

**SHARED HERITAGE:  
SACRED LANDSCAPES OF CRIMEA,  
THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND PROTECTION  
IN THE MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT**

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## **DECLARATION**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Owing to its unique strategic position on the northern coast of the Black Sea, Crimea has, since Antiquity, been a highly diverse, multi-ethnic, multi-religious location. Throughout history, the peninsula's landscapes were shaped and transformed under the influence of its ever-changing populations. In this process, religion played a crucial role. Nowadays, Crimea abounds in sacred sites in the same way as it abounds in culturally and religiously diverse inhabitants.

Rebirth in the 1990s of the religious and cultural life that had been repressed for over seventy years of the Soviet rule gave a powerful impetus to the revival of Crimea's sacred landscapes and enabled the different ethno-religious groups residing in the peninsula to re-establish the bond with the home of their ancestors. The notion of landscape as a memoryscape became central in this context, since it is the landscape that records, as well as reflects, the events in history. The sites communally regarded as sacred unite the people as much as common memories transmitted from one generation to the other do.

The objectives of the theoretical part of this thesis are twofold. On the one hand, it aims to grasp the connection between religion, landscape and memory, whereby sacred sites are seen as landscapes of memory and anchors of people's cultural and religious identity. On the other hand, it seeks to explore the specific issues pertinent to the Crimean socio-cultural context, such as the peninsula's history and the evolving ethno-religious relationships among the diverse local population, which have impacted the development and protection of Crimea's sacred sites overtime. Method employed is the comparative literature review, whereby for each chapter a selection of authors was made, whose contributions towards the discussion of the aforementioned issues have been particularly relevant.

Based on the theoretical background described above, the empirical section of the research targets two main groups of actors: the state on the one side, and the organizations representing local religious groups on the other. In relation to the state, the

objective is to explore how the religious revival of the post-Soviet period correlates with Ukraine's current policies towards the safeguarding of Crimea's sacred landscapes, namely, to what extent they are being protected under the existing legislation, and *which* of the aspects are given most attention in the process. In relation to the organizations representing local religious groups, the task is to investigate to what degree the sacred sites under study remain relevant for various groups, and to establish how the knowledge about the local sacred places and their importance is being disseminated both within these groups and beyond.

In order to fulfill these tasks, the set of indicators has been developed, which takes into consideration the specific Crimean socio-cultural context, and a selection of case studies has been made, which in their totality reflect the viewpoints of Crimea's prominent religious groups. The case studies are: (1) the Assumption Monastery, (2) the cave town of Chufut Kale with Balta Tiymez Karaite cemetery, and (3) the old town of Bakhchisaray with Salachiq historic district and Gazy Mansur cemetery. All of the three case studies are located on the territory of Bakhchisaray Historical and Cultural Preserve (BHCP).

The evaluation of the Ukrainian state's policies with regards to safeguarding of the selected sacred sites revealed that while many of their elements are recognized as cultural heritage of high significance, protection activities are impeded by substantial obstacles of administrative nature, as well as by the lack general planning. Moreover, conservation and day-to-day management is carried out with little consideration for the opinions of the local people and with the insufficient involvement of the latter.

The indicator-based assessment of relevance of the selected sacred locations for various local religious groups and the ways, in which the knowledge about these sites is being spread exposed a number of clear tendencies, as well as highlighted the existing challenges and deficiencies which need to be urgently addressed, so as to ensure the safeguarding of the studied sites for the future generations.

**Keywords:** cultural landscape, sacred landscape, memoryscape, sacred space, religion, cultural heritage, heritage protection

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Simferopol and Crimea Diocese; and Ali Khamzin, head of the External Relations Department of the Crimean Tatar Mejlis. Although no actual excerpts from these interviews were included in the text of this thesis, the information that was obtained in the course of our talks, and joint trips to the sacred sites under study, proved to be invaluable for data collection. I am heartily grateful to these experts for their time, and their kind help.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AKC	Association of the Karaites of Crimea
ARC	Autonomous Republic of Crimea
BHCP	Bakhchisaray Historical and Cultural Preserve
CDSARC	Central Department of Statistics of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea
CIA	Krymskoye Informatsionnoye Agenstvo (Crimean Information Agency)
MCU	Ministry of Culture of Ukraine
MESYS	Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Sport of ARC
RCADC	Republican Committee of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in International Relations and the Affairs of Deported Citizens
SAARC	State Archive of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea
SAMC	Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea
SCD	Simferopol and Crimea Diocese
SOT	Society of Orthodox Teachers
SSCU	State Statistics Committee of Ukraine
UOCK	Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kiev Patriarchate)
UOCM	Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate)

## PREFACE

Current thesis has as its task the study of the phenomenon that has been much discussed, directly or indirectly, in the past century's academic research - the landscape, the sacred, the sacred *in* the landscape, and the ways in which we, humans, make sense thereof. From this placement of the sacred into the natural comes the central concept that this thesis discusses – the “sacred landscape”.

The seeming simplicity of the term is deceitful. To explain what a sacred landscape is merely by saying that it designates a place, which incorporates in itself something that someone perceives as having a sacred meaning is tipping the top of the iceberg, without having a look at what lies underneath the surface, because immediately, a number of questions arise: What is a landscape? What is sacred? What are the sources of sacredness? How is the sacred manifested? Is it something physical that we can touch, or is it something that is in our minds? If the sacred is something that we can touch – then is it only in the context of a concrete landscape that it is perceived as sacred, or is it *transferable* to a different place, without losing its meaning? If, on the other hand, sacred is something that lies in the domain of the human mind, something that we *believe* – then what is the source, and the context, of this belief? Is this context religious, by its nature? If the answer is yes – then, most importantly, we must ask ourselves: what is the link between religion and landscape, and in which way does the former help us make sense of the latter? This last question becomes the central inquiry of the current research.

The basis of the approach employed in this work is that the landscape should be regarded as something lying far beyond its actual physical features. It is something that is not only *looked at*, but also *perceived, felt, understood* and *constructed* by the viewer, who does not stand *outside*, but *inside* the landscape. The value of the landscape is not something intrinsic, it is not a characteristic of a place that is *there* for us to see and readily understand. In other worlds, there can be no meaning in something, unless this meaning is *ascribed*, against a certain background that lies beyond the place itself.

This meaning is derived from various sources and can be ascribed both individually (“the way *I* see it”) and collectively (“the way *we* see it”). Here enters yet another significant issue, namely: Who are these *we*? Based on what common views, opinions, beliefs, etc., is this ‘group’ formed? Clearly, when we are talking about the sacred, it is implied that this group of *us* is comprised of the individuals that share certain views in relation to spiritual values, - a form of a ‘spiritual community’, as we may call it; a community that believes (based on their persuasions as to how the universe is organized) that the surrounding world is not only comprised of the space in which we move and fulfill certain practical tasks, but also of the space that is not visible to the eye – the *sacred space*.

It was not, however, with these questions that this thesis began. Quite on the contrary, at the core of my initial interest lay the place – and only then did I start looking for an approach that could provide me with the explanation for what I wished to know. This place is something I can readily identify myself with and embrace; it is the place where I have spent many happy summers of my childhood – enjoying, exploring, and admiring its many inspiring sites and tastes. This thesis is my return there, as an adult, and a researcher, open to discovery and wanting to *understand*. The place is Crimea.

Work on this thesis was carried out in the period from summer 2010 until the end of the year 2013. At the time, Crimea was still part of Ukraine, and no one, me notwithstanding, anticipated the events that would unveil only months after the draft of this thesis was submitted.

In the spring of 2014, Crimean crisis broke out, which resulted in the Supreme Council’s of Crimea and Sevastopol City Council decision to adopt the Declaration of Independence of Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol on March 21. Since that day, even though the peninsula is still internationally recognized as part of Ukraine, technically, it has been incorporated into the Russian Federation. All of a sudden, the topic of my thesis, which had always been a matter of pure academic interest, acquired new political implications.

I herewith declare that the current thesis is, and will always be, a purely academic inquiry in the field of cultural heritage. It does not reflect my civil position with regards to the dispute between Ukraine and the Russian Federation over Crimea's status. This position remains a private matter, and I hope that in this work, I have managed to avoid expressing biased opinions. I do believe sincerely that the results of my research are relevant in the Crimean context, irrespectively of the peninsula's political and territorial status.



