener Käsesorten in der Küche des Hotels zu und gaben sie dem Besitzer zum Probieren. Ihm gefiel der Käse, daraufhin schrieb ich ihm einen Vorschlag, dass wir vielleicht hier im Hotel Käse herstellen könnten, zumal wir hier wohnen und noch ein paar andere Leute, d. h. das Hotel ist fast leer.

Ich habe ein Konzept entwickelt. Es soll ein Käsecafé für Kinder, Jugendliche (vor- bzw. nachmittags) und Erwachsene (ab ca. 18:00 Uhr) sein. Diese Speiseeinrichtung ist besonders wichtig für jüngere Generation. Kinder und Jugendliche benötigen Kal-

zium für gesunde Knochen und Zähne. Käse unterstützt das Wachstum der Kinder. In der breiten Palette an Milchprodukten, darunter Milch, Quark und Fruchtequark, ist Weich- und Schnittkäse wegen seines hohen Kalziumanteils und seiner hochwertigen Proteine ganz besonders bedeutend für eine gesunde Ernährung von Kindern. Ich kann verschiedene Käsesorten, darunter auch nach kindgerechten Rezepten, herstellen.

Käsecafé ist auch angedacht als Ort für Durchführung des Vorhabens „Theaterpädagogischer Workshop zur künstlerischen Integration der geflüchteten Kinder und Jugendliche“, das von der Bürgerinitiative der geflüchteten ukrainischen Eltern entwickelt worden ist. Theateraktivitäten ermöglichen die Lösung vieler pädagogischer Probleme im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufbau der Ausdruckskraft der kindlichen Sprache, der intellektuellen, künstlerischen und ästhetischen Bildung sowie der musikalischen Entwicklung. Durch die Teilnahme an Theaterspielen werden Kinder zu Teilnehmern verschiedener Lebenssituationen, wodurch sie die Welt um sich herum besser verstehen und an die deutsche Kultur herangeführt werden können.

Gleichzeitig können die theaterpädagogischen Maßnahmen die Voraussetzungen für Durchführung der impliziten Gruppensozialtherapie zum Abbau von posttraumatischen Belastungsstörungen (GST-PTBS) bei Geflüchteten schaffen, insbesondere bei Kindern und Jugendlichen aus der Ukraine. Meine Frau Svitlana Fridinska ist ausgebildete Fachpsychologin und kann die Verantwortung für diesen Teil des Projektes übernehmen.

Aber wie sich herausstellte, wurde dieses Hotel von unserem Rathaus entweder zur Miete oder zum Kauf übernommen, und jetzt entscheiden sie, was und wie. Der sogenannte Hoteleigentümer schrieb unserer Kuratorin über unseren Vorschlag, und sie kam in Panik mit einer Kollegin angerannt und sagte: „Nein ... Verboten“. Ich antwortete ihr, dass ich hier keinen Käse herstelle und auch sonst nirgendwo, weil das alles mit allen Genehmigungen und Dokumenten erledigt werden muss, aber ich habe probeweise ein bisschen Käse hergestellt und dem benachbarten Eigentümer einen Vorschlag geschrieben, wie er diesem Hotel wieder zu seinem früheren Gewinn und Erfolg verhelfen kann. Und auf meine Fragen, warum man hier keinen Käse herstellen könne usw., bekam ich keine klare Antwort. Ich habe gesagt, dass der von mir hergestellte Käse hat dem Bürgermeister und Ihnen geschmeckt. Ich brauchte nur den Betriebsplatz und Beistand bei der Organisation dieses Unternehmens.

Die Kuratorin antwortete, dass die Gemeinde Beuren kein Interesse an unserem Käse habe. Wieso denn!? Was ist dann mit der Integrationshilfe und mit der Sorge der Behörden, dass wir alle nicht arbeiten wollen und nur Interesse an den Geldleistungen haben!??

Die Küche in diesem Hotel ist groß und das Hotel wird als Hotel-Restaurant bezeichnet, was bedeutet, dass es für gastronomische Aktivitäten zugelassen ist. Darüber hinaus sind in dieser Gemeinde viele Betriebe geschlossen und es findet fast keine Entwicklung statt. Aber man hat im Zentrum von Beuren einen Dönerladen eröffnet...



Sergei Miroshnichenko

The Path of Emigration

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Abstract

Sergei Anatolyevich Miroshnichenko, a Ukrainian IT specialist, retells his story. He officially emigrated to Germany due to his incurable illness. He has settled in Plauen and is now looking for a job he likes.

Keywords: *Sergei Anatolyevich Miroshnichenko*
| *Russian army's invasion of Ukraine* | *Ukrainian refugees in Germany.*



When the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine began, my life, like that of the entire Ukrainian population, changed drastically. One could speculate about the causes and consequences of these events, but what would be the point? There are already countless analysts online, and I have no wish to join their ranks.

I was born in 1977 and grew up in Donetsk. I followed the standard path of school, technical college and university, all of which I attended during the 1990s. But how did I end up attending university after technical college? The original plan was for students to transfer directly from the polytechnic to Donetsk National Technical University, specifically

into the third year of my programme. This option was available at the start of my studies at the technical college. However, during my final year at polytechnic, we encountered a problem. We were told that we would all have to start again as first-year university students. I chose Donetsk National University as a result. I graduated in 2002 with a degree in physics and engineering.

Afterwards, I worked in the warehouse of a computer distribution company. In 2005, I joined the “Fund for Insurance against Workplace Accidents”, a government agency, where I worked as a system administrator. As it was a public authority, the pay was low. However, the job was actually pretty good at the time. I worked there until 2011. It was interesting at first, but over time it became monotonous as I was constantly performing the same tasks, which made me feel as though my brain was slowly going numb.

So, when my fellow student, Alexander, offered me a job at his private computer maintenance and repair company, I accepted almost immediately (there were also personal reasons involved). We were in the outsourcing business, serving clients and handling the maintenance of their office equipment, as well as performing upgrades to their computer hardware and software. Our business was booming and orders were coming in thick and fast. My friend and I were already considering where we could find a third person to join the team, as we could barely keep up with the volume of service requests. He was a senior system administrator who specialised in the software produced by the Russian company 1C.

Then came 2014, the year when Russia made its declaration: “Crimea belongs to us.” It then proceeded to occupy Crimea, and the Donbas region. This took place under the guise of so-called “people’s republics”. Everyone knew who was funding it, yet the world silently accepted Russia’s actions. From that point on, the situation deteriorated – to put it mildly.

While Alexander went to Kharkiv, our 1C specialist and I stayed in Donetsk to provide support. Some clients remained in Ukraine, so we relocated their equipment to places such as Mariupol and Kramatorsk. Others simply ceased operations. In short, our client base shrank drastically. Because of the hostilities, Alexander went to Poland, and I moved to Dnipro in 2017. I wasn’t exactly thrilled at the prospect of becoming a “volunteer” in the “People’s Army” of the “most people-oriented” of all the “people’s republics”.

To make matters worse, it turned out that the condition I was suffering from, which I had initially paid little attention to, was incurable by that point. It is

commonly known as Bekhterev's disease, though I still haven't managed to remember the scientific name. Until 2020, I had attributed all the pain to the long-term effects of a car accident in 2011.

I worked as a system administrator for various organisations in Dnipro. The most interesting of these was a company that provided support for 1C software. Initially, I handled technical support for clients as a system administrator, and later took on tasks related to 1C administration as well.

At the beginning of 2022, I was unemployed for a while. However, I then got a job at Medicum as a system administrator. The pay wasn't particularly generous, but I got to know the doctors and was able to get an MRI scan, which is extremely important when dealing with back problems. It is worth noting that I need to lower the level of C-reactive protein in my blood, an indicator of my health status, through monthly injections. The cost of the medication is substantial, particularly given wage levels in Ukraine. At the time, that was essentially equivalent to my monthly salary. Occasionally, I took part in programmes testing new medications, specifically Humira-based drugs. In short, I was a guinea pig. Otherwise, I relied on painkillers.

I met a fellow sufferer named Pavel Bondar during doctor's visits. He is an artist who has created a large body of work, including paintings and murals. He had already researched the logistics of moving abroad and had decided to go to Germany, where the medication for our condition is available free of charge. He moved first, and then helped me with my move. That is how I ended up in Plauen, Germany, in 2023.

Initially, people often asked me, "How did you manage to get out?" But back then, the medical board at the conscription centre routinely issued "white slips" – medical exemptions – for serious illnesses. So, I officially left the country via Poland.

One invaluable advantage of living in Germany is that my medications are covered by health insurance. This is definitely a plus, even though the job search has its downsides. First came the integration courses, and now it is the job search. Admittedly, I haven't started speaking German yet, although I can generally understand native speakers now.

Plauen is a small town, a fact that is reflected in its labour market. IT roles, such as programming and technical support positions, are primarily remote. I have over 25 years' experience in computer hardware repair and software development. Despite having sent out my CV, I have not yet received any offers.

I was once offered a vacancy, but the position required me to have a car. This is problematic because, although I hold a Ukrainian driving licence, I haven't driven a car in ten years. Renting a car was out of the question, of course.

This article probably won't be particularly interesting to many people. But sometimes you just have to write a piece like this about yourself – if only to look back on the path you've travelled so far.

Kyiv 2026



Photographer: Irina Osmak

Irina Belyak

Healing People Emotionally

Irina Belyak

librarian and graphic designer

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Abstract

Irina Belyak, a librarian and graphic designer from Ukraine, shares her story. She believes that her paintings can help people to heal emotionally. She wants to open a café displaying her work, where people can relax, drink tea, and immerse themselves in the art.

Keywords: *Irina Belyak | Russian army's invasion of Ukraine | Ukrainian refugees in Germany | art café | reduction of post-traumatic stress disorder*



My name is Irina Belyak. I am a librarian and graphic designer from Ukraine. Like many other Ukrainian families, I fled my country because of the war and I am now living in Germany. The German people have welcomed us with warmth and compassion.

Although the beginning was difficult, the desire to help people remained. It was a time of intense spiritual exploration and inner work. I was searching for my own path of development. This spiritual depth is evident in my drawings. My art is not just “work”, but a way of expressing my gratitude.

Through my paintings, I aim to help people heal emotionally. I believe that being able to help others despite having endured pain yourself is a sign of true strength. I wish to share this strength. Through good deeds and active participation, may we work together to restore not only lives, but also faith in humanity. Immersed in new landscapes and cultures, I have

found a new meaning in creativity. For me, drawing is a means of expressing feelings, dreams and memories.

My works are vibrant and draw inspiration from the rich cultural heritage of Ukraine, as well as the resilience of its people.

I want to open a café displaying my paintings – a place where people can relax, drink tea and immerse themselves in the artwork. This is why I don't paint faces.



Alex Dreger

The Jewish School of Dortmund in the Mid-19th Century Based on a Press Report

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Abstract

The article, based on a publication in the German newspaper “Wochenblatt für die Stadt und den Kreis Dortmund” (Weekly Paper for the City and District of Dortmund) on 18 October 1845, tells of the excellent results achieved by pupils at the Jewish School in Dortmund. The author of the newspaper article also regrets the poor condition of the school premises.

Keywords: *Weekly Paper for the City and District of Dortmund | Jewish School | exam*

In the early 19th century, the Kingdom of Prussia was hit by a catastrophe that threatened its very existence. Defeat in the war against Napoleonic France demonstrated the need for reforms modelled on those of the victor. One such reform was an overhaul of the education system. Along with the granting of equal legal rights to the Jewish population, it laid the groundwork for the establishment of secular Jewish schools, having as an example Catholic and Evangelical educational institutions.

By the mid-19th century, the city of Dortmund had a significant Jewish community with a centuries-old tradition. The rapid increase in the urban population was accompanied by an expansion of the diaspora, inevitably necessitating corresponding changes – all within the constraints of the dense medieval layout of Dortmund’s historic core. The most striking symbol of progress was the construction of a new synagogue. However, this did not occur until much later – by the mid-19th century, the community was compelled to make do with the original structure. The same was true of the school. This momentous event was documented in the publication „Wochenblatt für die Stadt und den Kreis Dortmund“ of 18 October 1845.

An unnamed author provides a detailed account of an examination held on 9 October at the local

Israelite school. It is regrettable that the journalist chose to omit significant information of interest in favour of an emotional account of what he witnessed. The author was clearly struck by the discrepancy between the parents’ evident lack of attention – there were only two visitors for twenty-four pupils, one of whom was a father, and the other an unmarried representative (presumably the author himself) – and the children’s earnest efforts during an event of such importance to them. The examination had not been prepared for in advance.

Nevertheless, it proceeded to everyone’s satisfaction. The children answered questions on all subjects diligently. Whenever a student hesitated, the teacher skilfully guided them towards the correct answer, showcasing his exceptional pedagogical talent. An atmosphere of trust and ease prevailed during the exam. The author later said that he “had not for a long time spent hours that flew by with such joy”.

In conclusion, the author once again adopts a sombre tone, expressing dismay at the deplorable state of the educational institution and the conditions that could endanger the health of its boys. This is despite the fact that these pupils are the children of parents who mostly live in decent homes.

Thus, we can see just how concerned the journalist was about the state of the school building. It is highly likely that the publication aimed to draw public attention to the problem. As far as is known, these efforts ultimately succeeded, resulting in Dortmund receiving a new Jewish school.

Interestingly, the “Wochenblatt” article is preceded by a piece defending Dortmund’s city fortifications. The demolition of historic walls was a sign of the times: growing cities demanded more space, and history was increasingly sacrificed to make way for modernity. Dortmund was no exception.

Stichwörter: *Wochenblatt für die Stadt und den Kreis Dortmund | Israelitische Schule | Examen*



Wochenblatt

für die

Stadt und den Kreis Dortmund.

Worin der gerühmte Fortschritt, das Licht bestehen soll, wenn man uns die Aussicht nehme, das Licht verbauen will — dieses würden wir uns nicht erklären können, wenn wir nicht wüßten, daß Menschen, die das Vorwärts und das Licht stets im Munde führen, mitunter stark den Krebsgang gehen und daß es nicht immer sehr hell in deren Köpfe ist. Man kommt zuweilen in Versuchung zu glauben, daß Mancher stets Vorwärts ruft, damit sein Rückschritt nicht bemerkt werde und daß Andere immer von Licht sprechen um vergessen zu machen, daß sie in ihrem Fache — in dem Licht der Wissenschaften — nicht weiter schreiten.

Man hofft deshalb, daß die städtischen Behörden den Fieberanfall, der die städtischen Mauern gar zu gern einreißen möchte, ruhig werden vorüber gehn lassen. — Dortmunds alterthümlicher Wall und Mauern haben schon so manchem Sturme Trotz geboten und werden hoffentlich vor dem Erguß poetischer und unpoetischer Adern nicht fortgeschwemmt werden.

Das Examen

in der hiesigen israelitischen Schule am 9. dieses Monats.

Examen sind Freudentage für die Kinder und den thätigen Lehrer. Die fleißigen Kinder zeigen mit den freundlichsten Gesichtern ihre neu erworbenen Kenntnisse und der treue Lehrer sieht im Wohlgefallen seiner Vorgesetzten und der anwesenden Eltern an der Prüfung eine Anerkennung seiner jahreslangen Anstrengung und findet darin eine Belohnung für sein ungemein ermüdendes und häufig ihm noch verbittertes Amt. — Der freundlichsten Einladung des Lehrers durch die Kinder zum Examen folgen jedoch selten die Eltern. So auch hier. Von der ganzen israelitischen Ge-

meinde war bloß Ein Vater und ein unverheiratheter Vorsteher zugegen. Schade, daß sämtliche Eltern nicht anwesend waren, um sich von den schönen Fortschritten ihrer Kinder zu überzeugen und dem Lehrer dann dankend beim Nachhausegehn die Rechte zu drücken. Doch hierzu scheinen leider im Auge des größten Publikums sämtliche Schulen noch zu trivial zu sein, um sie einer solchen Aufmerksamkeit und Aufmunterung zu würdigen. —

Das Examen war ein unvorbereitetes und dennoch befriedigte es sehr die Anwesenden. Die Kinder, 24 an der Zahl, wurden in allen in die Schule gehörigen Elementargegenständen geprüft und bestanden herrlich. Blieb einmal eine Antwort aus, dann wußte der Lehrer katechisirend sie schnell dem Kinde zu entlocken, welches schöne Talent ihm im hohen Maße eigen zu sein schien. Die ganze Prüfung glich der Unterredung eines Vaters mit seinen Kindern. Diese antworteten ganz furchtlos und der Lehrer, dem man die Gewandtheit im Fragen und die Kunst zu unterrichten ansah, fragte immer zutraulich und unbefangen. So verschwanden schnell die Stunden der Prüfung, die Schreiber dieses lange nicht so freudig zugebracht hat.

Sehr wundert es mich, daß die isr. Eltern, die doch größtentheils in sehr anständigen Häusern wohnen, ihre Kinder in ein Schullokal schicken, in dem sie krank und siech werden können und wovon der Anstand verbietet, es mit seinem rechten Namen zu nennen; und ihrem sehr tüchtigen Lehrer zumuthen, in einem solchen Loche zu unterrichten.

Gewerblicher Leseberein.

Am Sonntag den 19. October Vorlesung des Herrn Directors Grothe.

Das Examen in der hiesigen israelitischen Schule am 9. dieses Monats.