# **1 INTRODUCTION**

## **1.1 Background of the research**

Owing to its unique strategic location on the northern coast of the Black Sea, the Crimean Peninsula has, since prehistoric times, been a multi-ethnic destination, where cultures replaced each other, either peacefully or by conquest; where they mingled and merged; where they shared or superimposed their traditions on one another in the course of history. A truly remarkable fact about the continuous colonization of Crimea remains that with a few exceptions involving aggressive acts of force (as in cases of the violent Golden Horde and Ottoman expansions), the peoples of the peninsula mostly managed to co-exist in the spirit of peace and mutual cultural enrichment.

Perhaps to the largest extent, this harmony resulted from the omnipresent and intense links of each local ethnic community to the surrounding landscapes and the rich tradition of their protection, where the value of the landscape as a tangible natural phenomenon was reinforced by the spiritual values attached to it by the worshippers. The peninsula abounds in sacred sites in the same way as it abounds in ethnicities and religions that they profess.

During the times of the Soviet rule, many of Crimea's sacred landscapes suffered considerably, both in the physical, and in the spiritual respect. Being an atheist state that strongly opposed diversity, the Soviet Union took as its responsibility the detachment of its citizens from both their religion and their centuries-long links to the natural environment. In the case of Crimea, its sacred landscapes were an obvious primary target. Most of them were either razed to the ground, or turned into neutral recreational destinations devoid of any spiritual meaning.

Upon the dissolution of USSR, the rapid process of repatriation to the peninsula of the formerly deported Crimean Tatars set off, whereby in between 1991 and 2001, approximately 243.000 Crimean Tatars returned to the peninsula (SSCU, 2001). Such massive in-flow of non-Slavic population caused the reverse demographic effect among the Russian and Ukrainian population of Crimea, who – since the 1940s (the time of the ‘ethnic cleansing’ of Crimea of its non-Slavic component) – constituted the overwhelming majority of the peninsula’s population and perceived the return of the Crimean Tatars to their homeland as a threat both to the cultural and political status-quo that settled in Crimea in the first years of independence. Between 1991 and 1995, substantial number of Slavic inhabitants left the peninsula, fearing the destabilization of the political and social situation. Thus, according to Stepanov (Stepanov, 2003, p.337), 37.900 Russians and 19.500 Ukrainians emigrated from Crimea in 1991; 36.700 Russians and 18.000 Ukrainians in 1992; 41.300 Russians and 17.600 Ukrainians in 1993; and another 32.600 Russians and 15.700 Ukrainians in 1994-1995 (ibid.). As a result, within merely half a decade following the proclamation of Ukraine’s independence, the Crimean Tatars rose from a practically non-existent minority into a substantial force that had to be reckoned with.

Parallel to the return to the peninsula of the Crimean Tatars, the 1990s and the early 2000s saw the repatriation of another ethno-religious group perceiving itself as ‘indigenous’ to Crimea - the Crimean Karaites. The Karaite minority was likewise persecuted by the Soviet regime, as a consequence of which a large portion of the Crimean Karaite community emigrated to France, Poland and Lithuania. The Karaites view Crimea as their homeland and consider themselves legitimate guardians of the sacred Karaite sites that are to be found in the peninsula. From the beginning of the 1990s onwards, the Karaites began to re-settle in traditional centers of their former habitation, notably, in Bakhchisaray, Simferopol, Eupatoria, Feodosia, and Yalta. Over the past twenty years, the Crimean Karaites have been successful in establishing a number of civil and religious organizations (the major of them being the Association of the Karaites of Crimea, *Kyrymkaraylar*) that have been remarkably active in the local cultural and political milieu in the past twenty years.

Table 1. Crimea – an ethnological historical chronology (Adapted from: A. Andreyev, 1997)<sup>1</sup>

<b>ETHNIC GROUPS / STATES</b>	<b>TIME PERIOD</b>
Cimmerians	12 <sup>th</sup> - 7 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC
Scythians	7 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC – 120 BC
Tauric Chersoneses	6 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC – ca. 1400 AD
Bosporan Kingdom	ca. 438 BC – 370 AD
Roman Empire	1 <sup>st</sup> – 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD
Kingdom of Pontus	302 – 323 AD
Khazar Khaganate	650 – 969 AD
Byzantium	323 – 1204 AD
Empire of Trebizond	1204 – 1461 AD
Principality of Theodoro	1204 – 1475 AD
Genoese colonies	1266 – 1475 AD
Golden Horde	1239 – 1441 AD
Osman Empire / Crimean Khanate	1441 – 1783 AD
Russian Empire	1783 – 1917 AD
RSFSR (Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic)	1921 – 1954 AD
USSR (Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic)	1954 – 1991 AD
Independent Ukraine	1991 – present day

Following the collapse of USSR, Ukraine as a whole – alongside the rest of former Soviet republics – saw the rapid revival of religious institutions representing a variety of denominations. For the members of small minorities, such as the case with the Crimean Tatars and the Crimean Karaites, for whom religious identity had traditionally been the major inner ‘binding force’ in their communities and the indispensable source of national pride, this process has been particularly important. Spiritual values and centuries-long connections between the people and the land that they viewed as the cradle of their nations once again rose to the forefront, after the decades of oblivion. Both for the Karaites, and for the Tatars, returning to their motherland and rediscovering the places that they perceived as sacred, but had been separated from in the years of exile, was an event the spiritual significance of which is hard to overestimate. At the same time, the

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<sup>1</sup> The time of the arrival in the peninsula of the Crimean Karaites is not specified in this table, due to conflicting opinions among historians (see discussion in section 3.3 of the present thesis).

Russian and Ukrainian majorities that had by that time established themselves in the peninsula as its sole legal owners, viewed the return of the non-Orthodox population and their claims for ‘indigenoussness’ to a certain degree as a threat, politically, socially, and culturally. Hence, Orthodoxy strengthened its positions as the power, uniting the Slavic part of the population in a single front and stressing its cultural and social identity different from that of the newly arrived repatriates.

All of these processes: religious revival in Ukraine after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, repatriates regaining their religious identity upon return to the peninsula, and Slavic majority consolidating theirs, were taking place simultaneously and have created a unique multi-religious environment, against the background of which some of the sites that these groups regard as their sacred heritage have received a new life. Although the sizes of the Crimean Tatar and the Crimean Karaite communities are hardly comparable with each other in scale, with the former currently numbering no least than 240.000, and the latter only a mere 800 people (SSCU, 2001) – the role that both of these groups play in the process of the protection of Crimea’s sacred sites presents an highly promising topic for a scientific investigation.

All the three case studies selected for the purpose of this research (for selection justification and methodology, please see Chapter 2) are located in, or in the vicinity of, the town of Bakhchisaray in the Bakhchisaray region.

The uniqueness of this area has been recognized by the Ukrainian state, when in 2002 the “Bagçesaray (*sic*) Palace of the Crimean Khans” was put forward on the country’s Tentative List of properties which it considers to be cultural and/or natural heritage of outstanding universal value and therefore suitable for the inscription on the World Heritage List.<sup>2</sup>

At the time of writing of the current thesis, the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine took the decision to expand the property so that it would include not only the residence of the

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<sup>2</sup> Site description can be found under: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1820/>

Khans (that, taken alone – it was concluded upon consideration – was neither unique enough to be recognized as possessing an outstanding universal value, nor true enough to its original design to satisfy the criterion of authenticity), but also the historical area surrounding it. This resulted in the new entry to Ukraine’s Tentative List, entitled “The historical surroundings of Crimean Khans’ capital in Bakhchysarai (*sic*)”. This extended site includes, apart from the Khan’s Palace itself, the whole of the Churuk Su (Bakhchisaray) Valley, including the two other sites investigated in the present thesis – Chufut Kale, with the Karaite cemetery, and the historical district of Salachiq. In September 2013, Ukraine submitted the official nomination file for the inscription of the property on the World Heritage List to the World Heritage Centre in Paris.