Examen sind Freudentage für die Kinder und den thätigen Lehrer. Die fleißigen Kinder zeigen mit den freundlichsten Gesichtern ihre neu erworbenen Kenntnisse und der treue Lehrer sieht im Wohlgefallen seiner Vorgesetzten und der anwesenden Eltern an der Prüfung eine Anerkennung seiner jahreslangen

Anstrengung und findet darin eine Belohnung für sein ungemein ermüdendes und häufig ihm noch verbittertes Amt. — Der freundlichsten Einladung des Lehrers durch die Kinder zum Examen folgen jedoch selten die Eltern. So auch hier. Von der ganzen israelitischen Gemeinde war bloß Ein Vater und ein unverheiratheter Vorsteher zugegen. Schade, daß sämtliche Eltern nicht anwesend waren, um sich von den schönen Fortschritten ihrer Kinder zu überzeugen

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Wochenblatt

für die

Stadt und den Kreis Dortmund.

Nro. 10. Sonnabend, den 7. März 1846.



Bei Moses Isaac in Bra-
kel sind von jetzt bis September
d. J. gute, schwere, münsterländer
Pferde zu haben.

Anzeiger.

Amtliches Kreisblatt für den Kreis Dortmund.

Nro. 70. Mittwoch, den 1. September 1852.

Für die rege Theilnahme unserer lieben
Mitbürger, bei der heutigen Grundstein-
legung zum Neubau unserer Kirche, den
wärmsten Dank.

Dortmund, den 30. August 1852.

Die israelitische Gemeinde.

Dortmunder 7
Allgemeines Kreisblatt.
(Träger unter dem Titel „Anzeiger.“)
Nr. 107. Donnerstag, den 10. September 1857. 30. Jahrgang.

Synagoge-Einweihung
zu
Horn bei Lippstadt 8
findet am 11. und 12. September statt,
wozu ergebenst einlabet
Das Ball-Comité.

Dortmunder 9
Allgemeines Kreisblatt.
(Träger unter dem Titel „Anzeiger.“)
Nr. 118. Dienstag, den 6. Oktober 1857. 30. Jahrgang.

Ball-Anzeige. 10
Am Samstag, den 10. Oktober findet
im Saale der Frau Wittwe Wöllmann
hierselbst ein
BALL
statt, wozu freundlichst eingeladen wird.
Die Musik wird von der Giesentkirchen-
schen Kapelle ausgeführt.
Aplerbeck, den 22. Septbr. 1857.
Das israelitische Comité.

Erstes Blatt. 11
35. Jahrgang.
Nro. 32.
verbunden mit dem
Allgemeinen Kreisblatte.
Sonabend,
15. März 1862

Zur Feier des Purimfestes 12
am Sonnabend den 15. d., im Saale des Herrn C. H. Kühn:
theatral. Vorstellung, verbunden mit Ball.
Karten sind bis Sonnabend Nachmittag 5 Uhr zum Preise von 10 Sgr.
Büßstraße 251 zu haben. Kassenpreis 15 Sgr. — Kinder unter 15 Jahren
haben keinen Zutritt. — Saaleröffnung 6 1/2 Uhr, Anfang 7 1/2 Uhr.
Das Comité.



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The Torah scroll of the Old Synagogue in Essen

Begman Iskak, Ileskan Smanov

Abai on Human Maturation АБАЙ АДАМ ЖАЙЫНДА

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Abstract

***“Since I have been given the name
Human, how can I remain ignorant?”***

Abai Qunanbaiuly

In their article, “Abai on Human Maturation”, the authors examine the current state and development prospects of the ethnic self-awareness of the Kazakh people. They define ethnic self-awareness as the ability of individuals to perceive themselves as distinct persons, understand their own thoughts, feelings, desires and actions, and evaluate their place in the surrounding world. Ethnic self-awareness enables people to act in accordance with a national consciousness that is inseparable from universal human values. In their research, the authors draw upon the seminal work “The Book of Words” (Qara sözder) by the outstanding Kazakh writer and philosopher Abai Qunanbaiuly (1845–1904). Abai was a progressive intellectual who was far ahead of his time. He dedicated his life to connecting the Kazakh people with European culture and disseminating Western values of liberty, equality and fraternity. This theme runs like a common thread through all of Abai’s works, in which he sharply criticises the stubbornness and conservatism of the old society. He consistently emphasised the importance of cultural engagement with Europe as the key to his country’s development. Abai also translated poems by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Lord Byron into Kazakh. In his view, this connection was intended to catalyse a resurgence of Kazakhstan’s cultural traditions. In their work, the authors extensively quote “The Book of Words”, which comprises 45 instructive verses intended to shape the ethnic self-awareness of the Ka-

zakh people. “There are three things that humiliate a human being. You must run away from them. The first is ignorance, the second is laziness, and the third is cruelty” (verse 38).



Abai

Painting by Abilkhan Kasteev (1904–1973)

*Ileskan Smanov: Pedagogika zhivopisi
(The Pedagogy of Painting).*

*Rediroma Verlag: Remscheid 2021;
ISBN 978-3-98527-418-5, p. 176.*

Keywords: *Abai Qunanbaiuly | Kazakh literature | Kazakh ethnic self-awareness | The Book of Words*

Негізгі сөздер: *Абай Құнанбайұлы | Қазақ әдебиеті | Қазақтың этникалық өзіндік санасы | Qara sözder*

***«Атымды адам қойған соң,
қайтіп надан болайын?»
Абай Құнанбайұлы***

Соңғы жылдары Абай мұрасын танып-білу, бүгінгі күннің өлшемімен зерделеу, әрі қарай ой елегінен өткізе зерттеу жандана бастады. Мұның бір себебі бұл күндерде қоғамымыздың тіршілік тынысы душар болып отырған тапшылықтың (дефициттің) нәтижесінде адамгершілік, ізгілік қасиеттердің ұлттық этикалық мәдениеттің құлдырап түсіп бара жатқандығы. Бұларды көтеруі үшін осы жолдағы барлық құралы, барша мүмкіншілікті іздеуіміз қажет болып отыр. Мұндай құралдың бірі ұлы ойшылдары мен гумани-

стерінің, демократ ағартушылардың еңбектері, ой-пікірлері, жеке бастарының үлгілері болмақ. Сондықтан Абай дүниетанымын қазақ жұртшылығының, әсіресе бүгінгі шәкірт жастардың, оқушылардың әрі қарай жақын тани түсулері. Абайдың ақындық, мұрасының мән мазмұнын ғана танып қана қоймай, ақыл-парасат иесі адам туралы айтқан пікірлеріне зерделей қарап, бағалап отыру қажетіміз бен парызымыздай. Осы мақсатты көздеп Хакім Абайдың «адам», «жарым адам», «толық адам», «адам болу» т.б. ой толғамдарына шағын талдау ұсынып отырмыз.

Хакімнің өлеңдеріне арнайы жиі-жиі сөз болатын жоғарыдағы айтылған ұғымдармен қатар, «адамшылық», «адамның адамдығы». «нұрлы ақыл», сияқты кеңестік көпірме идеологияға ластанған санамыз онша қабылдай бермейтін термин сөздер кездеседі.

Ұлы ақын адам болудың алдыңғы шарты неден басталады деген сауалға: «Қашан бір бала ғылым-білімді махаббатпен көздерлік болса, сонда ғана оның аты адам болады.» деп жауап береді. (33 сөз). Адам ата-анадан туғанда есті болмайтынын, өсе келе қоршаған ортадағы заттар мен құбылыстарды танып-білу объективті дүние жайында тоқығаны мол: «естілердің айтқан сөздерін ескеріп жүру» нәтижесінде кісі өзіне «көргені көп» білімділер қатарында болатындағын айтады. «Естілердің айтқан сөздерін ескеріп жүрген кісі өзі де есті болады. Сол естілерден есітіп, білген жақсы мәселерді ескерсе, жаман дегеннен сактанса, сонда іске жарайды, сонда адам десе болады» деп адам болудың екінші шартын көрсетеді. (19 сөз). Осы іспеттес адам болудың жолына түскен баланың дұрыс өсіп жетілуі, Абайдың ойынша, үш түрлі себепке негізделмек. Олар: нәсілімен, өскен ортасынан, тәрбиесінен. Жеткіншектің жан-жақты жетіліп, дұрыс тәрбие алудағы алдағы бағдарламасы оның әлеуметтік ортасы. Бұл ортаның құнарлы не құнарсыз болуына байланыста бойына жұқтырған жақсылы жаманды тәлім-тәрбиесі, алған өнегесі баланың мінез-құлқын, мұрат-мақсатын, арман-түсінігін қалыптастыруда елеулі мәнге ие болмақ.

Көбінесе баланың адамдық қасиеттерден жұрдай болып қалыптасуына себепші, надан орта, қиянатшыл ортасы мен ағайын туыстардың ықпалында өскен «... балалар талапка да, ғылымға да, ұстазға да қиянатпен болады. Бұл қиянатшылдар жарым адам. Олардың адамшылығының кәмалат таппағы қиынның қиыны», -деп түсіндіреді. Жарым адам ұғымы, Абайдың пікірінше, бойына біткен ақыл мен қайратты, қайырымдылық

пен жақсылыққа ғана сарып етпей, оларға үнемі пайдакүнемдік, қиянатшылық және қарақан басының қамы үшін қызмет еттіріп басқа мақсат-мұратты мансұқ еткен суық ақылдың адамы. Бұл қасіреттен арылудың бір-ақ жолы болмақ. Ол жол ғылым, рақым, әділет және құдай тағаланың жолына өздерін бағыштаған нұрлы ақылды адамдар жатады. Абай пікірінше, жарым адам дегеніміз жоғарыдағы аталған үш асыл қасиетті бойына ұқсата алмай, тек ақыл мен қайратты суық ақылға жөндіргендер болмай шығады. Олай дейтініміз, суық, ақыл жолына түскендер:

Арсыз болмай атақ жоқ,

Алдамшы болмай бақ кайда? –

деп хакім Абай таныған қиянатшыл болып шығады. Өктемдік пен надандықтан өнеге алып өскен жас суық ақылдың жетегіне еріп, залалды жолға түсері хақ. Яғни халықтың «Ұяда нені көрсең, ұшқанда соны ілерсің» деген ұлағатты сөзінің керіне келеді де тұрады. Ақын «Әсемпаз болма әрнеге» деген өлеңінде:

Ақыл мен қайрат жол табар,

Қашқанға да қуғанға.

Әділет, шафғат кімде бар,

Сол жарасар туғанға.

Алдыңғы екеу соңғысыз

Біте қалса казакка

Алдың жалын, артың мүз

Барар едің қай жакка? – деген пікірінен байқауға болады.

Абай ақыл мен қайраттың иесін жарым адам деп танығам, өйткені ол суық ақылдың өкілі боп табылмақ. Оларға (қайрат пен ақылға) әділет пен шафғат қосыла бітсе, ол кісі толық адам деп қарап, оны нұрлы ақылдың өкіліне жатқызған.

Толық адам, Абайдың танымында «әр адам ақылымен, қайратымен, дәулетімен басқаларға әділет, шафағатымен жақсылық жасау, қол ұшын беру, не ақыл, қайратты жүрек қалауымен жұмсап, тек жақсылық жасауға қызмет еттіру болып шығады. Өйткені кімде-кім игілік, қайырымдылық жолға жүруді өзіне шарт қылып, кадам басса ол толық адам делінеді», - деп ой қорытады.

Толық адам ұлы хакімнің мұхиттай терең танымдық, гуманистік ойының түп нұсқасы. Оның «Ғылым таппай мақтанба» деген өлеңінде толық адам жайлы және оның негізгі белгілерін атап өтеді. Адам болу туралы ой-пікірлері қара сөздерінде де кездеседі. Мысалы, 33-сөзінде. «Құдай тағаланың жолы деген жол хикаятсыз (арапша шек, шама, бұл жерде өлшеусіз, артық деген мағына) болды. Оның миһаятына ешкім жетпейді. Бірақ сол жолға жүруді өзіне шарт қылып кім

қадам басты, ол таза мұсылман, толық адам делінеді. Дүниеде түпкі мақсатың өз пайдаң болса,... ол жол құдайдың жолы емес,» дейді. Құдай жолы деп «я дүниеңнен, я ақылыңнан, я малыңнан ғаділет, шапағат секілді біреулерге жақсылық тигізу» деп түсіндіреді (38-сөз). Қарақан басының ғана қамын ойлаған, ғаріп пен ғасірге, кембағал мен кедейге, жесір мен жетімге қол ұшын бермеген жандарға «Өзін үшін еңбек қылсаң, өзі үшін оттаған хайуанның бірі боласың» деп ескертеді (37-сөз).

«Атымды адам қойған соң, қайтіп надан болайын» деп түсінген Абай адамдық атқа лайық болу үшін мына үш қасиеттен аулақ болуды уағыздайды. «Күллі адам баласын қор қылатын үш нәрсе бар. Содан қашпақ керек. Әуелі надандық, екіншісі еріншектік, үшінші залымдық деп білесің.

Надандық білім-ғылымның жоқтығы, дүниеден еш нәрсені оларсыз білім болмайды. Білімсіздік хайуандық болады.

Еріншектік күлкі дүниедегі өнердің дұшпаны. Талапсыздық, жігерсіздік, ұятсыздық, кедейлік бәрі осыдан шығады.

Залымдық адам баласының дұшпаны. Адам баласына дұшпан болса, адамнан бөлінеді, бір жыртқыш хайуан есебіне қосылады» – дейді (38-сөз).

Абайдың ұғындыруынша, толық адам түсінігіне нұқсан келтіретін қасиеттердің бір парасы дүниеқоңыздық, әділетсіздік, сезімсіздік пен жек көрушілік. «Мал, мақтан, ғиззат, құрмет адамды өзі іздеп тапса, адамдық бұзбайды, хәм көрік болады. Егер адам өзі оларға табынып іздесе, тапса да адамдығы жоғалады». (13-сөз). «Адамшылықтың алды махаббат, ғаділет, сезім. Бұлардың керек емес жері жоқ, кіріспейтұғын да жері жоқ. Сезім кімде көбірек болса, ол кісі ғалым, сол ғақил», – деуі соның дәлелі. Сезімталдық пен сезім мүшелерінің (көру, есіту, иіс т.б.) жоғары тұрғыда дамуы ғылымға бастар негіз екенін көргендікпен айтып отыр. «Кімде-кім сырттан есітіп білу, көріп білу секілді нәрселерді көбейтіп алса, ол кен жиғаны бар адам, сынап, орындысын, орынсызын бәрін де бағанағы жиған нәрселерімен есеп қылып, қарап табады. Бұлай етіп бұл характерке түсінген адамды ақылды адам дейміз», деп ақылды адам туралы қолға ұстатқандай нақтылы тұжырым жасайды. (45-сөз).

Басқалардан көмек күтпей, мәселені өз бетімен ақыл таразысына салып шешу адамның жақын қасиеттерінің бірі. Мұндай адам кездескен проблемалық мәселені шешуді бөгде біреудің нұсқауын күтпей, оны қалайда өзі шешуге трысады. Бұл нағыз шығармашылық ойдың иесі. Ал кейбір

бұған қарама-қарсы өзіндік «ой жоқ» көбінесе басқа кісінің ақылына сүйініп, ойсыз өмір кешеді. Абай:

«Басында ми жоқ, Өзінде ой жоқ.

Көп айтса көнді, Жұрт айтса болды

Әдеті надан адамның» –

Күлкішіл кердең наданның,

деп, мисыз, ойсыз дүмбілез адамның кейпін тамаша көрсеткен. «Қартайдым, қайғы ойладың, ұйқы сергек» деген өлеңінде де осы пікірін қайталайды:

«Ақылды қара қылды қырыққа бөлмек, Әр нәреге өзіндей баға бермек. Таразы да, қазы да өз бойында, Наданның сүйенгені көп пен дүрмек».

Абай адамтану әлемінде еңбек ролін биікке қояды. Әйгілі «Ғылым таппай мақтанба» өлеңіндегі бес асыл іс (талап, еңбек, ой, қанағат, рахым) Абайдың өмір диалектикасын игертудегі бес асқар алып бағдарламасына айналады. «Адам баласының ең жаманы талапсыз» дейтіні де сондықтан (44-сөз) Абай адам жанын терең түсінген ойшылдардың бірі. Ол адамның ішкі дүниесіндегі қайшылықтарды дәл бейнелейді.

Абай адам бойында жақсылық пен жамандық қатар жүретінін айтты. Сондықтан адам үнемі өз-өзімен күрес үстінде болады.

Абай: «Ішім өлген, сыртым сау» деп адамның ішкі күйзелісін бейнелейді. Бұл сөздер адамның жан дүниесінің күрделілігін көрсетеді. Абай адамды сыртқы қалпына қарап бағалауға болмайтынын түсіндірді. Оның шығармалары адам жанының айнасы сияқты. Әр адам Абайды оқығанда өз бейнесін көреді. Сондықтан Абай – адам табиғатын терең таныған ойшыл.

Жалпы, Абай дәулетті жат көрмейді. Ол еңбекпен, маңдай термен, өнермен келген байлықты мұрат тұтады. Өйткені білім, ілім, ғылым игеру үшін, әлеуметтік өмірдің «кірпіш болып қалану» үшін адал еңбек ету керек. Суреткердің «Егерде мал керек болса, қолөнер үйренбек керек. Мал жұтайды, өнер жұтамайды. Алдау қоспай адал еңбегін сатқан қолөнер игі қазақтың әулиесі сол», деп көрсетеді. (33-сөз). «Тыныш жатып, біреуден тіленбей, жанын қарманып адал еңбекпен мал іздемек ал арлы адамның ісі», – дейді (29-сөз).