Although the present thesis does not engage with Bakhchisaray’s World Heritage nomination as such, nor does it analyze the content, or the quality, of the nomination dossier, it deems appropriate to quote the criteria, under which the mentioned property has been nominated. Thus, the justification of the Outstanding Universal Value of the property is based on the following<sup>3</sup>:

The cultural and historical landscape of Churuk Su River (Bakhchysaray valley) is a phenomenon in the history and culture of the Crimea. It is enriched by the monuments that undoubtedly have the outstanding worldwide value. The latter is enforced by the fact that each of these monuments, namely the Palace of the Crimean Khans, Chufut-Kale town and Salachik complex is a unique example of the urban architecture that has no analogies in the world and is a trace of the engineering capacity of several extinct communities (such as Gotho-Alani, Golden Horde and others) that have once inhabited the Crimean peninsula.

The significance of the monuments of Bakhchisaray valley is explained by the role that statues, buildings or other structures played in political, cultural and religious life of the state and its citizens, as well as by their great influence on the events that marked the history of this territory. The objects have preserved their initial integrity and authenticity and are very rare world examples of historical and cultural monuments.

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<sup>3</sup> Spelling and punctuation of the original English version of the justification, published by the World Heritage Centre (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5774/>) have been preserved.

Criterion (ii): The Bakhchysarai palace of the Crimean Khans - is the architectural ensemble of the 15th – 18th centuries that have had a considerable influence on the architecture and monumental art development in the territory of Crimea in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Criterion (iii): Chufut-Kale settlement is a unique example of the ancient urban ensembles with the peculiar system of ground-based fortifications. The town has a planned structure and reflects the particular cultural tradition of the multinational Crimean cultural areal.

The Bakhchysarai palace and the complex of buildings in Salachik - are unique palatial and sacral complexes that embody cultural traditions of the Crimean Tatar architecture of the 16th – 18th centuries. The buildings are the only ones preserved in the territory of Ukraine and the Crimea.

Criterion (v): The historical and cultural complex of Churuk Su River (Bakhchysarai valley) with its components: Chufut-Kale, Salachik, the of the Crimean Khans are outstanding samples of the harmonious combination of human activities and landscape. Chufut-Kale settlement has become an integral part of the natural environment of the mountainous landscape. Salachik and Bakhchysarai fulfill the same role being situated in the mouth of the picturesque Churuk Su River valley and surrounded by the canyon mountains' north and south slopes. In both cases natural landscapes played the first violin while the rest man-made engineering structures and communications, such as access roads, administrative buildings, religious constructions etc. fulfilled their subsidiary role.

Criterion (vi): Chufut-Kale, Salachik and Bakhchysarai have been and remain centers of high political and cultural importance for the communities that are inhabited with. In the Medieval and Late Medieval periods they have become part of meaningful regional and All-European events. Today they regain their importance for the Karaite, Crimean Tatar and other nationalities that live on the Crimean peninsula as well as contribute to cultural and historic integration of the communities that make the Ukrainian nation.

The above-mentioned justification is, in principle, to a certain extent similar to the justification of case studies selection in the framework of the current research. However, because the approach and the objectives of the research differ from the motivation behind the World Heritage nomination, the criteria designed for the nomination should not be

confused with the author's own justification criteria, which are described in Chapter 8 of the present thesis.

Moreover, it must be mentioned that I have been acquainted with the text of the official nomination file and partook, in May 2013, in some of the meetings held in Bakhchisaray by the administration of the Bakhchisaray Cultural and Historic Preserve (hereafter, BHCP), on whose territory all of the components of the proposed property are located. Apart from this, the administration of the Preserve kindly provided me with the copies of the two documents: "The Concept of the plan for organization of the territory of the State Historical and Cultural Preserve in Bakhchisaray", prepared in 2011 by the Institute of the Monument Protection Research of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine (hereafter, MCU), and the provisional management plan for the suggested World Heritage site. Some of the information contained in the nomination file and in "The concept of the plan for organization" has been helpful as a starting point for case studies evaluation in Chapter 8 of the current thesis. Whenever the data used in the framework of present research are derived from mentioned two documents, they are duly referenced as (MCU, 2011) and (MCU, 2012), respectively.

## **1.2 Structure of the thesis**

Current thesis is comprised of ten chapters.

Chapter 1 (Introduction) presents the background of the research and the structure of the present thesis. Chapter 2 presents the research questions and methodology employed at different stages of research.

Chapter 3 (Crimea and its history at the crossroads of religions) presents an in-depth study with regards to the emergence and settling in Crimea of the three religions pertaining to the subject of the current thesis: Orthodox Christianity, Islam and Karaism.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the analysis of the ethno-confessional dynamics in the post-Soviet Crimea (1991-2013) and is comprised of two parts: the first part is based upon the review of the recent academic publications concerning the subject, while the second presents the interpretative analysis of the results of public opinion polls conducted in Crimea by Razumkov Centre (a non-governmental think tank specializing in research on public policy) between the years 2008 and 2012. The topics include attitudes towards religion, religious tolerance, as well as cultural and ethnic identity<sup>4</sup>.

Chapters 5 and 6 provide the theoretical background of the research, underlying the empirical study that follows.

Chapter 5 (Locating religion in the social domain) addresses the academic approaches in the sociology of religion, starting with the classical religious critique and concluding with the contemporary post-secularization theories.

Chapter 6 (Locating culture in the landscape) opens with the search of a proper definition for the term ‘landscape’ in its broadest sense that would best suit the purposes of the current research. This is achieved through comparing different approaches towards landscape, from relatively simplistic ones, defining landscape as mere visible features of an area of land, or a portion of territory that can be viewed by human eye from a certain perspective, towards the more complex ones, where understanding of the landscape lies rather in the cultural than in the physical domain. Further, Chapter 6 proceeds towards the explanation of the term ‘cultural landscape’ that best fits the context of the present research.

Chapter 7 (The sacred, the space, and the memory – establishing the link) offers a comparative review of the theories of sacred space originating in the fields of cultural geography and geography of religion, and introduces the notion of *memoryscape* – the landscape as a reflection of collective human memory.

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<sup>4</sup> Regrettably, it was not possible to conduct a comparative analysis of the results of Razumkov Centre’s polls vis-a-vis the results of the polls concluded by other organizations, since no other surveys covering analogous scope of topics were found in the course of the current research.



Chapter 8 (The case studies) begins with the explanation of the process of selection of the case studies for the purpose of the current research, followed by general introduction of the case studies. Further, the chapter presents the three clusters of selected sacred landscapes situated in Bakhchisaray region. Upon the completion of comprehensive qualitative analysis, the work proceeds towards the theme-based assessment of the case studies.

Chapter 9 (Indicator-based assessment of the case studies) presents the theme-based assessment of the case studies that addresses two major groups of actors: the state and its representatives on the one hand, and the local population on the other. Four sets of indicators were developed that address a number of aspects pertinent to both of the sides, against which each of the case studies was assessed. Finally, the concluding section of the chapter is devoted to the discussion of findings produced by this assessment.

The last chapter of the thesis, Chapter 10, presents final conclusions.

## **2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY**

### **2.1 Objectives**

Rather than proving or disproving one single, strictly formulated hypothesis, the present research strives to achieve a number of interrelated objectives, namely:

1. To explore the link between religion, landscape, and memory.
2. To study to Crimea's sacred landscapes have been shaped through history against the peninsula's multi-ethnic and multi-religious background.
3. To select a number of sacred landscapes in Crimea, which can serve as case studies for further empirical investigation.
4. To define the sources of their significance.
5. To evaluate their current relevance for various local ethno-religious groups.
6. To assess the scope of their protection from the side of the Ukrainian state.
7. To analyze how the knowledge about the local sacred sites and their importance is being spread both within these groups and beyond.

The contribution of the present research is therefore threefold:

1. It employs an innovative interdisciplinary approach to define and examine the phenomenon of sacred landscape.
2. This approach is applied to the cultural and religious context of Crimea.
3. The set of indicators for the assessment of selected sacred landscapes is offered that can in the future be adapted and applied to other case studies with similar background.

## **2.2 Methodology**

### **2.2.1 Theoretical background**

Method employed for the theoretical sections of the thesis is comparative literature review, which involves examination of different schools of thought and positions taken by various researchers towards the issues pertinent to current research. For each chapter a selection of authors has been made, whose contributions towards conceptualization of the key terms have been particularly relevant.