Абайдың жүрек туралы философиясы. Абай шығармаларында «жүрек» ұғымы ерекше орын алады. Ол жүректі адам болмысының орталығы деп түсінді. Абай үшін жүрек – мейірімнің, әділеттің және адамгершіліктің мекені. Сондықтан ол:

«Жүректің көзі ашылса,

Хақтықтың түсер сәулесі»

деп адамның рухани оянуы жүректен басталатынын айтады.

Жүрегі оянған адам ғана өмірдің мәнін түсінеді. Мұндай адам жамандыққа бармайды, өзгеге қиянат жасамайды. Абайдың түсінігінде жүрек – адамның ең нәзік әрі ең қасиетті дүниесі. Жүрек тәрбиесі – адам тәрбиесінің ең биік сатысы. Бұл ойлар қазіргі заманда да ерекше маңызды. Техника мен ғылым дамыған сайын адам жүрегінің тазалығы ұрынғыдан да қажет бола түсуде. Абай – ұлттық сананы оятушы Абай қазақ халқының санасын оятқан ұлы тұлға болды. Ол халықты қараңғылықтан алып шығуды армандады.

Абайдың басты мақсаты – қазақ халқын алдыңғы қатарлы елдердің қатарына жеткізу еді.

Ол қазақ баласының білімді болуын қалады. Өйткені білімді халық қана өркениетті болады. Абай қазақтың болашағына сенді. Оның шығармаларынан үміт сәулесі сезіледі.

Абай:

«Сен де бір кірпіш дүниеге,
Кетігін тап та бар қалан»

деп әр адамның қоғамдағы орнын табуы керектігін айтты. Бұл сөздер бүгінгі ұрпақ үшін де үлкен өсиет болып табылады.

Абай жоғарыда айтылған адами түсініктерді мына төрт алтын дінгекке әкеліп орнықтырады. «Тегінде адам баласы, адам баласынан ақыл, ғылым, ар, мінез деген нәрселермен озбақ. Одан басқа нәрселермен оздым ғой демектің бәрі де ақымақтық», – деп қорытады.

Абай адам бойында кездесетін жағымды, жағымсыз қасиеттерінің ара жігін ажыратып, кісілік қатарынан шығаратын жөнсіз мінез бітімдерге мақтаншақтық, арсыздық, ұятсыздық, еріншектік, жалқаулық қылжақпастықты т.б. жатқызады. Ол мақтаншақтықты үш түрге бөледі. «Біреуі жатқа мақтанарлық мақтанды іздейді. Ол надан, надан да болса адам, екіншісі өз елінің ішінде мақтанарлық мақтанды іздейді. Оның надандығы толық, адамдығы толық емес, үшіншісі өз үйіне келіп айтпаса, я аулына ғана келіп айтпаса, өзге кісі қостамайтын мақтанды іздейді. Ол наданның наданы һәм өзі адам емес», дейді (21-сөзі). Тағы бір ғақылиясында: «...кұдайға терістіктен не ар мен ұятқа терістіктен сілкініп, бойын жинап ала алмаған кісі, өз бойын өзі бір тексермей кеткен кісі, тәуір жігіт түгіл, әуелі адам ба?» деп, өз қателігін біле тұрып түзетуге ниет етпеген жұмыр басты пенде туралы пікір білдіреді (14-сөз).

«Сакалын сатқан кәріден, еңбегін сатқан бала артық» деп түсінген Абай еңбексіз аяқ басатын, ұятсыз, ойсыз пенделерді былай жерлейді:

«Келді жалқау, қылжақпас,
Әзір тамақ, әзір ас,
Сыртың пысық, ішің лас,

Артын ойлап ұялмас» болып жүріп, тірімін деме, одан да Алла жіберген ақ бұйрықты өлімнің өзі артық,-деп үкім айтады.

Қорыта айтқанда, Абай Құнанбайұлы – қазақ халқының рухани өмірінде ерекше орын алатын ұлы тұлға. Оның мұрасы – бір дәуірдің ғана емес, барлық заманның рухани қазынасы. Абайдың ойлары уақыт өткен сайын жаңғырып, жаңа мағынамен толығып отырады. Сондықтан Абайды тану – қазақтың өзін тануы, рухани болмысын тануы болып табылады.

Абай өз халқын шын жүрегімен сүйді. Сол сүйіспеншілік оны халықтың кемшілігін ашық айтуға жетеледі. Ол қазақ баласының білімді, еңбекқор, талапты, парасатты болғанын қалады. Абай көрсеткен жол – адамды биікке көтеретін жол. Бұл – еңбек пен ғылымның, ақыл мен жүректің жолы.

Абай адам өмірінің мәнін терең түсіндіріп берді. Ол адамды адам ететін қасиеттерді анық көрсетті. Талап пен еңбек, терең ой мен рақым – адамды кемелдікке жеткізетін қасиеттер екенін дәлелдеді. Сонымен бірге өсек, өтірік, мақтаншақтық, еріншектік сияқты мінездердің адамды аздыратынын ескертті. Сондықтан Абай ілімі – адамшылық ілімі.

Абай тілінің көркемдігі мен тереңдігі қазақ сөз өнерін жаңа биікке көтерді. Оның әр сөзі – ой мен сезімнің тұтас бір әлемі. Абай сөздері жүрекке жетіп, адамды ойландырады. Сол себепті Абай шығармалары ұрпақтан-ұрпаққа жалғасып келе жатқан мәңгілік мұра болып табылады. Абай мұрасы және бүгінгі заман Абай мұрасы бүгінгі қоғам үшін ерекше маңызды. Уақыт өзгергенімен, адам табиғаты өзгермейді. Сондықтан Абай айтқан ойлар әр дәуірде өз мәнін сақтай береді. Бүгінгі заманда да еңбек ету, білім алу, ғылым үйрену – дамудың басты жолы. Бұл – Абай көрсеткен жол.

Қазіргі қоғамда да адамның бойындағы жалқаулық, мақтаншақтық, көрсеқызарлық сияқты мінездер кездеседі. Бұл – Абай сынаған кемшіліктер. Сондықтан Абайды оқу – өткенді ғана тану емес, бүгінгі өмірді түсіну. Абай сөзі – уақыттан биік тұрған сөз. Абайдың ұлылығының сыры Абайдың ұлылығы – оның терең ойында ғана емес, адам жанына жақындығында. Абай әр адамға түсінікті тілмен мәңгілік ойларды жеткізді. Оның шығармаларын оқыған адам өзінше ой түйеді. Абай – оқыған сайын жаңа қырынан

ашылатын тұлға. Бір қарағанда қарапайым көрінетін сөздерінің астарында терең философиялық мағына жатады. Сондықтан Абайды тану – ұзақ жол. Абайды толық түсіну үшін оны өмір бойы оқу керек.

Абайдың 180 жылдық мерейтойы – тек бір тарихи датаны атап өту ғана емес, ұлы ойшылдың мұрасын қайта тану, оның айтқан өсиеттеріне қайта үңілу болып табылады. Абай мұрасы – халықтың рухани темірқазығы. Оның шығармалары қазақ елінің рухани өмірінде әрдайым жол көрсететін шамшырақ болып қала береді.

Абай бізге дайын жол қалдырған жоқ, бірақ дұрыс бағыт көрсетті. Сол бағыт – білімге ұмтылу, еңбек ету, адамшылықты сақтау жолы. Бұл жол ешқашан ескірмейді. Ұлы ақынның арманы – саналы, білімді, еңбекқор халық еді. Сол арманды жүзеге асыру – бүгінгі ұрпақтың міндеті. Абай сөзі әр қазақтың жүрегінде жаңғырып тұрғанда, қазақ халқының рухы ешқашан әлсіремейді.

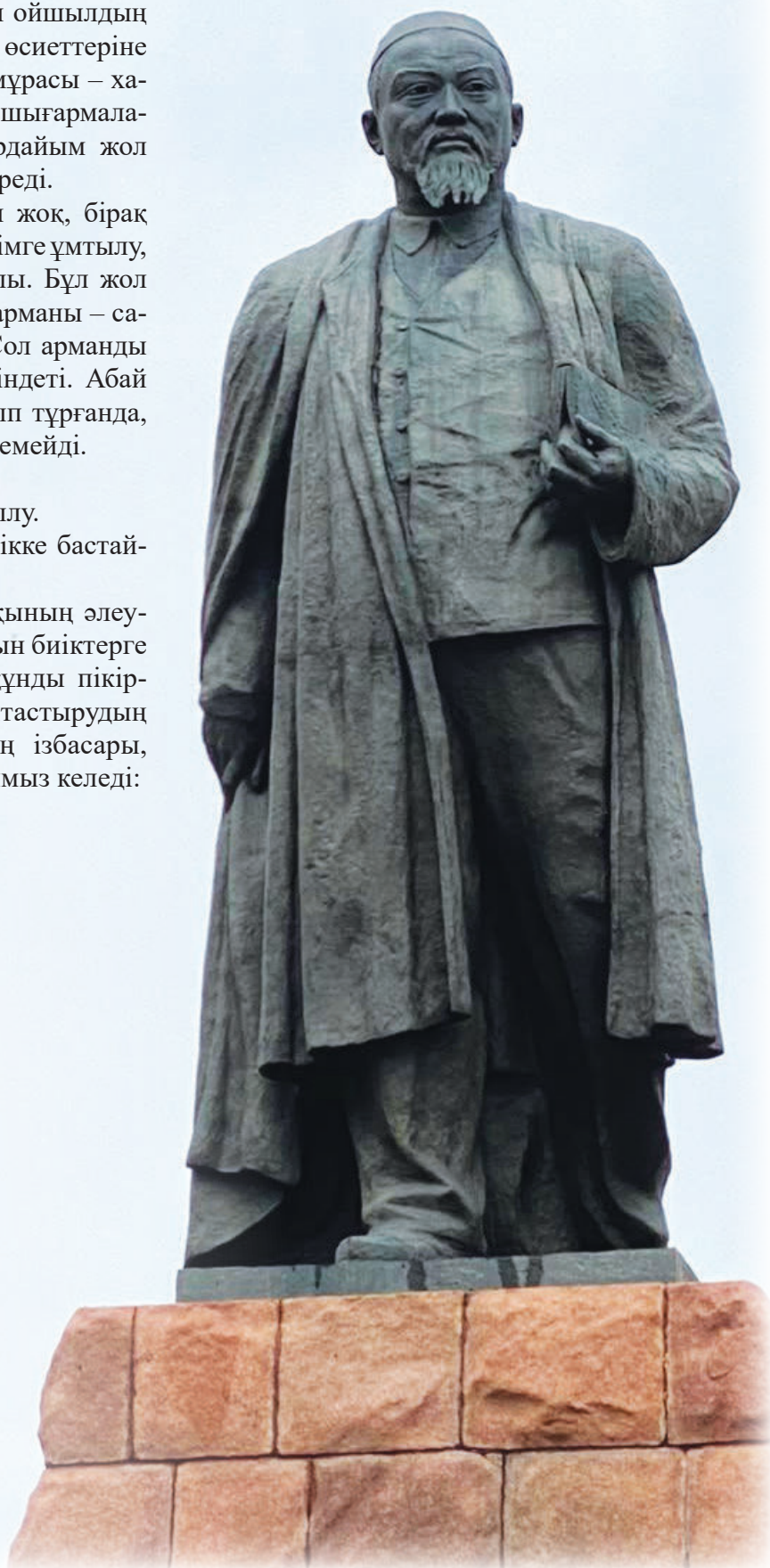
Абайды оқу – рухани жаңару.

Абайды түсіну – адам болуға ұмтылу.

Ал Абай жолымен жүру – кемелдікке бастайтын жол.

Абайдың рухани кеңістігі өз халқының әлеуметтік кеңістігін кеңейтуге шақыратын биіктерге үлес қосқан. Адамтану жөніндегі құнды пікірлері – жас жеткіншектерді қалыптастырудың бағдарламасы. Сөз соңын Абайдың ізбасары, ақын Сұлтанмахмұт сөзімен аяқтағымыз келеді:

«Асыл сөзді іздесең,
Абайды оқы, ерінбе.
Адамдықты көздесең,
Жаттап тоқы көңілге.»



Dr. Walther Friesen

Some Sketches About the Germans in Russia during the 16th–19th Centuries

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Abstract

The article explores the multifaceted history of the Russia-Germans, which may have begun when Grand Prince Vasili III of Moscow (1479–1533) took the Baltic branch of the German Order (Teutonic Knights) under his protection. Important milestones in their history include the joint military operations against Turkish invaders and the creation of the short-lived multinational, multi-confessional federation the “Khanate of Kazan – Tsardom of Russia – Kingdom of Livonia”. The Germans made significant contributions to the establishment of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the first Russian newspaper, which was published in German. They held advanced positions in military branches such as artillery, demining, and combat engineering within the Russian army. According to the First Census of 1719, 31,100 Germans were living in the Tsardom of Russia. The author also describes the various ethnic groups of Germans in the Russian Empire, which, after decades of state genocide, have coalesced into a distinct ethnic group: the Russia-Germans.

Keywords: *German Order (Teutonic Knights) | Federation “Khanate of Kazan – Tsardom of Russia – Kingdom of Livonia” | Battle of Molodi | The Russian Academy of Sciences | St. Petersburgische Zeitung | Germans of Saint Petersburg | Mennonites | Caucasian Germans | Black Sea Germans | Volhynian Germans | Germans of the Don Cossack Host | Crimean Germans | state genocide | Russia-Germans*

1517: The Military-Political Partnership Between the Russians and the Germans

On 3 February 1517, the troops of the Turkish Sultan Selim I (1470–1520) took Cairo following the Battle of Ridaniya on 22 January 1517. Caliph Al-Mutawakkil III (?–1543) was taken to the Sultan’s Palace in Istanbul, where, according to legend, he handed Selim I the symbols of the supreme ruler of the Muslim world: the cloak and the sword of the Prophet Muhammad. Thus, Selim I, the 9th Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, seems to have become the 88th caliph.

The Ottoman Turkish state became an Orthodox Islamic state and one of the most powerful in the world. Soon, the Christian states of Europe also obeyed its will. The Turks’ most important geopolitical partners were France and Sweden. The leadership of the Polish-Lithuanian state often aligned with the expansionist aspirations of the Ottoman Empire, which negatively affected the interests of its multinational commonwealth.

The provinces of the Teutonic Knights¹ in Prussia and Livonia, which had become dependent on the Polish-Lithuanian state, sought support from Russia, a stronger power. On 24 February 1517, **Albrecht Dietrich Schönberg** (?–?), the legate of the Grand Master of the German Order, arrived in Moscow from Königsberg. The treaty of union between the Grand Duchy of Moscow and the German Order was concluded in Moscow on 10 March 1517.

The **Grand Prince of Moscow, Vasili III** (1479–1533) – unofficially addressed as a tsar – took the German Order under his protection and informed **King Francis I of France** (1494–1547) of this decision. Vasili III agreed to provide funds for the **Grand Master of the German Order, Albert of Prussia** (1490–1568), to hire infantrymen and 2,000 armoured riders. They then agreed to take joint military action against the **Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, Sigismund I** (1467–1548), who was constantly forced to make concessions to the Turks and Crimean Tatars.

In March 1517, at the **Fifth Lateran Council of the Catholic Church, Pope Leo X** (1475–1521) proclaimed a crusade against the Ottoman Turks. The **Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I** (1459–1519), developed a detailed campaign plan against the Turks, which included the participation of “Russian archers” in joint military operations.

In the same 1517, Maximilian I sent a representative diplomatic mission to the court of the Grand Duke of Moscow, Vasili III, to coordinate military preparations. The embassy was led by the skilful diplomat **Baron Sigismund von Herberstein** (1486–1566), who was born in Vipava, which is now part of Slovenia.

As if in response to this, **Martin Luther** (1483–1546) published his famous 95 Theses on 31 October 1517 and began to promote anti-Catholicism. This eventually led to a bloody split in the Christian world and weakened the European forces opposing Turkish aggression. Luther explained the invasion of the Turks not by their obvious aggressive intentions, but as an alleged punishment from God (Geißel Gottes), and opposed the crusade.

Realising that Russia was on his side, Albert of Prussia demanded that the Polish king return Royal Prussia² and Warmia,³ as well as pay compensation for the “fifty years of Polish occupation” of these lands: He demanded 30,000 guilders for every year of occupation. In response, Sigismund I declared war on the Order. Pope Leo X supported the Order, accusing Poland of shedding Christian blood and fighting Christian militancy in the face of the threat of invasion by the “infidel Turks”.

On Active Duty in Russia

In April 1521, **Sahib I Giray** (1501–1551), the younger brother of **Mehmed I Giray** (1465–1523), the Crimean Khan and vassal of the Ottoman Empire, carried out a coup in the Khanate of Kazan. The young pro-Moscow Khan Shah Ali (1505–1566), was overthrown. Meanwhile, **Suleiman I** (1494–1566), the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire and nicknamed the Magnificent, began preparing a large-scale offensive in Europe to capture Belgrade, the former capital of Serbia and a key strategic location for further expansion.

In the early summer of 1521, Suleiman I began his campaign. The general political situation seemed to favour the Ottomans’ aggressive plans. However, they also had to act quickly. Despite the divisive activities of the Christian reformer Martin Luther, which objectively weakened the Holy Roman Empire’s morale, military and political potential, its emperor, **King Charles V** (1500–1558), convened the Imperial Diet in Worms on 27 January 1521, just three months after his coronation on 23 October 1520.

The main issue on the agenda of the High Assembly, which met until 26 May 1521, was the mobilisation of forces and funds to repel Turkish aggression. The Imperial Register (*Reichsmatrikel*) was adopted, providing for the formation of the Imperial Army and the payment of duties by each territory. The armed forces capable of stopping the invaders began to consolidate. Martin Luther was also heard on 17–18 April 1521, after which he was excommunicated for his divisive propaganda. However, the formation of a pan-European anti-Turkish coalition of Christian states ultimately failed.

The conflict between the Habsburg dynasty, which ruled the German (Holy Roman) and Spanish empires, and France over domination of Western Europe erupted with renewed vigour. In 1515, the French army invaded Italy and swiftly seized control of the Duchy of Milan, a territory legally belonging to the German Empire. Meanwhile, **King Henry VIII of**

England (1491–1547) fought with mixed results in northern France, attempting to regain lost territories.

By the summer of 1521, Crimean **Khan Mehmed I Giray** had assembled an enormous army of over 100,000 troops to invade Russia. In addition to almost the entire Crimean Horde, the army included the Nogais, the Kazan Tatars, and Polish-Lithuanian detachments.

On 28 June 1521, the allied army approached the Oka River near Kolomna and crossed it. The Russian troops suffered heavy losses and retreated, allowing the Crimeans to begin looting the Kolomna neighbourhood. They were soon joined by troops from Kazan led by Sahib I Giray, who pillaged Nizhny Novgorod and the surrounding area of Vladimir on the way. On 1 August, the enemy approached Moscow.

Mehmed I Giray demanded that Vasili III acknowledge him as his vassal and agree to pay tribute. Accepting these terms would effectively mean the loss of the Grand Duchy of Moscow’s independence. However, the situation was desperate, and the Grand Prince signed the adhesion contract.

Meanwhile, on 28 August 1521, the Turks captured the important strategic fortress of Belgrade after a seventy-day siege. This was key to their further expansion in Europe. The city was destroyed and its Christian population deported to an area of Istanbul that became known as Belgrad Forest (Turkish: *Belgrad Ormanı*).

By the end of summer 1521, it seemed that no power in Central and Eastern Europe could stop the Turks and their allies from expanding. However, the impossible happened: the successes of the anti-Russian coalition were nullified by the landslide victory in the siege of Ryazan, which was located on the southeastern borders of the Moscow Grand Duchy. Following its fall, the Crimean and Kazan khans would have formed a single geopolitical entity under the pro-Turkish Giray dynasty. Furthermore, Vasili III formalised Moscow’s vassalage to the Crimean Khans.

The defence of the city was led by Governor **Ivan Khabar** (1470–1534), who thwarted an onslaught and prevented Ryazan from being captured. Then, referring to the letter of Vasili III, Mehmed I Giray ordered him to surrender. Khabar demanded to read the document himself, saying that it was hard to believe that his sovereign could do such a thing.

As soon as the besieged received the document, the attackers were suddenly met with a barrage of artillery fire, causing them to panic and stampede. The chronicles recorded the names of the lead gun-

ners, **Jordan and Niklas, who were Germans**. Ivan Khabar tore up the humiliating adhesion contract, saving not only the honour of the Grand Prince of Moscow, but also Russia from Crimean Tatar bondage.

This seemingly isolated episode of the military campaign was actually a landmark event that fundamentally altered the military and political landscape of Eastern Europe. It undoubtedly became an inspiring example for Western Europe, demonstrating that the Turks and their allies could be defeated. At the same time, this historical fact demonstrated that the Germans and Russians' agreement to jointly struggle against the Turks could be supported by concrete deeds.

The sources do not indicate whether the German gunners were military specialists appointed by Charles V or knights of the German Order who were under the protection of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. There is no doubt that, at the beginning of the 16th century, the Germans were not only a noble mercantile estate in Russia, but they had also shaped its indigenous military and administrative estate.

Allies

Five years later, in a treacherous violation of the agreement with the Polish–Lithuanian Jagiellons⁴ regarding spheres of interest, the Turks attacked Hungary. They inflicted a crushing defeat on the united Hungarian, Czech and Croatian army at the Battle of Mohács on 29 August 1526, and occupied the Middle Danube Plain. This included the heart of Europe in their possessions, providing a convenient springboard for the conquest of new territories and the further spread of Islam.

In 1529, the Ottoman Empire made a determined effort to capture Vienna, the capital of the Holy Roman Empire. The city was besieged on 27 September. On 14 October, the Turks were forced to retreat thanks to the Germans' selfless defence. However, before that, they had slaughtered all the captive Christians. The Turks did not abandon their plans to conquer Europe. It was only the opening of a second front in the east, in the form of the Russo-Kazan Wars of 1530–1531, that forced them to conclude an "eternal peace" with the Holy Roman Empire on 22 June 1530. Under this peace treaty, the Germans were obliged to pay an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats to the Turks.

According to the terms of this treaty, only Turkish officials were permitted to control the border between the Holy Roman and Ottoman empires. Of particular humiliation was the protocol equating the Emperor

of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation with the "Great Vizier", emphasising the emperor's dependent status on the Turkish Sultan. However, two years later, the Turks attempted to besiege and starve Vienna again, spitting on the "eternal peace treaty", but the Germans braved it once more.

"In the 16th century, the Turkish Sultan was the enemy for Europe, especially for the German Empire" ("Für das Abendland, vor allem für das Deutsche Reich, war im 16. Jahrhundert der türkische Sultan der Feind"),⁵ the natural ally was the Grand Duchy of Moscow. On 16 January 1547, the Tsardom of Russia was proclaimed. Back in 1526, the humanist and Catholic theologian Johann Faber (1478–1540), who would later become the Bishop of Vienna, wrote: "The piety and aristocratic form of government of the Muscovites is a good example for the Germans to follow" ("die Frömmigkeit und die aristokratische Staatsform der Moskowiter den Deutschen als gutes Beispiel vor Augen").⁶

Following the defeat of the numerically superior coalition of Christian fleets (Spain, Venice, Genoa and the State of the Church) by the outstanding Ottoman admiral **Hayreddin Barbarossa** (1478–1546) in the Battle of Preveza on 28 September 1538, France openly began to support the Turks in their anti-German policy, effectively creating a second front against the Holy Roman Empire in the west. The French port of Toulon became a base for Turkish galleys in the western Mediterranean.

This "sacrilegious alliance" caused a scandal in Christian Europe and was therefore rarely publicised. Essentially, the Turks provided the French with financial support and coordinated military action with them against the Holy Roman Empire. The French attempted to synchronise the Turkish sieges of Vienna with their own wars against the Germans, and later acted as a united bloc against the Russian Empire. The Crimean War (1853–1856) is considered the culmination of this Franco-Turkish alliance.

The Germans' only natural allies in their fight against the Turks were the Russians. In 1543, a posthumous letter by the Dutch Catholic theologian Albert Pighius (1490–1542) was printed as a propaganda leaflet. In it, he urged the Pope to form an alliance with Moscow against the Turks. Pighius had no doubt that the Grand Prince of Moscow was ready for such an alliance, as he was "a friendly Christian prince" (*"ein uns freundlich gesinnter christlicher Fürst"*).⁷

To strengthen the eastern front and counter Turkish expansion, Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire and **Ivan IV of Russia** (1533–1584), who proclaimed himself Tsar in 1547, agreed to

send an additional delegation of German military and industrial professionals to Russia. The Tsar also requested the dispatch of Lutheran theologians because he was deeply committed to spiritual self-education at that time.

Perhaps he was prompted to it by his acquaintance with the teachings of **Andreas Osiander** (1498–1552), a professor of theology at the University of Königsberg. Unlike Martin Luther, Osiander taught that sinfulness is not inherent in human beings, but is instead a consequence of their misdeeds, and can be redeemed through righteous behaviour. God is within the human being and is inherent from birth: “*Who doesn’t have God is not a Christian.*” (“*Wer Gott nicht hat, ist nicht Christi*”).⁸

The part of Prussia that became the Lutheran **Duchy of Prussia** in 1525, though a vassal of the Kingdom of Poland, helped to strengthen the strategic union of the Russian Tsardom and the Holy Roman Empire. This was seen as a guarantee of the opportunity to eventually free itself from its ambiguous dependence on Catholic Poland. In 1546, **Duke Albert of Prussia** gave the Goslar entrepreneur **Johann Schlitte** a letter of recommendation to Tsar Ivan IV, who provided him with authorisations to recruit specialists from the Holy Roman Empire.

Emperor Charles V supported the enterprise in every possible way. However, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which were united under a single monarch, hindered the implementation of the allied obligations of the Tsardom of Russia and the Holy Roman Empire, as they feared the formation of a new military and political bloc that had the potential to become a Eurasian superpower. Livonia, which was completely dependent on Poland, often played into the hands of its main enemy, the Ottoman Empire, which did not necessarily participate directly in the gruelling military campaigns.

Yet it had another weapon that was irresistible at all times: the treasures of the conquered Byzantine Empire (the Eastern Roman Empire) and the financial resources appropriated from Baghdad, Egypt, Greece and other countries. The strategically advantageous geographical location of the Ottoman Empire allowed the Turks to effectively control a large part of world trade at that time.

Expelled from Spain and Portugal at the end of 1492, **Sephardi Jews** found a new homeland in the Ottoman Empire. They created a reliable system of money transfer, enabling them to exert prompt influence on important decisions in a particular

country through their subsidiaries in financial and trading centres such as Bordeaux, Bayonne, London, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Lübeck and Riga.

Schlitte recruited more than 300 specialists, including four theologians. However, the entire group was arrested by Polish officials at the port of Lübeck on suspicion of being mercenaries intending to fight against Livonia. The Polish authorities had good reason to act as they did, given that the Livonian rulers were extremely hostile towards the Tsardom of Russia at that time.

Some German specialists attempted to break through the Iron Curtain at their own risk and travel east. Some of them were arrested in Livonia and executed; for example, a man known as “Craftsman Hans”. Nevertheless, the Russian state found the strength to respond adequately to the aggression of the vassals of the Ottoman Empire.

By the mid-16th century, German specialists held key positions in the Tsarist artillery and sapper detachments. In the summer of 1552, they helped defend the Tula Kremlin on the southern borders of the Tsardom of Russia, which was under siege by the troops of the Crimean **Khan Devlet I Giray** (1512–1577). At the beginning of October that same year, they contributed to the capture of the Khanate of Kazan in the east. The Kazan Kremlin walls were blown up by the Englishman **Butler** and a German sapper named **Erasmus**, who was presumably from Livonia.

The successes of the anti-Turkish coalition forced its opponents to intensify their efforts. In the west, Livonia began to act provocatively, closing its trading harbours in Riga and Revel to Russian merchants and refusing to pay its accumulated debts. The pragmatic policies of the Master (Landmeister) of the Livonian Order, **Johann Freytag von Loringhoven** (c. 1430–1494), and his successor, **Wolter von Plettenberg** (c. 1450–1535), were forgotten.

The Federative State of the “Khanate of Kazan – Tsardom of Russia – Kingdom of Livonia”

As is sometimes the case with neighbours, the relationship between the Grand Duchy of Moscow and the mighty Khanate of Kazan to the east was ambiguous. The **Grand Prince of Kiev, Vladimir**, and the **Prince of Novgorod, Alexander Nevsky** (1221–1263), who was adopted by the grandson of Genghis Khan, **Batu Khan** (1155–1227), opted for a strategic partnership with the heirs of the Golden Horde. At the same time, members of the Golden Horde aristocracy became part of the Russian nobility.

However, in 1521, power in the Kazan Khanate passed to the Giray dynasty, who ruled the Crimean Khanate. In 1478, the Crimean Khanate became a vassal of the Ottoman Turkish Empire. The Kazan Khanate's predominantly friendly relations with the Grand Duchy of Moscow (which became the Tsardom of Russia in 1547) were replaced by open hostility.

The Crimean and Kazan Tatars launched devastating raids on Russia. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Turkish Empire strengthened its position north of the Black Sea and in the Caucasus, contributing to the Turks' expansion into Western Europe. Meanwhile, the trade in white slaves captured in Eastern Europe flourished.

On 2 October 1552, after a long siege, the troops of Ivan IV took the defenders' positions by assault after the German and English sappers had blown the walls of the Kazan fortress. The Middle Volga region was annexed to Russia. The peoples inhabiting the Khanate of Kazan – the Chuvashes, Udmurts, Maris and Bashkirs – became subjects of the Russian tsar. The vast majority of them professed Islam, and their spiritual leaders were **Sayyids**, who were descendants from the Prophet Muhammad.

The title of "Tsar of Kazan" was also bestowed upon Tsar Ivan IV. The Kazan Khanate retained its independence and was in a personal union with the Tsardom of Russia. Members of the ruling dynasties of the Muslim world joined the Russian ruling elite. While the transition to Orthodoxy was welcomed, there were no mass beatings of infidels as had occurred during the "Baptism of the Saxons".

The majority of the population of the Tsardom of Kazan remained Muslim. This played into the hands of the Tsarist government. Russia was transformed into a multi-ethnic and multi-religious state. The title of tsar/khan of Kazan finally placed Ivan IV on an equal footing with Western European monarchs and the rulers of Muslim powers in the East.

Until this point, the world elite of that time did not take his claim to be the rightful heir to the spiritual traditions of the Eastern Roman Empire and a tsar seriously. However, dealing with the autocrat who had appropriated the prestigious Khan title in wartime was quite another matter.

Considering the role of the baptised or unbaptised elite of the Kazan Tsardom in the Russian government, it is clear that there were real, objective conditions in the mid-16th century for Russia to eventually become the spiritual (as well as managerial) centre of a "new caliphate". However, 35 years prior to the emergence of the Kazan Tsardom, the initiative to

revive the "new caliphate" was intercepted by the Turkish sultans, who did not actually have any legal right to do so because they were not direct descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.

Aware of the precariousness of their claims, the sultans wisely chose not to attempt to substantiate their aspirations, as this was simply impossible. They most probably hoped for a favourable turn of events in the near future. This eventually happened as a result of the treacherous anti-Russian and anti-German policy of **Catherine II** (1729–1796), who usurped the Russian throne in 1762. Many Sayyids, who were direct descendants of the Prophet, became part of the political and spiritual elite of the de facto federative state "Khanate of Kazan – Tsardom of Russia". A future caliph could potentially emerge from their ranks.

After the fall of **Genghis Khan's empire** (c. 1155–1227), the highest military and administrative power in the Muslim countries could only be inherited by his descendants, the **Genghisids**. To a certain extent, this continuity of power remained intact at a local level in the Muslim-dominated territories of the Tsardom of Russia, although the "first persons" were appointed by the government in Moscow. The Genghisids, who scrupulously observed ancestral continuity of power, could also assert their acknowledged supremacy in the Muslim world.

The dynasty of the Turkish sultans of the Ottoman Empire descended from the **Kayı tribe**, who lived in the Balkh region in northern Afghanistan. Fleeing the invasion of Genghis Khan, the tribe migrated westwards and eventually settled in the territory of modern-day Turkey, which had previously been conquered from the Christian Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire.

For Muslims in Central Asia and the Volga region, where state power was traditionally passed down through the Genghisid dynasty, it was difficult to accept the leading role of the Ottoman dynasty in the Muslim world, given that their ancestors had actually fled from Genghis Khan's warriors. However, the Turkish sultans wisely chose not to raise their claims, instead directing their efforts towards practical deeds, such as the conquest of a new living space for their people.

Osman I Ghazi, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty (died 1324), predetermined the strategic objective of Turkish expansion: Europe. Most of his army consisted of migrants and adventurers of various origins who were attracted by the promise of easy profit in the West, where they believed that "unwitting sovereigns" ruled. The governing authorities of the Eastern Roman Empire decided to prevent the Turks

from crossing into Europe and delay their advance westwards.

However, Osman I Gazi continued the onslaught. With the support of migrants who flocked to his territory, he captured the Greek port city of Ephesus on the Aegean coast. This provided a convenient base for attacking the Christian countries of the Mediterranean region.

Alongside Kazan, the **Qasim Khanate** (1452–1681) was also part of the Russian state, where the Genghisids ruled. In the late 1560s, **Sain-Bulat** (?–1616), the great-grandson of the last Khan of the Great Horde, **Ahmed bin Küchük** (?–1481), became its ruler. In 1575, he was appointed by Tsar Ivan IV as the “Grand Prince of All Rus”.

At the same time, Ivan IV began to consider seriously the idea of establishing a friendly German state in Livonia. Following Sweden’s entry into the war alongside the Ottoman Empire in 1568, the choice fell to Danish **Prince Magnus** (1540–1583), a member of the North German Oldenburg dynasty, to become king of the new state.

Magnus was the son of **King Christian III of Denmark** (Christian III; 1503–1559), an exemplary Lutheran, and the brother of **King Frederik II of Denmark** (Frederik II; 1534–1588). The idea of creating a kingdom friendly towards Russia seemed promising: the offspring of the European royal dynasty was, in the eyes of the German, Danish and Livonian nobility, more attractive than Ivan IV, who was sometimes ill-tempered and nicknamed “Ivan the Terrible”. Moreover, Magnus’s loyalty to the Tsar also seemed unquestionable.