Chapters 3 and 4 contribute to the achievement of the second objective of the research, which consists in exploring, how Crimea's sacred landscapes have been shaped through history against the peninsula's multi-ethnic and multi-religious background. Thus, in Chapter 3 (Crimea and its history at the crossroads of religions), I employ the analysis of both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include literature, such as contemporary historians' accounts, accounts based on ethnographic observations of domestic and foreign travellers, such as S. Pallas (1802), E. Henderson (1826), J.G. Kohl (1841), A. Bonar & R. MacCheye (1843), L. Oliphant (1854), A. Tereshenko (1854), E. Markov (1872, reprinted in 1995), and D. Strukov (1876), as well as historical documents, including photographs, paintings and maps. The choice of authors is substantiated by the uniqueness of these travellers' accounts on the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Crimea, which shed light on a number of important issues that later on conditioned further social, cultural and political developments in the peninsula. When necessary, I also refer to statistical reports, dating back to the historical periods in question. Secondary sources include monographs and analytical articles in academic journals.

Two authors, whom I would like to particularly mention in the context of my research on the emergence and spread of Orthodox Christianity in the peninsula are Yuriy Mogarichev (1992, 1993, 1997, 2007), with his extensive study on Christianity in the ancient and medieval Crimea, focusing on cave monasteries and churches, and Mara Kozelsky (2010), with her original and comprehensive research on the 'Crimean Athos'. In

their works, both of these authors present to the reader an invaluable repository of numerous facts and data, carefully assembled and analyzed by them over the years. It will hardly be an exaggeration to say that without their input, neither this, nor other researches addressing the ethno-religious history of Crimea would be possible.

With respect to the study of the forging of the Crimean Tatar ethnos, its religion and socio-cultural activities, my work is informed by multiple literary sources, most prominently by the works of Alan Fisher (1967, 1978, 1998) and Brian Glyn Williams (2001, 2004). Also worth of particular mentioning is the very recent and highly informative research by Idil Izmirli (2008, 2012).

Worth of specific mentioning in the Karaite context are the seminal works of Nathan Schur (1992, 1995), Tapani Harvaianen (2003a, 2003b), Yuriy Polkanov (1995, 1997, 2008), Golda Aghiezer (2003), Mikhail Kizilov (2003), Alexandr Gertsen and Yuriy Mogarichev (1993).

Chapter 4 (Ethno-confessional dynamics in the post-Soviet Crimea) is based upon the analysis of primary literary sources by contemporary authors, such as Andrey Mal'gin (2000), Anssi Kullberg (2004), Vladimir Grigoryants (2005), El'vira Muratova (2005), Tatiana Shegoleva (2011) and Idil' Izmirli (2008, 2012). Also studied were online materials and data prepared and disseminated by the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate), the Associations of the Karaites of Crimea, and the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Crimea.

Chapters 5 through 7 are addressing the first objective of the research, which lies in exploring the link between religion, landscape and memory. Thus, in Chapter 5 (Locating religion in the social domain), I begin with comparing substantive and functional approaches towards religion, the former exemplified by Edward Tylor's *"Primitive culture"* (1871), and the latter – by Max Weber's *"Sociology of Religion"* (1963, reprinted from the original edition of 1922) and Émile Durkheim's *"Elementary forms of Religious Life"* (2001, reprinted from the original edition of 1912). Both of these works are indispensable for understanding the classical theories regarding the role that religion plays in the society

and its impact on the process of formation of the social and cultural identity. In the second part of the chapter I proceed to the discussion of secularization theories, which emerged in mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, notably based on the ideas expressed by Peter Berger in his early works, such as “*The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*” (1967) and “*The Heretical Imperative*” (1979), by Bryan Wilson in his “*Religion in Sociological Perspective*” (1982) and by Steve Bruce in his “*Religion in the Modern World: from Cathedrals to Cults*” (1996) and “*The Social Process of Secularization*” (2001).

Understanding the essence of secularization theories provides the necessary background for the comparative review of post-secularization theories, which concludes this chapter. It is these theories that, in my opinion, are pertinent to the subject of current research and may serve as the basis for analyzing the process of religious revival that is currently underway in Ukraine as a whole, and in Crimea in particular.

The emergence of modern post-secularization theories came as a counter-reaction to the secularization stance, whose deficiencies and limitations were becoming ever more obvious. The chapter incorporates the review the late works by Peter Berger’s (e.g. his “*The desecularization of the world: a global overview*”, 1999), as well as the works of David Martin (1969, 2010), Thomas Luckmann, (1970) and José Casanova (1994).

Finally, I turn to the discussion of the works of the French sociologist Danièle Hervieu-Léger, whose work “*Religion as a Chain of Memory*” (2000) considerably impacted my understanding of both the essence of religion, and the role of sacred space. Hervieu-Léger’s approach, which is essentially Durkheimian in its origin, treats religion as a specific mode of believing, at the core of which lies the awareness of shared (collective) memory. The two main points of her analysis are the chain that makes an individual believer a member of the ‘emotional community’, and the tradition, or collective memory, which serves as the basis for this community’s existence.

The core of literature review in Chapter 6 (Locating culture in the landscape) lies in the comparison of approaches developed by such authors as Cosgrove and Daniels (1988), Antrop (1997, 1998), Jones and Stenseke (2011), and Scazzosi (2011), who define

landscape as a cultural image and a mode of human signification, written in a symbolic language that is open to different interpretations. Also discussed is the definition of the term ‘landscape’ developed in the framework of the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2008), which emphasizes the importance of the sensory and emotional perception of the landscape by the people and the significance of the diversity of landscape for the safeguarding of both individual and collective identity, as well as the enrichment of the society as a whole.

Discussion on the cultural landscape is based on the multi-disciplinary discourse throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, including the definitions offered in the framework of UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the works of authors, such as Plachter and Rössler (1995), and the Council of Europe’s “Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on the Integrated Conservation of Cultural Landscape Areas as Part of Landscape Policies, No. R(95)9” (Council of Europe, 1995).

Chapter 7 (The sacred, the space, and the memory – establishing the link) – is based on a selection of groundbreaking works in the fields of cultural geography, geography of religion, and comparative religion, from Rudolph Otto’s “*Das Heilige: Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*” (1917), to Mircea Eliade and his “sacred – profane” dichotomy (1959), to more recent writings by Jackson and Henrie (1983) and Roger Stump (2008), upon whose typology of sacred space I rely in the selection of my case studies. The second section of the chapter introduces the concept of *memoryscape* – the term that was borrowed by me from Timothy Clack (2007) – and presents the analysis of possible application of the term to the existing Crimean context.

## **2.2.2 Empirical research: indicator-based assessment of the selected case studies**

### **2.2.2.1 Rationale**

Chapters 8 and 9 present the empirical section of the current thesis, which consists in the indicator-based assessment of the selected case studies. The intention of this section corresponds to research objectives 3 through 7.

The concept of cultural heritage indicators is a relatively recent one. At the international level, indicator development has so far been focusing on natural heritage, in the context of preservation and protection of biodiversity (see, for example, natural heritage indicators for Scotland (SNL, 2012), Biodiversity Indicators Partnership (BIP, 2012), biodiversity indicators for monitoring impacts and conservation actions (EBI, 2012), landscape indicators for strategic environmental assessment (SNH, 2005)<sup>5</sup>. However, some crucial steps have been taken in the past two decades within by international academic community in the direction of establishment of specific sets of indicators, addressing not only natural, but also cultural heritage issues. Thus, several valuable ideas that helped shaping the composition of the set developed in the framework of the current research were derived from UNESCO's working document "*Towards a UNESCO culture and development indicators suite - Dimension 3: Sustainable management of cultural heritage for development*" (UNESCO, Culture for Development Indicators, 2012). Special notice was also taken of the following best-practice examples of indicator development in the field of natural and cultural heritage: "*Environmental Indicators for National State of the Environmental Reporting – Cultural and Natural Heritage*" (Pearson, et al., 1998), "*Sustainable Management of Historic Heritage – Guide Nr. 5: State of the Environment Reporting and Monitoring*" (McClean, 2007), and "*Sacred Natural Sites: Guidelines for Protected Area Managers*" (Wild & McLeod, 2008). Apart from this, general principles and criteria for the selection of indicators for

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<sup>5</sup> For more on the key principles, purposes and implementation of SEA, see (Schmidt, João, Albrecht, 2005).

the purposes and context of the present study were adapted from the OECD *Framework for Environmental Indicators* (OECD, 1998; OECD, 2001).