Following the preliminary agreement, Magnus arrived in Moscow on 10 June 1570 and was received with great solemnity. He was officially proclaimed **King of Livonia**, took an oath of allegiance to the Tsar, and became engaged to **Princess Euphimia Staritskaya** (1553–1571), the daughter of the Tsar’s cousin. As King of Livonia, Magnus was appointed commander of the Russian troops sent against the Swedes. On 25 June, his army and the tsarist detachments went on campaign, and on 21 August began the siege of Revel, which was occupied by the Swedish army.

Sain-Bulat also took part in military operations against the Swedes, commanding a tsarist detachment. Together with **Prince Ivan Fedorovich Mstislavsky** (?–1586), the grandson of Kazan Khan **Huday-Kul** ((?–1523), he led the siege of the Swedish-held fortresses of Oreshek-Nöteborg, Wittenstein, and Revel. This was the first time that the de facto federative state of the “Khanate of Kazan – Tsardom of Russia –

Kingdom of Livonia” waged a military campaign to defend its northern borders against the Swedes, who were a strategic enemy and ally of the Turkish Ottoman Empire.

The Turks’ response was quite predictable. In 1571, their vassal, the Crimean Khan Devlet I Giray, launched a devastating attack on Russia, burning down Moscow. For this, he earned the nickname “Conqueror of the Throne” (Taht Alğan). Tens of thousands were killed and more than 150,000 were enslaved. Ivan IV offered the Khan colossal territorial concessions and a substantial tribute. However, Giray refused, believing that he could subdue Russia in its entirety. The following year, having received support from the Ottoman Empire, he assembled an army of 120,000, consisting of 80,000 Crimeans and Nogais, 33,000 Turks, and 7,000 Turkish Janissaries. The fall of Moscow could change the whole geopolitical situation in Eurasia.

Battle of Molodi

The horde of conquerors was met head-on by only the 20,000-strong army led by the exceptional commander **Mikhail Vorotynsky** (1516–1573). The 7,000-strong Livonian German army, led by the warlord **Jürgen von Fahrensbach** (1551–1602) – a confidant of King Magnus – came to their aid. Several battles took place near the village of Molodi, 40 km south of Moscow, between 29 July and 2 August 1572. Despite their numerical superiority, the Turkish-Crimean army was routed and almost completely wiped out.

All seven thousand Janissaries, most of the Crimean mirzas and the son, grandson and son-in-law of Khan Devlet I Giray were killed. Many of the highest-ranking Crimean dignitaries were captured. Following an unsuccessful campaign, the Crimean Khanate lost almost all its soldiers, since, according to custom, almost all combat-ready men were obliged to participate in military campaigns. The Battle of Molodi was a turning point in the confrontation between Russia and the Crimean Khanate, and the last major battle between Russia and the steppe hordes. The military power of the Crimean Khanate, which had threatened Russia for so long, was undermined as a result of the battle.

The Ottoman Empire was forced to abandon its plans to reclaim the Middle and Lower Volga regions, which became part of the Russian Tsardom and fell within its sphere of influence. The Livonian Germans made a significant contribution to the victory.

On the night of 23–24 August 1572, on the eve of St Bartholomew’s Day, Catholics organised the massacre of Protestant Huguenots across France. Around

30,000 people were killed. This bloody event clearly demonstrated the fragility of the religious peace that had been declared between Catholics in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and Protestant Lutherans in Livonia.

Tsar Ivan IV strongly condemned the massacre of the Huguenots. Following a period of relative peace at the end of the 16th century, many Germans began to view Russia as an oasis of Christian tolerance. Enlisting for military service or seeking employment as highly skilled specialists offered the prospect of significant financial improvement.

In practice, the federation of the “Khanate of Kazan – Tsardom of Russia – Kingdom of Livonia” proved its ability to effectively resist Turkish aggression and that of their allies. Oberpahlen, now the Estonian town of Põltsamaa, became the capital of the Kingdom of Livonia and the residence of Duke Magnus. In addition to Livonia itself, the kingdom included territories that are now part of the Volkhov district of the Leningrad region. The kingdom’s jurisdiction was also supposed to extend to Karelia.

At that time, Magnus’ fiancée, Princess Euphemia Staritskaya, suddenly died. Ivan IV then offered Magnus the hand of her younger sister, **Maria** (1560–1597), who was thirteen years old at the time. Magnus accepted, and the wedding took place in Novgorod on 12 April 1573.

Successes of Turkish Diplomacy

Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572), founder of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, attempted to pursue a balanced policy, prioritising the resolution of internal unification issues and avoiding disputes with neighbouring countries. Following his death on 7 July 1572, a new head of state was elected.

Objectively, this did not suit the Ottoman Empire, which sought to expand its territory by exploiting others for its own ends. Its diplomats often acted as mediators in disputes they had provoked, capitalising on the resulting discord.

The main contenders for the elected post of the head of the Polish–Lithuanian state were Tsar Ivan IV, **Duke Henry of Anjou** (1551–1589) of the ruling royal dynasty of Valois in France, **Székely Prince Stephen Báthory** (1533–1586), Holy Roman Emperor **Maximilian II Habsburg** (1527–1576), in whose reign tributes to the Turks began to be paid, and his son **Archduke Ernest of Austria** (1553–1595). As Ernest and Maximilian II pursued a course against Turkey, their candidacies during the election campaign were also supported by the Russian Tsardom.

However, the **Turkish Sultan Selim II** (1524–1574), sent a letter to the Polish szlachta demanding that they not choose Maximilian II or his son as king. Stephen Báthory, a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, was named as the preferred contender. However, it was ultimately Henry of Anjou who was chosen, as he could trace his lineage back to **Anne of Kiev** (1032–1089), daughter of **Yaroslav the Wise**, Grand Prince of Kiev (978–1054).

On 10 September 1573, Henry was officially proclaimed potentate of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth after taking the oath of office at the Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris. It may have appeared that the candidacy of a member of the French royal dynasty was in the best interests of the Ottoman Turkish Empire. France was bound by the “sacrilegious alliance of the Lily with the Crescent” of 1536, which was concluded between **King Francis I** (1494–1547) of France and **Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent** (1494–1566). Several treaties had also been signed since the end of the 15th century, formalising the military and strategic cooperation between the Polish–Lithuanian state and the Turks.

However, the newly elected King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania was not inclined towards constancy. Born a Catholic, he embraced Protestantism in his youth, a stance that might have been favourably viewed by the Muslim rulers of the Ottoman Empire. However, under the influence of his mother, **Catherine de Medici** (1519–1589), he later became a devout Catholic.

Henry arrived in Poland on 24 January 1574. On 14 June of that year, he learned of the premature death of his brother, **King Charles IX of France** (1550–1574). Acting on the advice of his mother, Henry decided to accept the French crown and, without delay, set off on his journey. En route, he was met and hailed as “twice the king”. The coronation of the Polish–Lithuanian king **Henryk Walezy** as the French monarch **Henry III** took place in Reims Cathedral on 13 February 1575.

The prospect of an unprecedentedly powerful anti-Turkish alliance was looming: the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was joined by a personal union with France. The federative state of the “Khanate of Kazan – Tsardom of Russia – Kingdom of Livonia” and the Holy Roman Empire, both suffering from the yoke of Turkish tribute, joined forces in their desire to stop Turkish expansion. Henry III was already a flexible and astute politician who could not ignore the mood of the Christian world; the extremely unpopular “sacrilegious alliance” was on the verge of collapse.

Following the king's departure, which was driven by necessity, the Sejm was convened at the initiative of **Jakub Uchański** (1502–1581), the Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland. The Sejm initiated the question of removing Henry III because he was absent from the country. Uchański's religious views, which led to him being accused of heresy and summoned before the Inquisition, almost caused Poland to break with the Catholic world and establish a national church.

The senators actually advocated a personal union with France and opposed the overthrow of Henry III due to his hasty departure. However, Uchański insisted on replacing the king. The king was sent an ultimatum that was both unacceptable and a provocation to his honour: he was to return to Poland before 15 July 1575, or he would lose his rights to the Polish throne.

The return route of the Catholic "twice the king" could be risky: it would be necessary to bypass the Protestant states again. Furthermore, Henry was undoubtedly aware of the impending Turkish offensive in Europe, which actually began a few months later.

Uchański proposed the candidacy of Maximilian II of Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor, who, at that time, was paying tribute to the Ottoman Empire. It was probably assumed that, through the Polish-Turkish treaties, it would be possible to align the German Holy Roman Empire with the Ottoman Empire. The Senate of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth voted for Maximilian II.

However, not everything went according to the pro-Turkish party's plan at first. Tsar Ivan IV was nominated for the Polish crown by a significant proportion of the szlachta nobility because he was seen as a strategic partner in the joint struggle against the Turks and Crimean Tatars. The nobleman **Krzysztof Grajewski** (?–?) wrote an open letter about the need for a union between the Polish-Lithuanian state and Russia.

The reaction did not take long. Grajewski was arrested and imprisoned. In September–October 1575, the Turks organised a devastating raid on the eastern lands of the Commonwealth, where many Orthodox Christians lived. They traditionally gravitated towards Russia. The raiders could continue their rampage and devastate central Poland.

The "warning" was understood, and Stephen Báthory, the Székely prince and vassal of the Ottoman Empire, was "appointed" as the husband of **Anna Jagellonka** (1523–1596), Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania. They were declared

co-rulers in the 1576 royal election of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Stephen was ten years younger than Anna, who was 53.

Rotation of the Tsar

Tsar Ivan IV did not win the election for King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. This was partly due to the anti-Russian stance of some Sejm deputies and the pressure from the Turks. However, there was another good reason. In the eyes of Europeans, the Russian tsar was still considered just the Grand Prince of Moscow for a long time. **Queen Elizabeth I of England** (1533–1603) was the first to recognise his tsarist title. Wanting to attract Russia to the union against the Ottoman Empire, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II recognised the royal title of Ivan IV only shortly before his death in 1576.

The Holy See defended the popes' exclusive right to grant royal and other titles to sovereigns, undoubtedly influencing the position of Catholic countries. The author of this book is not aware of any documents confirming the recognition of the tsarist title of Ivan IV by the Protestant rulers of Northern Europe. In this case, the Russian tsar acted like a true statesman. In autumn 1575, as leader of the federation "Khanate of Kazan – Tsardom of Russia – Kingdom of Livonia", he transferred supreme power to the Muslim Khan Sain-Bulat of the Qasim Khanate in a crowning ceremony. Earlier, in 1573, Sain-Bulat was baptized with the name of Simeon Bekbulatovich.

The Genghisid on the Tsarist throne of Russia was to symbolise its multinational federalism, which was cemented by the recognised ruling dynasties of the East and West. This posed not only a military and political challenge to the Ottomans, who were attempting to usurp the title of caliphs, but also unambiguously declared the future direction of Russian statehood: towards a powerful Eurasian empire. After a certain period of time, it was possible that the next head of the federation could be the Livonian King Magnus. However, events began to unfold in a way that was not favourable to Russia.

Defence of Gdansk

The cities occupied by the German Order refused to recognise Stephen Báthory's election as valid because many Germans believed Maximilian II, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, to be a more suitable candidate for the role of head of state. This was especially the case given that the Polish Senate had chosen him as king and announced the results of the vote.

In December 1575, Gdansk rebelled immediately after the apparent machinations with the election results; the city's German population professed Lutheranism. On 1 May 1576, Anna Jagiellon and Stephen Báthory had a lavish wedding in Kraków. The Bishop of Włocławek, **Stanisław Karnkowski** (1520–1603), crowned Báthory as King of Poland. In August, the new king assembled an army of mercenaries and occupied most of the German cities.

However, the centre of the German resistance, Gdańsk, could not be taken quickly. The Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian II, had decided to support the rebellious Germans, but he died unexpectedly on the eve of his army's campaign, at the age of 49, on 12 October 1576. Gdansk's resistance lasted exactly two years, until mid-December 1577. The city withstood the siege and retained its previously granted privileges.

Bribery

At the same time, and in the interests of the Ottoman Empire, Báthory launched an active campaign against the “**Federation of the Khanate of Kazan, the Tsardom of Russia and the Kingdom of Livonia**”, employing not only military means. The appointed head of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, on his mother's side, belonged to one of the most influential families of European financiers.

His grandfather, **Stephen Telegdi** (?–1514), was nicknamed the “Treasurer” (Kincstartó) and managed the finances of **Vladislaus II** (1456–1516), who was King of Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia. Vladislaus II was nicknamed “The Kind” because he stood back from government affairs, leaving them to nobles and clerks. It would be naive to assume that Telegdi, who managed the finances of three states, could make deals without considering his own interests, even with such a “benevolent” ruler who lacked proper control over state affairs.

Although the Báthory-Telegdi family had money, many historians note the modesty of Stephen Báthory and his unassuming nature. Báthory bought the Livonian king Magnus, who sold his kingdom to the Telegdi-Báthory family and defected to the enemies of Russia.

A key figure in the deal may have been the Portuguese Sepharad, **Joseph Nasi** (1524–1579). A financier of the Ottoman Empire, he had a significant impact on European politics thanks to his knowledge, personal acquaintances with many political figures in Europe, and an extensive network of commercial agencies. In 1580, Magnus was fighting on the side of Báthory. The Eurasian federation, which included the Livonian Germans, ceased to exist de jure.

Testament of Ivan IV

The first Russian tsar, Ivan IV, was proud of his German lineage. As contemporaries noted, he repeatedly professed that Bavarian blood flowed in his veins. Perhaps he came to this conclusion because of the similarity between the words “Bavarian” and “boyarin”.⁹

The autocrat tried to prove his “Germanic ancestry” and religious tolerance. *“He enjoyed arguing with Germans about the law and responded well to contradiction. In 1570, he held a ceremonial debate with the Lutheran theologian Rocita in the Kremlin Palace, accusing him of heresy. Rocita sat on an elevated seat covered with rich carpets, spoke boldly, justified the dogmas of the Augsburg Confession and was awarded signs of the Tsar's favour. He also wrote a book about this curious conversation. The German preacher Caspar, wanting to please Ivan, was baptised in Moscow according to the rites of the Orthodox Church. To the annoyance of his fellow countrymen, he joked about Luther, but none of them complained of harassment. They lived quietly in the new German Sloboda in Moscow, on the banks of the Yauza, enriching themselves through crafts and arts.”*¹⁰

Concerned about the future of the Tsardom and aware that his son **Fyodor** (1557–1598) was unfit to rule due to his mental weakness, Ivan IV made several versions of his last will and testament. Referring to **Luka Pavlus**, who “*knew the Russian language and affairs of state well*”, **Nikolay Ivanovich Kostomarov** (1817–1885), one of Russia's most distinguished historians, describes the intrigue surrounding the tsarist testament in his book “Russian History in Biographies of Its Main Figures”. *“First, Ivan drafted a will in which he declared Fyodor heir and established a council alongside him, with Boris Godunov among its members. Then, having won the tsar's favour, Bogdan Belsky turned him against Boris Godunov. It was later revealed that the tsar had made another will, leaving the throne to the mentally impaired Fyodor and appointing Archduke Ernest (W.F.: Archduke Ernest of Austria; 1553–1595) as ruler of the state. The tsar had previously wanted to put Archduke Ernest on the Polish throne. Ernest was to take possession of Tver, Vologda and Uglich, and if Fyodor died without an heir, he would become the heir to the Russian throne. His respect for the nobility of the German House of Habsburg had influenced his decision. He considered their members to be heirs to the Holy Roman Empire, where Jesus Christ himself was born. This will was kept secret from Boris, but the aforementioned boyars*

knew about it. Diak Shchelkalov (Vasily Yakovlevich Shchelkalov; ?–1611) betrayed his comrades and secretly informed Boris. The two of them made a plan to destroy the will after Ivan's death."¹¹

Despite his failure with the Livonian Kingdom, Ivan IV actively sought allies among the German states. He may even have wished to unite the German Empire (the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation) with the Tsardom of Russia in the form of a personal union, thereby infusing the originally Germanic Rurik dynasty with new German blood. This was not a casual idea of the "mad autocrat" (as the first Russian tsar was often depicted), as evidenced by the policy of Boris Godunov, the de facto ruler of Russia under Tsar Fyodor I Ivanovitch (1557–1598).

Godunov realised that if the gravely ill Russian autocrat died, there would be no place for him at the tsarist court anymore, as the autocrat's wife was his sister **Irina** (1557–1603). In 1585, he secretly sent envoys to the court of the Holy Roman Emperor, **Rudolf II** (1552–1612), proposing that, in the event of the tsar's death, the issue of marriage between his sister and Ernest be discussed, with the latter's subsequent accession to the Russian throne.

However, the secret may have become apparent because of excessive talkativeness or the betrayal of **Jacob Zaborovsky**, the Polish translator of the mission. There was a significant political upheaval, with those who did not want a strong centralised power being the most indignant. For them, Poland was the example, with royal power limited by the Sejm, and a kind of "circus democracy" similar to that in ancient Rome. However, the German (Holy Roman) Empire was organised as a pyramid of free states, imperial estates, and free landed gentry.

In contrast to the "circus democracy" that could easily be manipulated and did not represent anyone or anything, the complex structure of the Holy Roman Empire expressed the vital interests of social groups and territories that needed a unifying and authoritative state power. On 1 September 1598, Boris Godunov was crowned Tsar of Russia. Contacts between the Moscow state and the Holy Roman Empire intensified. Merchants, doctors, industrialists, military personnel and scientists travelled to Russia. They were offered positions, good salaries and land with peasants. European culture became part of everyday Russian life. This influenced clothing, housing, social ceremonies, and even customs such as beard-shaving. Boris Godunov sent Russians to study abroad. He also tried to arrange a marriage for his daughter, **Ksenia** (1582–1622), with one of the most important representatives of the ruling European dynasties.