The demands to the structure of the set are defined by the essence of cultural heritage as such. In the scope of the present research, cultural heritage is understood in the terms suggested by Laurajane Smith in her seminal work *“Uses of Heritage”* (Smith, 2006). Her approach is based on the premise that heritage is not ‘a thing’, not ‘a site’, ‘building’, or other ‘material object’. While acknowledging that these things are often very important, the author asserts that they “are not in themselves heritage” (p.44). As Smith goes on to explain, heritage is rather „what goes on at these sites“ (ibid.), and the site itself is „not the full story of what heritage may be“ (ibid.). She writes:

Heritage, I want to suggest, is a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process. (Smith 2006, p.44)

In this sense, Smith’s understanding of the essence of heritage is closely intertwined with Hervieu-Léger’s concept of the ‘chain of memory’, whereby heritage is something that is shared through the collective remembering. In other words, without memory, there can be no heritage. Here, we have a distinct link between religion, heritage and memory, which lies at the core of the present research.

Another important position that flows from such an approach is that heritage, by its nature, is not static. Instead, it is a process that is inseparable from its continuously evolving cultural and religious context. In the words of Marie-Theres Albert:

... with the construction of heritage as a cultural and social activity, the phenomenon of heritage is transferred from a tangible and static object to a dynamic process. Instead of the object, the process is understood as the continuous part for the shaping of identity. (Albert, 2013, p.13)

With the above-mentioned considerations in mind, the developed set of indicators is aimed at assessing the selected case studies from two different perspectives: on the one hand, it assesses the sites themselves, as tangible manifestations of Crimea’s sacred



heritage, by evaluating their current condition and the extent, to which the protective measures implemented by the state are effective in maintaining these sites' intrinsic cultural and spiritual value; on the other hand, it assesses the socio-cultural context, within which these sacred heritage sites function and are made use of, by evaluating the involvement of different actors in the process of promoting the understanding of these sites and the extent to which different actors (through cultural, academic and educational activities) contribute to the maintaining of the collective memory among the residents of the peninsula with regards to the history, significance and relevance in the presence, of Crimea's sacred heritage.

Importantly, the developed set of indicators is adjusted so as to specifically fit the Crimean context, taking in consideration its political, social and cultural background. The intention of such a set is to provide rigorous data, describing major trends in, and impacts on, all important elements of heritage, whereby each individual indicator is embedded in a well-developed interpretive framework and has meaning beyond the measure it represents (Pearson, et al., 1998). In so far, each of the individual indicators strives to:

- be applicable to regional context of study;
- reflect fundamental values of heritage;
- provide warning of potential threats to heritage;
- be capable of being monitored to provide statistically variable data that demonstrate trends over time;
- be historically and culturally credible;
- be easy to understand;
- be monitored with relative ease;
- have relevance to policy and management needs;
- contribute to monitoring of progress towards a feasible heritage protection strategy on the regional and state levels; and
- where possible, facilitate community involvement (based on Pearson, et al., 1998).

The indicators are thusly intended to address four major themes:

1. Statutory protection of cultural heritage objects contained within the sites under investigation.

*Rationale:* This indicator aims to measure how much of the sacred cultural heritage resources receive official protection from the side of the state from alteration or destruction. In the case of Ukraine, such protection is realized through including heritage resources into state registers.

2. Scope of academic and cultural activities carried out by the different stakeholders concerned with the heritage sites in question.

*Rationale:* This indicator aims to assess the number and content of academic and cultural activities, which are organized by different stakeholders. Keeping in mind that the dissemination of knowledge is indispensable for maintaining the collective memory, the results of this assessment will allow to establish, what aspects of cultural, historic and religious significance are given precedence by the state on the one hand, and by the bodies representing the local ethno-religious communities on the other.

3. Scope of academic publications devoted to heritage sites in question.

*Rationale:* As in the case with the previous theme, the results of this assessment will allow to establish what aspects of cultural, historic and religious significance are being stressed in the publications of different stakeholders.

4. Scope of educational activities (with particular focus on school-level education) carried out by the bodies representing the interests of local ethno-religious communities.

*Rationale:* This indicator reflects the importance of educational programs focusing on religious cultural heritage as pivotal tools for the construction of young people's identity, reaffirmation of collective memory, and reassertion of cultural and religious solidarity within the communities in which they grow.

Four sets of indicators, relating to each of the aforementioned themes, have been developed. The indicators are adapted specifically to the Crimean context, taking in consideration the political, social and cultural background.

#### **2.2.2.2 Selection of case studies**

The empirical segment of the current thesis (Chapter 8: The case studies) opens with the elucidation of the selection process and identification of the case studies, which encompassed three successive stages. At stage one, identification of the locations to be selected as possible case studies was undertaken, based on the results of the field trip to Crimea conducted in the spring of 2011. Twenty-three sacred sites of varying size that are worshipped, or have been worshipped in the past, by the members of different local ethno-religious groups were identified, visited and noted down as possible cases for further investigation.

Having returned from the field visit, I entered the stage of literature research, collecting information on the identified sites and evaluating the scope of data related to the history available as background information. Further, the twenty-three sacred sites were evaluated against the three criteria, namely:

*Criterion I: The type of sacred space, which they represent.*

This criterion allows to reveal the sources of the associative value of a sacred landscape, sheds light on its history and explores the ways in which this landscape is connected to the local people's cultural and religious identity.

*Criterion II: The scope of their protection from the side of the state.*

This criterion enables us to establish, to what extent the Ukrainian state contributes to the safeguarding of a sacred landscape in question, and thusly guarantees the continuous existence of local religious communities that see the continuation of a given sacred location as an indispensable element of their homeland.

*Criterion III: The scope of reliable information available with regards to their history, significance and current condition.*

This criterion is a practically oriented one, its main objective being to establish, whether in-depth research with regards to a certain sacred landscape is possible and plausible. Taking into consideration that sufficient knowledge about history of a prospective case study and its transformation through time is indispensable for understanding the sources of its significance for the present-day Crimeans, the amount and quality of information available in literary sources is a decisive factor. Should it be established that a sacred site's history and significance has been insufficiently recorded, and that the quality of this information is doubtful, no further investigation would be deemed worthwhile.

In summer 2012, I undertook my second field trip to Crimea, during which I re-visited the pre-selected sites, collected additional materials from the regional and local libraries and entered the final, third stage of case studies selection. Living character of sacred heritage stood out as the critical issue in the final selection process, whereby precedence was given to the sites that are still in use, particularly, to the sacred locations that have values attributed to them, which have persisted over extended periods of time.

As the result of the evaluation, five sacred sites were selected for further investigation. A schematic map of the sites was developed, with the purpose of clustering some of them together and analyzing them as single conglomerates, based on their shared history, similar character of values imbedded, similar ritual use and (where applicable) geographical proximity to each other. The procedure resulted in the agglomeration of the pre-selected cases into three larger clusters.

The study of the selected sacred landscapes concentrates on the five main aspects, two of which concern the history and sources of significance of the sites in question, and other three target the main groups of actors: the state (and its representative bodies) on the one side, and the organizations representing diverse local population on the other. Apart from exploring the history and the sources of cultural and spiritual value of the selected case

studies, In relation to the state, the aim of the evaluation was to establish, to what extent the selected sacred landscapes are being protected under the existing legislation, and what aspects are given most attention in the process. In relation to the local population, the aim was to investigate, to what degree the sacred locations under study remain relevant for various local ethno-religious groups and to establish, how the knowledge about the local sacred sites and their importance is being spread both within these groups and beyond. These aspects were formulated as follows:

- (1) sources of the sacred landscape's cultural and spiritual value;
- (2) historical development;
- (3) current condition, including the condition of their physical features and the degree to which the intrinsic significance of the sacred landscape has been preserved;
- (4) involvement of various actors into the process of dissemination of knowledge regarding the selected sacred sites among the wide public through academic and cultural events and publications;
- (5) scope of educational activities aiming at the promotion of knowledge regarding religion and religious heritage-related issues.

This section of the research was based on the results of my scrupulous comparative analysis of the documents produced by the Bakhchisaray Historical and Cultural Preserve in the years 2011-2013. Most of them present internal references and reports that have never been published, nor translated into any languages other than the languages of the originals (Ukrainian and Russian). They are not available to the broad public and were kindly provided to me by the administration of the Preserve in the course of my final stay in Bakhchisaray from May 14<sup>th</sup> to May 25<sup>th</sup> 2013. These included "Historical References", "Protection Contracts", and "Passports of the Objects of Historical Heritage" compiled by the Preserve for the individual monuments situated on its territory. Data originating from the earlier period, preceding Ukraine's independence, were kindly provided to me from the resources of the BHCP archive.