In 1604, the experienced Boris Godunov, seasoned in battles with political opponents, set out the shared foreign policy objectives of the Russian Tsardom and the Holy Roman Empire in a letter to Rudolf II: *"We know that King Sigismund is not pleased that we are in good correspondence, brotherly friendship, love, reciprocity and trust with you, our illustrious potentate and powerful Emperor Rudolph. For the sake of our love, we have convinced Persian Shah Abbas to establish relations and friendship with you, our beloved brother, and to fight the Turks alongside you. The Polish king fears that, by establishing relations with you, our beloved brother, we have formed an alliance against him, threatening both the Polish crown and the Lithuanian principality. That is why he does not allow messengers and ambassadors from you to pass through his land to us, nor from us to you. This is why he looks so unsympathetically upon our mutually supportive relations. We, together with you, the illustrious potentate, cannot help but wonder how the Polish King, Sigismund, can call himself a Christian sovereign yet not perform Christian deeds."*¹²

This letter was also a political testament from the wise statesman. At the time, society did not heed his appeals. On 13 April 1605, the fifty-three-year-old Boris Godunov died suddenly: *"The death of Tsar Boris was sudden and strange. After nearly two hours in the afternoon, when the doctors had already left as usual, having deemed the tsar to be in good health based on his appetite at dinner (he generally loved to eat well and heartily, and it is possible that he did so excessively), he was struck by a sudden feeling of unwellness and stomach pain. He went to bed unaided and told them to call the doctors, who had already left. But before they arrived, the Tsar died, having lost his voice before his death."*¹³

Military Estate of Russia

In the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire and their allies intensified their attacks on the Tsardom of Russia and the German Holy Roman Empire. In the winter of 1656/57, the Crimean and Lithuanian Tatars, who had been taken in as refugees and settled near the border with German lands, attacked the Duchy of Prussia. Twenty-three thousand Germans were killed and 34,000 were taken into slavery. All food was either taken or destroyed, resulting in the deaths of 80,000 people from starvation. This wave of Turkish aggression also reached Prussia, which was seemingly far away from the Ottoman Empire.

The far-sighted Polish politicians realised that the Turks' plans also included the complete enslavement of their state. In 1683, when the Turks besieged the

capital of the Holy Roman Empire, Vienna, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania **Jan III Sobieski** (1629–1696) rushed to its aid. Following victory in the Battle of Vienna on 12 September 1683 during the **Great Turkish War** (1683–1699), an alliance of Christian European states known as the **Holy League** was formed. This included the Papal States, the Holy Roman Empire, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Venetian Republic. The Tsardom of Russia joined the League in 1686. The combined forces liberated much of Central Europe from the Turks, significantly weakening their military might.

The success of the campaign was primarily due to the effective military and political cooperation between the Tsardom of Russia and the German (Holy Roman) Empire. By the middle of the 17th century, over two-thirds of the commanding officers in the Russian army were of Western European origin. These included French Huguenots, Englishmen, Scots and Dutch, but most of them were German warlords.

West Europeans and Germans held the highest ranks in the Russian army. By the beginning of the 18th century, a multi-ethnic community had emerged in Russia. Based on the ethnicity of the vast majority of its members, this community was known as the Germans, and identified itself as such.

Its formation was largely due to the joint struggle of the Russian and German (Holy Roman) peoples against incessant Turkish aggression over the centuries. The Germans held advanced positions in military branches such as artillery, demining and combat engineering within the Russian army. According to the First Audit of 1719, 31,100 Germans were living in the Tsardom of Russia.¹⁴

The Livonian Germans under Poland and Sweden

Following the dissolution of the State of the Teutonic Order (1226–1525), the Baltic lands became the subject of rivalry between the neighbouring Baltic Sea powers as they competed for supremacy in Northern Europe. Due to its strategic location, Livonia became a battlefield in this struggle, fought with both military and spiritual means.

The **Truce of Jam Zapolski**, signed on 15 January 1582 between the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Tsardom of Russia, failed to resolve their differences, leaving their ultimate solution to an unpredictable future. During the **Livonian War** (1558–1583), Russia failed to conquer the Baltics and the war ended with Russia holding the same territory as at the beginning.

Soon after, the heavily tested country became a battlefield in the **Swedish–Polish War of Succession** (1597–1629). It thus became embroiled in the world-historical conflict between Protestantism and the Catholic Counter-Reformation. In this struggle, the victories of the Swedish army under **Gustav II Adolf** (1594–1632) ultimately decided the outcome. It was not insignificant that the Livonian Germans, especially the citizens of Riga, fought hard to defend their Lutheranism against attempts at re-Catholicisation and Polonisation.

The Germans of Livonia, bitter about Poland's violation of the treaties, claimed their right to resist and mostly voluntarily sided with Sweden. Following Gustav Adolf's capture of Riga in 1621, Poland ceded Livonia to Sweden in 1629. Only the south-eastern part of the province, the historical and cultural region of **Latgale**, remained with Poland. Becoming part of Sweden was significant for the political development of the Baltic Germans.

The reforms carried out by the Swedish kings in Estonia and Livonia in the fields of government, the church, the administration of justice, and education had a lasting effect. The German landed gentry succeeded in consolidating their autonomous position, influencing regional developments so that Livonia and Estonia became lands reigned by nobility (*Adelsländer*), in which the Landtag consisted only of manor owners. Only Riga was able to claim a seat in the Livonian parliament.

In the **Duchy of Courland and Semigallia**, which was under Polish sovereignty, political and constitutional conditions developed in line with those in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where the **szlachta** were a legally privileged noble class. The German landed gentry of the Duchy, relying on the "indigenous right" (the right of place of birth), managed to establish themselves as a prosperous, self-contained estate.

Duke Jakob von Kettler (1610–1682) of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia built factories, developed agriculture and created a merchant and military fleet that surpassed those of Brandenburg, Hamburg, Lübeck and other German cities combined. He established Courland colonies in West Africa (on the Gambia River) and on the island of Tobago off the coast of South America. He received Tobago from King Charles I of England (1600–1649) in exchange for supplying ships and weapons, and purchased the territory of the Gambia from local chiefs.

Following the outbreak of the **Second Northern War** (1655–1660), the Swedes invaded Kurland,

suspecting Jakob Kettler of being allied with **Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich** (1629–1676). The duke was captured and taken to Riga in 1658, while the Dutch captured the Duchy's overseas possessions. According to the **Peace of Oliva** (1660), the Swedes withdrew their claims to the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, and the duke was released.

The end of Swedish rule in Livonia was brought about by a conflict between **King Charles XI** (1655–1697), who had been an absolute monarch since 1680, and the Livonian knighthood. The conflict arose when the king began to confiscate their property. The nobility's resistance led to the king abolishing the "knightly self-government" in Courland and Semigallia in 1694.

By the end of the 17th century, most of the territory of the former State of the German Order was viewed by the Swedish government as their colony. This situation was exacerbated by several years of poor harvests and widespread epidemics. Therefore, by the beginning of the **Great Northern War** (1700–1721), this had inevitably affected the mood of the population of these lands and the Baltic German nobility. Consequently, many did not support the Swedish side in the new war as a result of the Swedish expropriation policy (reduction) in Livonia. One notable figure affected by the reduction was the Livonian politician **Johann Patkul** (1660–1707), who was sentenced to mutilation and death by King Charles XI of Sweden in 1694. Many historians believe that this was a decisive factor in triggering the Great Northern War.

In May 1699, Patkul travelled to Copenhagen to seek the support of **King Christian V of Denmark** (1646–1699). He also assured the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, **Augustus II** (1670–1733), that the Livonian barons, who were dissatisfied with the reduction, would support the King if his troops entered Livonia. Thereafter, Augustus II sent Patkul to Russia to negotiate the terms of a joint military campaign. In autumn 1699, Patkul travelled to Moscow to meet Tsar Peter the Great (1672–1725). On 21 November of that year, he formalised an alliance between the Tsardom of Russia and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth at the Preobrazhensky, the tsar's preferred residence. The treaty called for the partition of the Swedish Empire among Denmark–Norway, Russia, Saxony, and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Two months after the treaty was signed, the Saxon troops of Augustus II invaded the Baltic lands of Sweden, marking the outbreak of the Great Northern War.

Russian troops besieged Riga in the autumn of 1709, and its Swedish garrison surrendered on 15 July 1710.

On 4 July 1710, the victorious Russian army, led by **Field Marshal Boris Sheremetev** (1652–1719), concluded the so-called "capitulations" (Kapitulatsionnenen) with the city of Riga and the Livonian knighthood. These documents set out the special status of Livland and Riga within the Russian Empire. **On 14 July, the Livonian knighthood and the Riga Council of Estates paid homage to Tsar Peter I.**

On 29 September 1710, similar intentions were declared in the following capitulation with the city of Reval and with the Estonian knighthood. From the Russian side the capitulation was signed by **General Christian Felix Bauer** (1667–1717).

The capitulation of Livonia comprised three chapters and 65 articles. In Articles 9 to 11, Tsar Peter I confirmed the everlasting privileges that the Duchies of Estonia and Livonia had enjoyed under Swedish sovereignty prior to the reduction. Livonia's privileges included self-government in the following areas: judiciary, regional police, church and school administration, management of matters of general welfare, post office and local community and municipal governance. Thus, alongside the general administration of the governorate, known as the "crown authorities" (Kronbehörden), there were also bodies of self-government in Livonia, known as the "land authorities". While the "crown authorities", together with the vicegerent or governor, were under the control of the central Russian authorities and ministries, the German Livonian authorities were independent. According to the capitulation, the Lutheran denomination was explicitly recognised as the ruling Livonian church in 1710. German was retained or introduced as the business language in all authorities and institutions. In district and grammar schools, the language of instruction was German.

Sweden was obliged to recognise the capitulations granted to the Livonian Germans when it signed the **Treaty of Nystad** with Russia on 10 September 1721. Between 1721 and 1918, Livonia and Estonia were governed according to these capitulations.

Following the accession of the usurper **Catherine II** (1729–1796) to the throne, relations between St. Petersburg and the Baltic provinces lost their previous stability. Initially, Catherine II confirmed the 1710 privileges. However, by 1764 at the latest, the self-proclaimed empress had reconsidered the issue of provincial autonomy. The strengthening of Russian absolutism and the concept of viewing the empire as a whole placed considerable pressure on Baltic German autonomy.

The periods between 1860 and 1905, and between 1910 and 1917, were also characterised by an intensified Russification policy that increasingly encroached upon the privileges of the Livonian Germans.

For the first time, territories that had been not only under strong European cultural influence, such as Novgorod, were incorporated into the Russian Empire. These territories included Estonia and Livonia, which were part of Western Christian civilisation in terms of their political, social and economic structure, spiritual and material culture, historical development and traditional values. These provinces were therefore also referred to as the “German” Baltic Sea provinces of Russia.

The peace treaty that ended the Great Northern War of 1700–1721 was signed in Nystad, a city that is now part of Finland. On 2 November 1721, Russia was proclaimed an empire and, at the request of the senators, **Peter I** (1672–1725) accepted the title *“By the grace of God, the most excellent and great sovereign emperor Pyotr Alekseevich, ruler of all the Russians, of Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir, Novgorod, Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberia; sovereign of Pskov; great prince of Smolensk, Tver, Yugorsk, Perm, Vyatka, Bulgaria and others; sovereign and great prince of the Novgorod Lower Lands, Chernigov, Ryazan, Rostov, Yaroslavl, Belozersk, Udora, Konia and the sovereign of all the northern lands; sovereign of the Iverian lands; sovereign of the Kartlian and Georgian kings, of the Kabardin lands, of the Circassian and Mountain princes, and of many other states and lands, both eastern and western. He is also the successor, sovereign, and ruler.”*

From that point on, the Germans of Livonia and Estonia served the “Emperor of All the Russias”, who promoted the “European idea” in Russia. They fulfilled their duties as officers, diplomats, and administrative officials of the Empire, which opened up new and unprecedented possibilities for them.

At the same time, the absolutist princely state triumphed over the estates in Prussia’s north-eastern territories. However, the German knighthoods and city authorities in the Baltic managed to maintain their political autonomy. This undoubtedly contributed to the development of certain characteristics and behavioural patterns among the Germans of Livonia, Estonia and Courland, distinguishing them from members of the same social strata in Prussia. A primarily state-related human type developed there, while the Baltic Germans were primarily socially oriented. They evolved self-help social institutions and assigned to society functions that elsewhere were assigned to state organs.

The German-Baltic nobility played a significant role in Russian history. Many Russian ministers, politicians, generals and admirals came from their ranks. The German-speaking University of Dorpat occupied a permanent place in German cultural life, particularly during the 19th century.

German-Speaking Academy on the Russian Soil. Antecedents

The philosophical school founded by **Plato** (427–347 BC) in the late 4th century BC was called the “Academy”. It was located in the eponymous Grove of Akademos, near Athens, which was named after the ancient Greek hero buried there.

The first academy in modern history was founded in Italy in 1603 and consisted of only six members. The academics called themselves “The Lynx-Eyed” after the lynx, a wild forest cat whose sharp vision symbolised the observational prowess required by science.

However, with the publication of the final volume of the Academy’s works in 1651, its activities ceased. To commemorate it, the Vatican established the Pontifical Academy of Sciences in 1847, whose members referred to themselves as the “The New Lynx-Eyed”. Following the unification of Italy, **King Victor Emmanuel II** (1820–1878) issued a decree in 1871 establishing the “Accademia dei Lincei” as the National Academy of Sciences.

On 1 January 1652, four German doctors – **Johann Lorenz Bausch** (1605–1665), **Johann Michael Fehr** (1610–1688), **Georg Balthasar Metzger** (1623–1687) and **Georg Balthasar Wohlfahrt** (1607–1674) – established a scientific society in Schweinfurt. This society was given the Latin name “Academia Naturae Curiosorum”, meaning “Academy for those interested in nature”. This name was later interpreted as the “Academy of Natural Sciences”. In 1687, Holy Roman **Emperor Leopold I** (1640–1705) approved it as an imperial academy. It became officially known as the “Academia Leopoldino-Carolina” (the “Academy of the Holy Roman Empire named after Emperor Leopold for those interested in nature”), but was simply called the “**Leopoldina**” in everyday life.

Until 1904, the Leopoldina was a network of scientists without a permanent place of residence. Its legal address was that of the residence of its current president. It was not until the opening of the university library building in 1904 that it found a “permanent residence” in Halle an der Saale. It is now known as the German Academy of Natural Scientists Leopoldina (Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina).

The first formal meeting of **The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge**, approved by the Royal Charter, took place on 22 April 1663. The scientific journal “**Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society**” was first published on 6 March 1665. Like the Leopoldina Academy, the Royal Society had no permanent home for over two centuries (until 1873), frequently moving and struggling to pay the rent on time. It was more akin to an organisation that promoted scientific knowledge than an organised academic community that planned, financed and conducted fundamental research.

In 1635, **Cardinal Richelieu** (Armand-Jean du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu; 1585–1642), the First Minister of France who uttered the words, “Give me only six lines written by the hand of the most honest man, and I’ll find something for which he could be hanged”, gave permission to the literary circle gathered by the Calvinist **Valentin Conrart** (1603–1675) to organise an academy. For the next 40 years, academics and writers gathered at Conrart’s house. He didn’t contribute much himself, preferring to listen. The following saying appeared about him: “I imitate Conrart with his careful silence” (J’imite de Conrart le silence prudent). It was not until 1699 that **King Louis XIV** (1638–1715) approved the academy’s charter, which was virtually a gathering of French language enthusiasts.

The Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences (Königlich-Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften) was founded in 1700. Its first president was **Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz** (1646–1716). As the academy was not financed by the state treasury, there were insufficient funds for serious research. Consequently, Leibniz placed his hopes in the organisation of the academy in Russia. However, this only happened after his death.

The Academy

On 22 January 1724, Emperor Peter I issued a decree establishing the “Academy of Sciences and Curious Arts”, which was significantly different from all related foreign organisations. As a government agency, its members received fixed salaries to promote scientific and technological progress in the Russian Empire. The Academy combined the functions of a scientific research institution and a training centre. It had a specialised gymnasium and a corresponding university.

Peter I passed away on 28 January (8 February) 1725. Before his death, he signed a decree, published on 23 February (6 March) 1725, entitled “On the invitation of scientists to the Russian Academy of

Sciences and the provision of the necessary benefits to those wishing to come to Russia”. This document provided the most favourable conditions for scientists from European countries coming to Russia.

On 7 December 1725 (18 December by the new calendar), **Empress Catherine I** (1684–1727) issued the decree “On the establishment of the Academy of Sciences and the appointment of court physician Blumenthal as its president”. The academy’s opening was scheduled for 27 December 1725. This was the same day that the main temple of Christianity, **Hagia Sophia** (“Holy Wisdom”), was consecrated in Constantinople in 537.

Public lectures were a striking element of St. Petersburg’s cultural life, delivered by academicians to all science enthusiasts. Almost all academicians and adjuncts gave lectures on subjects such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, mineralogy and natural history. These presentations were conducted in Russian and attracted large audiences.

However, the Academy was perceived as “German”, and most of its documentation and proceedings from the 18th century were recorded in foreign languages. From its foundation in 1725 until 1733, the Academy’s protocols were written in Latin; from 1734 to 1741, they were written in German; from 1742 to 1766, they were written in Latin again; from 1767 to 1772, they were written in German again; and from 1773 onwards, they were written in French.

The university formed an integral part of the academy. Its role was to prepare scientific staff. It operated relatively regularly in the 1750s and early 1760s, during which time it was actively supported by **Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov** (1711–1765). Following his death, however, the university began to fade away, finally closing down in 1767. Nevertheless, it had played an important role in educating the first Russian academicians. The academy also helped to establish Moscow University in 1755.

The Academy as Promoter of Public Education

The Academy was involved in a far-reaching educational movement aimed at establishing a public school system within the Russian Empire.

In 1761, the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences prepared six projects for school reform. Academicians **Josef Adam Braun** (1712–1768), **Johann Eberhard Fischer** (1697–1771), **Johann Ernst Zeiler** (1725–1784) and **Jacob von Staehlin-Storcksburg** (1709–1785) suggested the original ideas about the organisation of education in the country. **Gerhard Friedrich Müller** (1705–1783), another academician, was very

active in this regard, presenting several large-scale projects and memoranda about the organisation of educational institutions. He argued for the creation of four types of school to train future scientists, military personnel, merchants, and officials, and developed the respective training concepts.

The St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences strove to create a school system. It submitted proposals to the government commission on the new education project and appointed Gerhard Friedrich Müller to represent it. As a first step, the Academy of Sciences proposed establishing a “collegium or government” to supervise schools, i.e. creating a special state educational department. This agency was to comprise nine people, three of whom were to be “notable enlightened science lovers” and the rest scientists. The board was tasked with developing the main provisions for the reform and presenting a plan for establishing schools. It was also responsible for managing all educational institutions, including primary and secondary schools and universities, and for preparing charters for existing public and private schools.

“The Plan for the Organisation of Primary and Secondary Education in Russia” was compiled by **Franz Ulrich Theodor Aepinus** (1724–1802), an academician and a member of the “Commission for the Establishment of People’s Schools”, which was formed in 1782. This commission was the first state institution to address all aspects of education in Russia. In the early 19th century, the Ministry of National Enlightenment (Ministrstvo narodnogo prosveshcheniya) was established on its basis. This government ministry oversaw science and education.

The development of schooling required the training of teachers, first and foremost. The first Teachers’ Seminary was founded at the University of Moscow in 1779 and was partly financed by members of the “Friendly Scientific Society”. **Johann Georg von Schwarz** (1751–1784), a philosophy professor at Moscow University who headed the Russian branch of the spiritual **Rosicrucian Society**, donated 5,000 rubles. Three adjuncts of the Academy were invited to take up professorial positions at the seminary in order to ensure high educational standards.

Mikhail Evseevich Golovin (1756–1790), a nephew of Mikhail Lomonosov, taught physics and mathematics. Golovin graduated from the Academic Gymnasium in 1773 and entered the Academic University, where he studied physics under **Wolfgang Ludwig Krafft** (1743–1814), the son of **Georg Wolfgang Krafft** (1701–1754). Golovin’s well-made translations of **Leonhard Euler’s** scientific

works played a significant role in the development of the natural and mathematical sciences in Russia.

Vasily Fyodorovich Zuyev (1754–1794) studied natural history, physics, chemistry, and metaphysics in Leiden and Strasbourg. He participated in the academy’s expeditions under the command of **Peter Simon Pallas** (1741–1811). From 1781 to 1782, he travelled to the regions of the Bug and lower Dnieper rivers. He documented his travels in a book entitled “Travel Notes from St. Petersburg to Kherson in 1781 and 1782” (*Puteshestvennyye zapiski ot Sankt-Peterburga do Khersona v 1781 i 1782 g.* SPb. 1787). Zuyev wrote a number of works on zoology, primarily focusing on the taxonomy of fish. Zuyev was also the author of the first Russian manual on natural science, entitled “The Outline of Natural History” (*Načertanie prirodnogo istoriia*, St Petersburg, 1786).

Johann Friedrich Hackmann (1756–1812) composed “The Comprehensive Description of the Territory of the Russian State” (*Prostransnoe Zemeopisanie Rossiyskogo Gosudarstva*, St. Petersburg, 1787) and “Universal Description of Earth” (*Vseobshchoe Zemeopisanie*, St. Petersburg, 1788) for the Russian public schools. Hackmann was the first to draw a border between Asia and Europe along the Emba River.

Golovin, Zuyev and Hackmann organised and equipped physical, zoological, botanical and mineralogical school cabinets, providing visual aids for training.

Members of the Academy also participated in the creation of original Russian-language textbooks for schools and the translation of foreign educational literature. These textbooks were created in accordance with the latest scientific achievements of the time. They were practical, perfectly illustrated and contained carefully considered methodological recommendations. Based on abundant factual material, “A Brief Russian History” (*Istoriya Rossiyskogo gosudarstva*, 1799) was compiled for schools by **Johann Gotthilf Stritt** (1740–1801). It had nine editions.

Once the first teachers had graduated from the Teachers’ Seminary and the necessary textbooks had been published, it was decided that the main public schools in provincial centres would offer a five-year course of study and that public schools in smaller towns would offer a two-year course. The curriculum in the smaller schools corresponded to the first two years of the main schools’ curriculum. These schools were open to children of all backgrounds and nationalities. Training was free of charge. By the end of the 18th century, around 300 People’s Schools had been established across the Russian Empire.

The renowned 18th-century historian **August Ludwig von Schlözer** (1735–1809) observed that the high historical significance should be attributed in particular to the victories over the Turks and the establishment of public schools. The state school system, first established in the 1780s and 1790s, was largely the brainchild of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, which was responsible for developing and implementing this innovative educational system. No other scientific academy in Europe or America played such an important role in educating its people as the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences did.

The First Newspaper of the Russian Empire

The “St. Petersburgische Zeitung” is both the oldest newspaper in Russia and the oldest German-language newspaper to be published outside of Germany. Russia’s first Russian-language newspaper, the “St. Petersburg Gazette” (Sankt-Peterburgskiyе vedomosti), was published a year later in 1728. While the first issue of the newspaper has not survived, the correspondence between **Laurentius Blumentrost** (1692–1755), the first president of the Academy of Sciences and Arts in St Petersburg, and **Mikhail Petrovich Avramov** (1681–1752), the director of the city’s first printing house, which preceded the release of the first issue of the newspaper, is available to view:

Государь мой лаврентий лаврентьевич.
Присланные отъ вашего превосходительства на немецкомъ диалекте
куранты всанктъ питеръ бурхской типографіи велѣль я печатать
безъ замѣдления; токмо извольте мой Государь прислать въ
типографію со оныхъ курантовъ на русскомъ языкѣ за рукою вашего
превосходительства копію, которая для въведенія имѣетъ быть
всегда оставлена при типографіи
впрочемъ остаюсь вашего превосходительства слуга
Генваря 3 дня 1727 года. Михайло Аврамовъ.

My Mr Lavrentij Lavrentyevich.

I have ordered that the newspapers sent by your Excellency, written in German dialect, must be printed immediately in the St. Petersburg typography; however may your Excellency send a copy of this newspaper in Russian, signed by your Excellency, into the typography. This should always be left in the typography for the purpose of the inquiry.

But for all that, I remain the servant of your Excellency

The 3. Day of January of year 1727

Mikhailo Avramov

The first editor was Gerhard Friedrich Müller, a member of the **Imperial Academy of Sciences and Arts in Saint Petersburg**, who was also responsi-

ble for editing the “Saint Petersburg Gazette” and its “Comments”.

Both the newspaper and the “St. Petersburg Gazette” were run by the Academy of Sciences. The “St. Petersburgische Zeitung” published official releases of the Russian government, international news and information on books published by the Academy, as well as the currency exchange rate, details of theatrical performances and private announcements. Originally issued weekly, it became a daily newspaper in 1831.

Language Planning in the Russian Empire
Count Hermann-Karl von Keyserlingk (1697–1765) was officially president of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences for more than a year, from 18 July 1733 to 23 September 1734. He came from an ancient noble family with roots in Westphalia. Keyserlingk was educated in Königsberg under the tutelage of **Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer** (1694–1738), a philologist, historian and researcher of Russian antiquities, as well as one of the first academicians of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

The presidency of Keyserlingk should be remembered as marking the beginning of a linguistic revolution that would define the linguistic development paradigm of the peoples of the Russian Empire. In the long term, it would also pave the way for the consolidation of linguistic norms among German-speaking ethnic groups in the Holy Roman Empire.

Keyserlingk engaged **Vasily Kirillovich Trediakovsky** (1703–1769) as the Academy’s translator and the future founder of love-romantic lyrics, which were previously unknown in Russia. Trediakovsky was tasked with “cleaning up the Russian language” and writing not only poems, but other works too. This involved replacing the official Church Slavonic language with a new language norm that would be comprehensible to the people of the Russian Empire. Keyserlingk left the Academy after being assigned abroad. In his detailed instructions for managing the Academy, he emphasised the need to develop a grammar for the normative language of the Empire – Russian – which would differ fundamentally from the Church Slavonic that had been adopted as the official state language. This work was entrusted to **Vasily Evdokimovich Adodurov** (1709–1780), an adjunct of the Academy, whose grammar was published in 1740.

As a representative of the Russian Empire at various European courts, Keyserlingk was highly esteemed in 18th-century diplomatic circles. In Poland, he zealously defended Orthodox Christians from Catholic oppression and supported Orthodox

followers who were subjects of the Holy Roman Empire. He was a patron of the composer **Johann Sebastian Bach** (1685–1750). His son, **Count Heinrich Christian von Keyserlingk** (1727–1787), also became a renowned Russian diplomat.

Vasily Kirillovich Trediakovsky continued the reconstruction of the state language of the Russian Empire, which had been initiated by Herman Karl von Keyserlingk. Trediakovsky hailed from Astrakhan, a multi-ethnic city and important trade and transit hub in the Volga Delta en route to Persia. His father, Kirill Trediakovsky, was an Orthodox priest. Vasily began his studies at the Capuchin monastic school and then at the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy, which was established between 1685 and 1687 under the direction of the Greek brothers **Joannicus** (1633–1717) and **Sophronius** (1653–1730) **Likhud**. In 1726, Trediakovsky travelled to the Netherlands, spending two years in The Hague. He then studied mathematics and philosophy at the University of Paris (Sorbonne), participating in public debates. Upon returning to Russia in 1730, he published his translation of **Paul Tallemant's** novel "The Ride to Love Island" (*Voyage de l'isle d'amour*, 1663). This was accompanied by his own poems in Russian, French and Latin.

The book's success was due to its content, which depicted feelings of graceful love and introduced new images and notions that were unfamiliar to Russian readers but common in Western European literature. In his foreword to this edition, Trediakovsky expressed the idea of publishing literary works in a language that the population could understand, i.e. in "Russian" rather than Church Slavonic ("Slovenian"). "*The Slovenian language is very obscure nowadays, and many of our readers do not understand it,*" he complained. Trediakovsky introduced accentual-syllabic verse, a metrical composition that felt familiar and natural to Russian readers, and it was adopted by the vast majority of Russian poets. This must also be attributed to Herman Carl von Keyserling, who supported Trediakovsky's innovative ideas and greatly contributed to the development of the new language of the Russian Empire.

The Union

On 22 April 1491, the German-Roman **King Maximilian I** (1459–1519), who would later become Emperor, signed the Union Treaty proposed by the Russian **Tsar Ivan III** (1440–1505) in Nuremberg. One important circumstance laid the foundation for the alliance between Germany and Russia: the 35th Grand Master of the German Order, **Johann von Tiefen** (c. 1440–1497), and the Master of the

Livonian Order, **Johann Freytag von Loringhoven** (c. 1430–1494), were determined to free themselves from their dependence on Poland, to which the Order had been forced to submit after signing the **Second Peace of Thorn** in 1466.

For a long time, the Catholic clergy insisted on the redeployment of the German Order, thus allegedly bringing them closer to the theatre of war with the Turks. Following the advice of **Lucas Watzenrode, Prince-Bishop of Warmia** (1447–1512), Polish **King Jan I Olbracht** (1459–1501) proposed to **Pope Alexander VI** (1431–1503) that the German Order be relocated from Prussia to south-western Ukraine. Removing the Order from Prussia and Livonia would undoubtedly have led to the expulsion of the German population.

On behalf of the German-Roman King Maximilian I, Ivan III was asked to take the Livonian Order and other spiritual principalities of Livonia under his patronage. The urban population of these principalities was almost exclusively German. From that moment on, the historical destinies of the Livonian and Russian peoples became inseparable. The 1491 union treaty was extended in 1493.

In the 16th century, a significant number of knights from the Livonian Order were recruited for military service in the Tsardom of Russia. These included officers and privates who had been captured during the **Livonian War** (1558–1583), as well as volunteers. They fought the Crimean Tatars in the **Battle of Molodi** (29 July–2 August 1572), which sealed Russia's fate as an independent state. Many of the knights had their ancestral estates in the Rhineland and Westphalia.

In 1613, during the **Russian-Polish War** (1609–1618), the garrison of the fortress of Bely (in the Tver Oblast), consisting of foreign mercenaries, voluntarily switched sides to join **Prince Dmitry Pozharsky** (1578–1642). The Germans and Western Europeans who were on active military service in Russia began to be referred to by the people as the "Belskij Germans" (*Belskiy nemtsy*). Many of them lived off the income they received from the estates granted to them; others were paid salaries in cash. Some of the most notable personalities were:

- **Johann Wilhelm von Fürstenberg** (c. 1500–1568), Master of the Livonian Order, who was born in Neheim, which is now a borough of the city of Arnsberg in North Rhine-Westphalia. Fürstenberg was taken prisoner and moved to Lyubim, which is now the administrative centre of the Lyubimsky District in the Yaroslavl Oblast of Russia. He was frequently seen at festive and diplomatic events in Moscow.

- **Georg von Mengden** (1628–1702) was the first colonel of the Preobrazhensky Life-Guard Regiment and governor of Kiev. He was the grandson of Ernst von Mengden, who was one of the stolniks (young nobles responsible for bringing dishes to the tsar's table, looking after his bedroom and accompanying him on his travels) of Tsar Ivan IV Vasilyevich. Another ancestor, **Johann von Mengede** (nicknamed Osthof), was Master of the Livonian Order from 1450 to 1469. The ruins of their ancestral castle can be found in Dortmund-Mengede.

- **Dmitri Andrejevich Fahrenbach** (died 1657) entered Russian service in 1613. He came from an aristocratic family with roots in the Rhineland. In 1627, he converted to Orthodox Christianity and was granted a Russian noble title. From 1642 to 1643, he served as governor of Vyatka. In 1648, he became governor of Yakutsk. He contributed to the development of new lands and trade in eastern Siberia.

- **Georg Lermant** was a member of the Bely fortress garrison. He was granted an estate in Galich, which is now a town in the Kostroma Oblast of Russia. One of his descendants was the Russian poet **Mikhail Lermontov** (1814–1841). According to legend, the Lermontovs can trace their ancestry back to an aristocratic Scottish family, although Lermann is also a fairly common German surname.

As a rule, former knights of the Livonian Order and German specialists were housed in fortified settlements along the southern and eastern borders of the Russian state. They were well paid from the tsar's treasury, and decent service was rewarded with estates comprising land and serfs. Unlike in Western Europe, the omnipresent Inquisition was absent.

The Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church was only established in Moscow in 1589, and its representatives on the ground were clearly lacking. After some of **Andreas Osiander's** (1498–1552) followers were publicly executed in Königsberg, his supporters may have sought refuge in the Tsardom of Russia amid the chaos of the Livonian War and its aftermath. It is plausible that some of the congregation of the first Lutheran parish in Moscow were influenced by the ideas of Andreas Osiander. The social and spiritual integration of the Germans was facilitated by the similarity between the religious beliefs of Andreas Osiander's devotees and those of the Russian Orthodox Church.¹⁵

Tens of thousands of "Darpst Germans" ("Darpstskie nemzi" – from the name of the city of Dorpat/Derpt, now the Estonian city of Tartu) were moved to the southern and eastern border settlements of the Russian Tsardom. According to local historian

A. N. Lepyehin, a small fort called Dedilovo, now in the Tula Oblast, was home to around a hundred 'foreign warriors', who were usually given Russianised nicknames:

Garrach → Горехов [Gorokhov]

Kos von Dahlen → Козодавлев [Kozodavlev]

Von Dahlen → Яхонтов [Yakhontov]

Hamilton → Хомутов [Khomutov]

Löwenstein → Левашёв и Левшин [Levashev] and [Levshin].

The prototype of the legendary Cross-eyed Lefty, a left-handed arms craftsman from Tula, was most likely Löwenstein, a rifle arms craftsman.

The ancestors of those with noble East European surnames such as Sheremetyev, Saltykov and Morozov came from the lands of the German Order; the Myatlevs, Neplyuevs, Protopovs and Pupkovs came from other lands of the (German) Holy Roman Empire.

Some Livonian Germans settled on the banks of the Yauza River on the outskirts of Moscow. A Lutheran community was established there between 1560 and 1565, with **Briccius Thon Norde**, the son of the eponymous Frisian theologian and reformer, serving as its first provost. A wooden Lutheran church was built in Moscow in 1575–1576. In 1601, with the personal permission of **Tsar Boris Godunov** (1552–1605) and donations from the royal treasury, a stone Lutheran church was built in the "German Sloboda" (suburb) of Moscow.