Among the regrettably scarce literary sources on Crimea's sacred sites, from which I derived the data necessary for case studies analysis, I should mention the publications by Vladimir Boreyko (1998) and Ivan Kovalenko (2001). Both of these authors served both as an inspiration for this research, and as an indispensable sources of authentic, original information that I was not able to find elsewhere.

The indicator-based evaluation presented in Chapter 8 was carried out by means of quantification of the data obtained from the following sources:

- State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects of the State Historic and Cultural preserve (consisting of objects of national and local significance);
- Provisional Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects Suggested for the Inclusion to the State Register;
- BHCP library;
- official website of BHCP;
- official website of the Association of the Karaites of Crimea;
- official website of the Crimean Karaite Ethno-Cultural Centre *Kale*;
- official website of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea;
- official website of the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese;
- official website of the Assumption Monastery;
- archives of the Crimean Karaite newspaper *Kyrymkaraylar*;
- archives of the Crimean Tatar newspaper *Avdet*.

Both the assessment and the consecutive discussion have been informed by the below-mentioned legal documents:

- The Law of Ukraine regarding the Protection of Cultural Heritage (No. 1805-III, ratified June 8, 2000, with consideration of changes adopted in the Law No. 2518-VI from September 9, 2010).
- The Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "On the approval procedure for determining the categories of monuments to be entered as objects of

- cultural heritage into the State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine” (No. 1760, from December 27, 2001).
- The Decree of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine “On the “Approval of the procedure of registration of objects of cultural heritage” (No.158, from March 11, 2013).
  - The Law of Ukraine regarding Museums and Museology (No. 250/95-BP, ratified June 19, 1995).
  - The Law of Ukraine regarding the Protection of Archaeological Heritage (No. 1626-IV, ratified March 18, 2004).
  - The Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine regarding the Ratification of the Statute of the Museum Fund of Ukraine (No. 1147, ratified July 20, 2000).
  - The Statute of the Crimean republican institution “Bakhchisaray Historical and Cultural Preserve” (ratified by the Ministry of Culture and Arts of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea on March 31, 2008).
  - United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).

## **3 CRIMEA AND ITS HISTORY AT THE CROSSROADS OF RELIGIONS**

### **3.1 Christianization of Crimea**

#### **3.1.1 The rise and fall of the ancient center of Christianity**

The Crimean peninsula is one of the most ancient centers of Christianity in Eastern Europe. It was from there that the religion spread into the neighboring regions and further, across the domain of Kievan Rus. As early as by the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium AD hagiographic sources took three different versions of Christianization of Crimea (Mogarichev, 2007). The first, ‘Roman’, version is related to Pope Clement I, Bishop of Rome from 92 until 99 AD (Livingstone, 2005), one of the most revered Christian saints. Hagiographies narrating about Clement’s life report that the future Pope was the son of a Roman senator. As an infant he, alongside his parents, travelled by sea from Rome to Athens. The ship was caught in a storm and cast ashore on an island close to Asia Minor. Clement and his brother were taken slaves by the local pirates (Mogarichev, 2007). Twenty years later, Clement settled in Palestine, where he met Apostle Peter, by whom he was christened. A talented youth soon became a reliable companion of Peter, and later, Paul, and finally obtained the position of the Roman bishop. While holding the post, Clement worked tirelessly to attract new adherents and strengthen the positions of Christianity in Rome. Upon hearing about his endeavors, Roman emperor Trajan was infuriated and urged Clement to convert back to Paganism, but the bishop was uncompromising (ibid.). As a punishment, Trajan sent Clement into exile to Chersoneses in the Crimean peninsula, where he was sentenced to work at a marble mine. In Chersoneses, Clement encountered two thousand Christians, who rejoiced at his arrival and became his adamant followers. To them, Clement revealed the location of the holy water spring, which he uncovered from under the ground by striking it with a staff (ibid.).



When emperor Trajan learnt that Clement was enjoying wide popularity in the place of his exile and is attracting ever more new followers, he was enraged and ordered to have him drowned in the sea. This was done, and when local Christians came to pray to the location where Clement's body was resting at the sea bottom, the waters of the sea moved apart, and at the dry bottom of the sea, the astonished people discovered the likeness of a church with a marble chapel, inside which the body lay. After this, Clement himself appeared to them and revealed that every year, at this very same time, the waters of the sea would recede from the shores, and the bottom would remain dry for seven days, so that those who would come to pray in his memory, could do so. Having said these words, the martyr disappeared. Since that moment, the local people believed in God and converted to Christianity (ibid.). Annually, hundreds of them descended to the open sea bottom to pray at what they referred to as 'Angelic Church' (ibid.). The legend has it that one year, after the sea level returned to its usual height, a boy remained trapped in the church. His parents thought him dead, but to everyone's bewilderment, a year later, when the sea receded again, people saw the boy, alive and safe, praying in the Angelic Church. The boy told his parents that he had spent this whole time underwater, in prayers, and that St. Clement had been taking care of him and feeding him. For one reason or another, the time arrived when the miracle of the receding seawater ceased to happen. The legend of the Angelic Church of St. Clement, however, still remains one of the prominent tales of the peninsula (ibid.).

The second, 'Constantinople', version maintains that the arrival of Christianity in Crimea was linked to the life and deeds of Apostle Andrew the First-Called (early 1st century – middle to late 1st century AD), the heavenly protector of Russia. According to St. John's gospel, Andrew had been the first to be summoned by Jesus at Jordan. The ecclesiastical literary tradition has it that when the apostles went into the world to preach the Teaching of the Savior, Andrew was sent to Scythia (ibid.). The first mentioning of his stay in the then-Scythian Crimea appears in monk Epiphanius' account entitled "*On the hagiography, deeds and death of the Saint Apostle Andrew the First-Called*" and dates back to 815-820 AD. Andrew purportedly arrived by sea to Feodosia, but did not succeed in converting the local townsmen to Christianity, and moved on to Chersoneses, where his success was

equally limited. From there Andrew, along with a small number of disciples, sailed up the river Dnepr. One morning he pointed to the hills on the side of the river and told his disciples: “Do you see these hills? God’s grace will shine on them and many churches will be built here”. After saying this, Andrew blessed the shores of Dnepr. According to the legend, this was the place where the great city of Kiev came to stand afterwards (ibid.).

The third version that is reflected in “*The hagiographies of Kherson bishops*”, traces the roots of Christianity in Crimea to Jerusalem. According to this document, two major centers of Christianity in the peninsula could be identified – Bosphorus (also known as Panticapeum, or present-day Kerch) and Chersoneses (ibid.). In Bosphorus, the first Christians appeared in the 3<sup>rd</sup> – beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, but it is unlikely that the community was numerous, or intensely developing (ibid.). During the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, numbers of Christians began to grow. Burials at the Panticapeum necropolis demonstrate that by the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, most of the political elite of the city converted to Christianity. Common townspeople, most of whom arrived there with the Huns, remained heathen (ibid.).

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, two Byzantine bishops, Yefrem and Vassily, sailed to Chersoneses, where they worked ceaselessly on spreading Christianity among the local pagan Scythians. The legend has it that once, the son of a noble Scythian died in Chersoneses. The parents were disconsolate; they cried day and night by the boy’s coffin. Finally, exhausted and desperate, they fell asleep. In their sleep, the dead son appeared to both of the parents saying: “Why do you mourn and cry on my death, if you cannot take me back from where I am alive? Our gods cannot resurrect me, for they are soulless idols (...). If you want to see me again, you must come to believe in the only true God. Only He has power over both living and dead. Only he can resurrect me” (ibid.). Upon waking up, the parents rushed to the cave, near the city of Chersoneses, where Vassily resided as hermit, and begged him for help. Vassily agreed to follow them to the coffin of the dead boy and had him resurrected by prayer and holy water. The Scythian parents immediately converted to Christianity and gave Vassily great honors. Later, both Vassily and Yefrem were murdered by the local pagans, together with other Christian martyrs – Yevgeny, Elpidy, Agafodor, Yeferi and Kapiton (ibid.).