For the Glory of the Empire

On 26 November 1769, the Ribbon of Saint George was approved at the request of the Russian Empire's military leadership to reward heroes who showed courage on the battlefield, as well as outstanding generals. Four levels of the award were established. They were named after Saint George, a Greek soldier who endured agonising torture for refusing to renounce his Christian faith. Gold and black were the colours of the coats of arms of the Christian Byzantine Empire and the defenders of the Christian faith: the Holy Roman (German) and Russian Empires. Catherine II (1729–1796), the usurper of the throne, did not fail to immediately decorate herself with the Saint George's Ribbon of the first degree.

In December 1769, Lieutenant-Colonel (podpolkovnik) **Fyodor Ivanovich von Fabritian** (1735–1782), a Livonian knight of the German Order, was awarded the second Saint George's Ribbon of the third degree. He had distinguished himself on 11 November 1769 when, commanding a detachment of 1,600 men, he annihilated a Turkish detachment of 7,000 men and occupied the city of Galatz.

Lieutenant-General **Christopher Fyodorovich von Stoffeln** (1720–1770) reported the successful initiatives of Lieutenant-Colonel **Fabritian**, Lieutenant-Colonel **von Udom** and Captain **Sorin** to the superior command.

In February 1770, the first recipient of the 4th degree of the Saint George's Ribbon was the Livonian Knight of the German Order and Prime Major, **Reinhold Ludwig von Patkul** (1730–1801). His father, **Carl Gustav von Patkul** (1686–1750), was the nephew of **Johann Reinhold Patkul** (1660–1707), an associate of Peter I who initiated the unification of the Livonian knighthoods of the German Order with the Tsardom of Russia. This resulted in the establishment of the Russian Empire. Reinhold Ludwig von Patkul was awarded the Saint George's Ribbon in recognition of his courage in battles against the anti-Russian Bar Confederation, which was openly supported by France and Turkey.

Woldemar Karl Friedrich Reinhold von Patkul (1783–1855), son of Reinhold Ludwig von Patkul, became a cavalier of the Saint George's Order of the 4th degree and was subsequently awarded a golden sword “for bravery” for his distinction in the Battle of Smolensk during the Patriotic War of 1812 with the French.

In 1783, **Michael Andreas Barclay de Tolly** (1761–1818) – the future field marshal, war minister of the Russian Empire, and Livonian knight of the German Order – became adjutant to Reinhold Ludwig von Patkul. Europe owes a debt of gratitude to Barclay de Tolly for preserving the Russian army in extremely challenging circumstances. Without his efforts, Russia would never have been liberated from French occupation or saved from the threat of renewed Turkish aggression.

Germans in the Civil Service

In fact, a confederated geopolitical space had been established since the Grand Duchy of Moscow's strategic partnership with the German Order on 10 March 1517. Not only did many Livonian knights defend the borders of the Christian world in Eastern Europe with weapons in their hands, they also safeguarded its interests as diplomats and statesmen.

In this respect, the history of the **Osterman dynasty** is revealing. On 10 September 1721, **Heinrich Johann Friedrich Count Ostermann** (1687–1747) signed the **Peace of Nystad** with Sweden, ending the 20-year **Great Northern War** (1700–1721). Livonia, represented by the Livonian Order, then united with the Tsardom of Russia. This marked the beginning of the new Eurasian geopolitical system:

the Russian Empire. Ostermann, the acknowledged architect of the Russian Empire, actually headed its foreign policy in the 1720s and 1730s.

Ostermann adhered to the policy of alliance with the Holy Roman Empire, becoming one of the authors of the Union Treaty of 1726. This treaty formed the basis of one of the longest alliances in modern history and was one of the most stable elements of 18th-century international politics. It also formed the basis of Russia's foreign policy until the **Crimean War** (1853–1856). Ostermann served as Vice-Chancellor and First Cabinet Minister of the Russian Empire. In 1740, he was promoted to the rank of General Admiral.

According to the Russian historian **Vladilen Vinogradov** (1925–2017), Count Osterman was one of those foreigners for whom Russia was not just a second homeland, but the only one. An educated and well-read man with a sharp analytical mind, Heinrich Ostermann embodied the virtues and vices of the Enlightenment era. He refused to accept bribes or even traditional gifts to mark the conclusion of contracts, even though this was customary at that time.

Despite the setbacks he experienced, Heinrich Osterman's eldest son, **Count Fyodor Andreyevich Osterman** (1723–1804), was promoted to Governor of the Moscow Governorate in 1773. Through his marriage to **Anna Tolstaya** (1732–1809), he became related to the House of Tolstoy, a family of Russian gentry who were elevated to the ranks of the Russian Empire's high aristocracy.

His son, **Count Ivan Andreyevich Osterman** (1725–1811), was also a Russian statesman. He held diplomatic posts in Paris and Stockholm. In 1774, Osterman was appointed senator. In 1783, he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire, and in 1796 he became its Chancellor.

Like her brother Fyodor, **Anna** (1724–1769), the daughter of Heinrich Ostermann, became related to the House of Tolstoy through marriage. Her grandson, Lieutenant General **Alexander Ivanovich Count Ostermann-Tolstoy** (1770–1857), was one of the bravest and most capable generals of the **Coalition Wars** (1805–1813) against Napoleon Bonaparte. Following a temporary discharge from the army, he was appointed Governor of Saint Petersburg in 1806. Count Ostermann-Tolstoy was wounded several times and lost his left arm at the **Battle of Kulm** on 29–30 August 1813. At the beginning of 1814, he was promoted to the position of general adjutant to **Emperor Alexander I** (1777–1825). He retained this important office of trust until the Emperor's death.

The little-known relatives of Heinrich Ostermann also moved to the Russian Empire. They formed alliances with the Eastern European noble families of Tolstoy, Golitsyn and Tyutchev, as well as families of more humble origins. One of them, **Maria Ostermann**, came to Russia and married **Captain Ville-neuve**. She passed away in Tula on 17 January 1755.

The Germans of Saint Petersburg

The German community in St. Petersburg (officially founded on 27 May 1703) comprised all sections of the city's population, ranging from members of the royal family to artisans. They were residents of the Russian capital at a time when the state system was an autocratic monarchy. It was during this period that the Russian Empire's image as an influential and equal member of the European and global community was established. The country's significant human and raw material potential, as well as its advances in science, culture and technology, contributed to its growing prestige on the international stage.

Charlotte Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1694–1715) was the wife of **Prince Alexei** (1690–1718), son of Tsar Peter the Great (1672–1725). She was the mother of the future Russian emperor, **Peter II** (1715–1730), who ascended to the throne in 1727.

All of the wives of Russian emperors belonged to German aristocratic families. Having received a thorough European education and cultural training from childhood, and holding traditional European ideas about women's roles in the family and as mistresses of the house, they often extended their activities beyond the family circle and behaved appropriately as wives of the "master of the Russian land". Nevertheless, their influence on their spouses, the monarchs, and all aspects of their activities should not be underestimated. The activities of empresses included philanthropy, education, health and supporting a variety of important state initiatives.

The central figure in the history of Russian royal charity was **Empress Maria Fedorovna** (born **Duchess Sophia Marie Dorothea Auguste Luise von Württemberg**; 1759–1828), wife of **Emperor Paul I** (1754–1801). In 1797, she founded the Institute of Obstetrics and the School of Midwives. She later established the officially recognised "Office of the Institutions of Empress Maria", a comprehensive system of public education and guardianship. The office managed orphanages and cared for invalids, the blind and the deaf.

Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna (born **Princess Friederike Charlotte Marie of Württem-**

berg; 1806–1873), the daughter-in-law of Empress Maria Fedorovna, was known for her intelligence, talent and charity. Her many good deeds included playing an active role in the abolition of serfdom, founding a group of nursing sisters, which eventually became the forerunners of the Red Cross in Russia, and establishing the Saint Petersburg Conservatoire. The Grand Duchess allocated large sums to the promotion of talent. She was a patroness of the composer **Anton Rubinstein** (1829–1894), and her salon in Mikhailovsky Palace was a popular meeting place for musicians, poets and artists. **Anatoly Koni** (1844–1927), the leading Russian liberal and the most influential jurist of the Russian Empire, said of her: "She did everything in her power to heal the Russian people from the ulcer of legalised slavery."

The wife of Nicholas I was **Alexandra Fedorovna** (born **Princess Friederike Luise Charlotte Wilhelmine of Prussia**; 1798–1860). It is believed that she introduced the tradition of decorating a New Year tree in Russia.

Alexander II's wife, **Maria Alexandrovna** (born **Princess Maximiliane Wilhelmine Auguste Sophie Marie of Hesse and by Rhine**; 1824–1880), did a lot of charity work. She founded schools for women of all social backgrounds and established the **Russian Red Cross**.

Alexander III's wife, **Maria Fedorovna** (born **Princess Marie Sophie Frederikke Dagmar of Denmark**, 1847–1928), came from the northern German House of Oldenburg. She was cheerful, intelligent and well-educated, and was able to enter the cholera barracks to comfort the sick.

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, Germans served as prime minister three times, as finance minister four times, and as communications minister seven times.

Karl Robert Reichsgraf von Nesselrode-Ehreshoven (1780–1862) became Foreign Minister in 1816 and was a leading conservative statesman of the Holy Alliance, a coalition of the great European powers: the Austrian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and the Russian Empire. Russia's foreign policy under **Alexander II** (1818–1881) was conducted by **Nikolay Karlovich de Giers** (1820–1895), and under **Nicholas II** (1868–1918) by **Count Vladimir Lamsdorf** (1900–1906). The Minister of the Interior was **Vyacheslav Konstantinovich Plehve** (1846–1904), who was assassinated on a bridge over the Bypass Canal in Saint Petersburg. Until the end of the 19th century, five of the 12 finance ministers of the Russian Empire were German. Among them were:

- **Georg Ludwig Daniel Count Cancrin** (1774–1845) significantly strengthened Russia's financial system by introducing the silver ruble;

- **Michael Count von Reutern**, whose reforms during the reign of Alexander II resulted in the establishment of the country's first private commercial banks and railway network;

- **Nikolai Karl Paul von Bunge** (1882–1887) founded the Peasants' Land Bank in 1883, helping peasants to purchase land. He introduced significant tax law reforms that substantially alleviated the tax burden on peasants.

- **Sergei Yulyevich Witte** (1849–1915) is known as the "father of Russian industry". He rescued the Russian Empire's economy from deficit.

The Minister of the Sea was **Admiral Ferdinand Friedrich Georg Ludwig von Wrangell** (1797–1870). The island in the Arctic Ocean, now known as the "birthplace of polar bears", is named after this famous navigator, who is best known as the governor of the Russian settlements in present-day Alaska.

Count Peter von Kleinmichel (1789–1869), the Minister of Communications, oversaw the construction of the Saint Petersburg–Moscow railway and the first permanent bridge over the Neva, as well as other important structures.

They were followed by a gallery of German dignitaries: senators, State Council members, gendarmerie chiefs, governors and ministers. Among them were the all-powerful military governor of Saint Petersburg, **Peter Ludwig Graf von der Pahlen** (1745–1826), who led the conspiracy against Paul I; and the chief of the gendarmerie, **Konstantin Alexander Karl Wilhelm Christoph Graf von Benckendorff** (1781–1844), who enjoyed the unlimited trust of Nicholas I.

The Tax Office was headed by **Konstantin-Karl Groth** (1815–1897) from 1861 to 1869, followed by **Alexander Richter** (1837–1898) and then **Nikolai Kutler** (1859–1924) from 1892 to 1904.

Several Ministers of the National Enlightenment were Germans:

- 1828–1833: **Fürst (Prince) Carl Christoph von Lieven** (1767–1844);

- 1881–1882: **Alexander von Nicolay** (1821–1899);

- 1902–1904: **Grigori-Edouard Zenger** (1853–1919);

- 1906–1908: **Peter Kauffman** (1857–1926);

- 1908–1910: **Alexander Schwarz** (1848–1915);

- 1917: **Sergey Oldenburg** (1863–1934).

Some Germans made their careers at court as educators of the royal family. Among them were:

- **Johann Christoph Diedrich Ostermann** (1683–1743) was the eldest brother of Heinrich Ostermann.

He was the tutor of the tsarevnas, the daughters of **Tsar Ivan V Alekseyevich** (1666–1696), who ruled jointly with his younger half-brother **Peter I** from 1682 to 1696. The tsarevnas were: **Catherine** (1691–1733), **Praskovya** (1694–1731) and **Anna** (1693–1740), the future Empress of the Russian Empire (1730–1740);

- **Gustav Matthias Jakob Freiherr von der Wenge Graf Lambsdorff** (1745–1828) schooled the future **Emperor Nicholas I** (1796–1855) from 1800 to 1817;

- **Carl-Magnus Baron von Osten-Sacken** (1733–1808) was the housemaster of **Tsarevich Konstantin Pavlovich** (1779–1831) from 1784 to 1794.

The Germans managed the Imperial Mint and the Mining and Salt Deposits Development Office. **Carl Ludwig von Hablitz** (1752–1821) headed the Forestry Council.

Modest Andreyevich Baron von Korff (1800–1876) was the president of the Imperial Public Library.

The Secret Police Department (the Third Section of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancellery) was headed by **Leonti Vasilyevich Dubelt** (1792–1862) from 1839 to 1856 and by **Alexander von Drenteln** (1820–1888) thereafter.

Theodor von Trepov (1809–1889), also known as **Fyodor Trepov**, was the governor of Saint Petersburg from 1873 to 1878.

Many German families, including the **Counts von Sievers**, the **Barons von Brevern**, the **Barons von der Oest-Driesen** and the **Barons von Budberg**, among many others, represented the Russian bureaucratic and military elite. Holding various positions within the state apparatus centred in Saint Petersburg, the Germans fostered an atmosphere of punctual fulfilment of responsibilities in accordance with the moral standards of civic duty.

The idea of gratuitous management of any matters, irrespective of their degree of importance, was especially new for all the practice of the state administration in Russia, which was actually based on a historically legalised system of corruption. In this system, big officials did not receive a systematic salary and were allowed to "feed themselves".

This feature of the capital and provincial "German bureaucracy" was repeatedly illustrated by Russian writers such as **Nikolai Gogol** (1809–1852), **Nikolai Leskov** (1831–1895) and **Ivan Goncharov** (1812–1891). The latter described character traits typical of Russia-Germans as he perceived them in his novel "Oblomov":

"Stolz was only half German, due to his father; his mother was Russian; he professed Orthodox

faith; his natural speech was Russian: he studied it with his mother and from books, in the university auditorium and in games with village boys, talking to their fathers and in Moscow bazaars. He inherited German from his father and from books...

Above all, he put perseverance in achieving the goals: it was a sign of a strong character in his eyes, and he never denied respect to the people with this insistence, no matter how unimportant their goals were...

It is necessary to add that he himself went to his goal, courageously stepping through all the obstacles, and only then refused the task, when on his way there was a wall or an impenetrable abyss. But he was unable to arm himself with the courage on a wing and a prayer with his closed eyes to jump through the abyss or to throw himself on the wall. He will measure the abyss or the wall, and if there is no right way to overcome, he will leave, no matter what they would say about him."

References and Explanatory Notes

1. The Order of the Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem, commonly known as the Teutonic Order, the Teutonic Knights or the German Order, was founded by German merchants from Bremen and Lübeck during the Siege of Acre (1189–1191) as part of the Third Crusade to the Holy Land. The crusaders who arrived by sea from these cities established a field hospital there. According to legend, the sail of a trading ship (cog), stretched over the sick, served as the Germans' first hospital.
2. The Kingdom of Poland's Royal Prussia was established following the Second Peace of Thorn (1466) from territory in Pomerelia and western Prussia that had previously belonged to the State of the German Order. Following the First and Second Partitions of Poland in 1772 and 1793 respectively, the former territory of Royal Prussia was annexed by the Kingdom of Prussia and subsequently reorganised into the province of West Prussia.
3. Warmia is currently part of Poland's Warmian-Masurian province.
4. The House of Jagiellon, or the Jagiellons, reigned over several European countries between the 14th and 16th centuries. Members of the dynasty included the Kings of Poland (1386–1572), the Grand Dukes of Lithuania (1377–1392 and 1440–1572), the Kings of Hungary (1440–1444 and 1490–1526), and the Kings of Bohemia and Electors of the (German) Holy Roman Emperor (1471–1526).
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6. Ibidem; S. 25.
7. Ibidem.
8. Stupperich, Martin: *Osiander in Preußen / 1549–1552*. Walther de Gruyter, Berlin / New York 1973; S. 160.
9. The word "boyarin" may have the same root as the German "Bauer", meaning "rich farmer", indicating that the bearer of this social status belonged to the wealthy landed gentry. Ivan IV traced his lineage back to the Rurikids, who were originally the leaders of rural communities in Northern Europe and Scandinavia.
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12. Letter from Tsar Boris Godunov to Emperor Rudolf II. (November, 1604) A collection of materials on Russian history of the early 17th century. St. Petersburg 1896; p. 65–66. (Pis'mo tsarya Borisa Godunova k imperatoru Rudol'fu II. (Noyabr', 1604 g.) // *Sbornik materialov po russkoy istorii nachala XVII veka*. SPb. 1896; str. 65–66).
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To be continued

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