In the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, a new political power emerged in Crimea – the Khazars, who overtook the eastern part of the peninsula, forming the Khazar Kaganate. The Kaganate did not claim power over the Byzantine colonies of Chersoneses and Bosporus, and no records exist of violence, or drastic changes in the ethno-religious composition of the peninsula’s population (ibid.).

Towards the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the iconoclastic controversy unfolded in the Byzantine Empire, with emperor Leo III prohibiting the worship of whatever was made by the human hand, including image worship (i.e. icons), which he associated with idolatry. This prohibition led to years of savage repression against the monks, the principle opponents of iconoclasm. A large number of monasteries were destroyed, and many monks were killed, exiled, mutilated, or forced to re-join secular life (Eliade, 1993). During this period, the Christian authorities in Crimea had to follow the official policy of Constantinople, for they were clamped between the Byzantine Empire and the Khazar Kaganate and had no capacity to oppose either of the powers. In addition, local population was, by far and large, not particularly interested in the ideology of the iconoclastic arguments. The church authorities did not go to extremes and generally allowed local Christians to worship or keep the icons at home, as long as they did not voice open opposition to the official policy of the Empire (Mogarichev, 2007). One of Crimea’s most venerable saints, St. Theodore Studites (759-826 AD) offered a detailed account of the religious life in the peninsula in the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>, indicating that monasticism was gradually taking root. The activity of two other Crimean saints, Stefan of Surozh and John the Gothicus, fell on the same iconoclastic period (ibid.).

In 967-968 AD the Byzantine army was attacked by the Bulgars. Emperor Basil II sent ambassadors to Kiev, so as to form alliance with the Russian Prince Svyatoslav, asking the latter for military assistance. Svyatoslav provided six thousand troops, and with their help, Byzantium won a victory over the Bulgar army. After Svyatoslav was killed by the Pechenegs in 972 AD, his son Yaropolk succeeded to the Kievan throne and ruled from

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<sup>6</sup> The Russian-language edition entitled “*Tvoreniya prepodobnogo Feodora Studita*” (“The Works of the Reverend Feodor Studit”) was published by St. Petersburg Theological Academy in 1867-1869.

972 until 978, when he was defeated by his brother Prince Vladimir<sup>7</sup>. As a reward for Kiev's support of the Byzantine Empire, Prince Vladimir demanded the hand of the Emperor's sister, Anna – the wish that was granted exclusively on the condition that Vladimir converts to Christianity. According to some sources, Vladimir was baptized in Kiev right after the treaty was signed. Others claim that he was baptized a year later in the Crimean Chersoneses (Mogarichev, 2007). Marriage to the Emperor's sister elevated the Russian Prince to an equal position with the Byzantine monarchs - an unprecedented event for that historical period. Vladimir returned to Kiev, taking his new wife with him, and very soon Christianity became the official religion in the whole of Kievan Rus, leading to the period of utmost prosperity in the 10<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries (ibid.).

In 1204 the Byzantine Empire was defeated by the Crusaders, and the Empire of Trebizond gained power over Chersoneses, as well as of other strongholds in the Crimean mountains. From the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and up to the end of the third quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> Crimea was split into three parts, each professing their own religions: the Moslem Golden Horde domains with their center in Solkhat (presently, Staryi Krym), which in 1443 formed the independent Crimean Khanate; the Catholic Genoese Gazaria with its center in Kaffa; and, since the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Orthodox Principality of Theodoro (technically, successor of the Crimean Gothia) with its capital in Mangup. The rulers of Mangup carried out the restoration of the Monastery of the Saint Apostles in Partenit. Simultaneously with this, the old cave monasteries in Mangup were restored and expanded, and some new ones were constructed. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, twenty cave monasteries, with approximately seventy Orthodox churches, operated within the domains of Theodoro (ibid.).

After the fall of Chersoneses into the hands of the Golden Horde in 1299, most of the Greek population fled the peninsula and those who remained converted to Islam and, by

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<sup>7</sup> “The Primary Chronicle“ („*Povest' vremenyh let*“), a history of Kievan Rus from 850 until 1110 that was compiled in Kiev in 1113 maintains that the death of Yaropolk and succession of Vladimir to the Kievan throne took place in 980 AD. However, other contemporary sources, such as “*Pamyat' i hvata knyazyu russkomu Vladimiru*” argue that the events happened as early as June 978. The latter date is accepted by modern historians as more probable (e.g. see Karpov, 2004).

intermarrying with the local Tatars, contributed to the formation of the Crimean Tatar ethnicity. Remaining Muslims, their descendants retained some of the traditions that had belonged to their Christian ancestors (Kozelsky, 2010).

In May 1475 both the Principality of Theodoro and the Genoese colonies were attacked by the Ottoman Turks. The siege of Theodoro lasted for six months, and the final seizure was accompanied by massive slaughter of the local population (Yurochkin, 2007). However, during most of the 200-year period of the Ottoman rule that followed, the administration displayed considerable tolerance towards the Christians dwelling on the occupied lands, which may be explained by the fact that the majority of the peninsula's population was comprised of descendants of the Orthodox Christian Byzantines. Orthodox Christianity was therefore a crucial factor for consolidation of Crimea's inhabitants. Apart from this, it was the Christian population of Orthodox enclaves that contributed most actively to the economy of the peninsula (*ibid.*).

The situation changed drastically when the Crimean Khanate became involved in the Russo–Turkish War of 1768–1774. This circumstance inevitably affected the attitude of the Khanate's administration towards the local non-Muslims. The position of Christians at the period is illustrated by an episode, described by V. Kondraki, which took place in Alushta. V. Yurochkin (Yurochkin, 2007) refers to Kondraki's account of how the Tatars attacked the homes of the Orthodox Christian citizens, and even conspired to blast Alushta's church with gunpowder during Sunday's mass. Fortunately, the plan failed, however, the episode points clearly to the palpable change in attitudes among the Tatars (*ibid.*).

The history of the native Greeks in Crimea, whose connection to the peninsula dated back to the Byzantine period, ended in 1778. A series of brutal conflicts between the Christians and the Tatars occurred, prompting Crimea's Greek Metropolitan Ignasius to petition to Catherine II on behalf of the local Greek community, requesting relocation to the Russian Empire, asylum and Russian citizenship. The empress granted the Crimean Greeks land on the coast of the Azov Sea and ordered the organization of mass

relocation. 13.500 out of 18.000 Greeks survived the journey and went on to found the town of Mariupol (Kozelsky, 2010).

Greeks left the peninsula, taking with them all holy artifacts that they were able to transport (most notably, their greatest relic - the icon of the Bakhchisaray Mother of God, from the Assumption Monastery) and leaving Crimean churches abandoned. According to the written accounts of the Russian traveller Fedorov who visited Crimea in 1854, the few Greeks that stayed conversed in the Tatar language, dressed in the Tatar fashion and followed eastern customs. They continued to make tribute pilgrimages to the Assumption Monastery in the icon's memory (Fedorov, 1854).

Despite the fact that the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Crimean Greeks had ethnically and culturally little to do with the Greeks of the Byzantine period, Russian (as well as European) travellers and scholars tended to romanticize the memory of Crimea's Hellenic and Byzantine past. The dilapidated ancient churches attracted and captivated visitors, who painted glamorous images of the Greek legacy in the peninsula in their travel accounts (Kozelsky, 2010). Being one of the best-preserved former Ionian colonies, during the last years of Catherine II's reign in the 1780s, Chersoneses became a major destination for historians and archaeologists, both amateur and professional. For decades afterwards, the city remained the chief research object in connection to Baptism of Prince Vladimir (*ibid.*). Apart from the Greek heritage, academicians researched on the remains of the Scythian, Alan, Genoese, Karaite and Tatar settlements, with the special focus of cave cities, many of which bore traces of castles and monasteries (*ibid.*).

According to Skal'kovskii, director of the New Russian Committee at the time, by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Crimea's population amounted to 500.000 inhabitants. Of them, Orthodox Christians (large part of whom were of Balkan origin) were a minority, with non-Christians comprising the majority, where 276.000 Tatars, together with Karaites and Talmudic Jews, made up more than half of the population. The approximate number of Orthodox believers was estimated at no more than 230.000 (Skal'kovskii, 1850).

The inequality between Christian and non-Christian presence is further evidenced by the number of recorded religious buildings that could be found around the peninsula in that same period. Kozelsky (Kozelsky, 2010, p. 22), based on the archival materials provided by the State Archive of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (SAARC) for the year 1856, reports the following numbers: 1.700 Tatar mosques, 104 Orthodox churches, 6 Lutheran churches, 4 Catholic churches, and 5 others (Armenian-Gregorian churches, Synagogues, Old Believer churches and other sectarian churches). Certain towns, such as Bakhchisaray, hardly had any Russian population in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Tereshenko (Tereshenko, 1854, p. 64), of 14.000 people, only 1.200 were ethnic Russians. This statistic clearly points to a much stronger institutional presence of Muslims in Taurida, as compared to other faiths.

Other sources, such as the 1840s-account by Yuri Bartenev, provide evidence that the co-existence of so many ethno-religious unities on a very compact territory was not entirely peaceful. Thus, remarking on Eupatoria, Bartenev counted that the population of the town consisted of 3.000 Karaites, 7.000 Tatars, and additionally, less sizeable populations of Greeks, Moldavians, Gypsies and Armenians (Gregorian and Catholic), who “cannot tolerate one another due to divisions over faith” (Bartenev, 1899, p. 120).

Upon its annexation by the Russian Empire in 1783, the peninsula (from then on, Taurida province of the empire) experienced intensive cultural and economic development, particularly its Southern coast that came to be known as the “pearl in the crown of Catherine the Great” and the “garden of the empire” (Kozelsky, 2010, p. 20) and swiftly became an attraction for the affluent elite of Russia’s major imperial cities, Moscow and St. Petersburg. Sevastopol, formerly a small-sized Turkish port, became a naval Black Sea center of the Russian Empire, with its population growing up to 45.000 people in less than sixty years (Novorossiyskiy kalendar, 1850). Prince Vorontsov, who was appointed governor of Taurida, actively invested government resources in public works, commencing planting of gardens and paving roads, as well as in the development of the region’s agriculture and industry (Kozelsky, 2010).

### 3.1.2 Re-birth of the ‘Crimean Athos’

In the 1840s, local authorities of Taurida complained vigorously to the central government in St. Petersburg about the weakness of the Orthodox Church in the region and criticized the failure of the church to engage the peninsula’s diverse population. In his letters, Metropolitan Filaret (Filaret, 1905) elaborated on the demographic situation in Crimea, pointing out that Russians remained a mere minority there, and that the peninsula was mostly populated by immigrants, including “runaways from landlords, those associated with war, foreign immigrants, and even criminals”, who, rather than attending churches, spent their time “in taverns and games” (Filaret, quoted in Kozelsky, 2010, p. 21). Further, Metropolitan lamented that part of the responsibility for the situation should be placed on the “manner of life and behavior” (ibid., p. 203) of the clergy, who, themselves, showed clear inclination towards laziness and drunkenness, and that the peninsula’s fertile soil and mild climate created a poor environment for industriousness, because “fruitful land required very little work” (ibid., p. 21). Another difficulty was presented by the fact that Crimea was comprised mainly of small-sized villages, located 15 to 20 km from the churches, which made regular church attendance complicated (ibid.).

Innokentiy, Archbishop of Chersoneses and Taurida from 1848 until 1857, shared Filaret’s concerns that Taurida’s foreign populations had a detrimental impact on the Empire in general, and on the state of the Church affairs in particular. In his letter to Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolayevich (Innokentiy, 1879), Innokentiy noted that the Orthodox populations in Crimea were surrounded by *inovertsy* (non-Orthodox believers) and *inostrantsy* (foreigners), concluding, in a metaphorical turn, that the Orthodox Church “requires detailed and tireless work to cultivate a removal of thorns and weeds; to sow and water with both hands”, (Innokentiy, quoted in Kozelsky, 2010, pp. 21-22).

Some of the affluent Crimean landowners contributed substantially to the expansion of the network of Orthodox religious institutions in the peninsula by investing their private capital into the construction of new churches in the areas, where Russian populations were concentrated (Kozelsky, 2010). Apart from expanding the diocese institutionally, the



Orthodox clergy made efforts to attract new adherents, particularly among the Old Believers. Another confession targeted by the Russian Orthodox church were Catholics, who formed a small percentage of the non-Orthodox population and mainly consisted of Armenians that had set residence in the peninsula prior to the Russian annexation, as well as of German, French and Italian immigrants, and a few Polish landlords.

All of the above-mentioned groups, however, presented a rather marginal risk to Orthodox authorities in comparison to the threats resulting from the dominance in the peninsula of the Muslim Crimean Tatar population. Not only were Crimean Tatars considerably more numerous, but they also enjoyed more legal privileges than Russians (*ibid.*). Thus, unlike the Russian peasantry, they were technically not serfs attached to one defined noble estate, and were allowed to own movable and immovable property, sell land and freely relocate to another estate after they had fulfilled their labor obligations to the landlord. Crimean Tatars could even bring complaints against landlord abuses. No Muslim would willingly convert to Christianity and risk losing his privileges under such circumstances (*ibid.*).

Whether or not the rights guaranteed by law were realized in real-life conditions remains another question. Thus, Kozelsky (Kozelsky, 2010), based on the written reports of eyewitnesses, points out that in the 1830s the efforts of Vorontsov to improve the condition of the Crimean Tatars and provide them with additional legal protection enjoyed only limited success, due to flourishing local corruption. Russian land-grant holders often exploited legal ambiguities, in particular absence of written documentation proving Tatar land-ownership, to claim such ownership illegal. Following this, they seized and fenced out portions of land, denying Tatars access to what was legally their property. Government officials supported Tatars in theory, but did little to prevent unlawful actions from the side of Russian in practice.

Kozelsky notes that the Russian Orthodox Church regarded the conversion of the Crimean Tatars to Christianity as a highly political issue and a task of vital importance, not only in relation to the church, but also to the state, and believed that the adoption by the Crimean Tatars of Christianity would facilitate their assimilation with the Slavic

segment of the population and thusly strengthen the state. Missionary work among the Crimean Tatars, however, was substantially hampered by the fact that none of the Orthodox missionaries in Crimea spoke the Crimean Tatar language (ibid.).

Orthodox authorities had high hopes with regards to turning the peninsula into the seat of the new 'Crimean Athos'. The most crucial element of the plan lay in renewing the ancient monasteries and churches around the peninsula, thus deepening the association between the emerging Orthodox community and the classical Christianity of the antiquity. *Odesskiy Vestnik*, the region's largest circulating newspaper, came to play the central role in the dissemination of the histories and legends of Crimea's sacred places. Articles published in *Vestnik* emphasized the peninsula's rich multi-cultural past and convincingly elaborated on how ancient Christian churches and monasteries were deeply respected by the Muslim Tatars (ibid.).

Having given rise to public interest towards the local holy sites, the Orthodox church undertook the next step, namely, initiated a range of large-scale revival and restoration works at the sites of the ruined monasteries. Five of them were of particular importance: the Assumption Monastery in Bakhchisaray (Figure 2), the Cosmas and Damian monastery at the site of the holy Cosmas and Damian spring (Figure 3), the site of purported baptism of Prince Vladimir in Chersoneses (Figure 4), the cave monastery of Inkerman in the vicinity of Sevastopol (Figure 5) and St. George's monastery (Figure 6). Each of these five locations represented a unique place in Crimea's Orthodox history, and all of them taken together comprised the core of the aspired Crimean Athos (ibid.).

The flagship monastery to be opened in 1850 was the Assumption Monastery. Upon its re-opening, the diocesan officials turned their efforts to the re-building of the St. Vladimir's cathedral in Chersoneses, positioning it as one of the holiest spots in the Orthodox history on the world scale. Extensive archaeological and historical research was carried out, which aimed to uncover the remains of the original ancient church and to restore its authentic style. The objective was to erect the new cathedral on the exact spot believed to be the site of Vladimir's christening, which would in its inner and outer appearance replicate as much as possible the original Byzantine structure. Apart from the

church itself, the plan foresaw the construction of twelve cells for monks and servitors, a hostel for pilgrims, and the gardens, where the monks would grow their crops. Architectural plans foresaw the integration of the remains of the old church into the new one, so that the ancient walls and foundations representing the sacred symbols of baptism of Prince Vladimir could be seen inside the newly built ones. The church took seven years to build (ibid.).

Inkerman, the ancient city that spreads along the mouth of the Black River, seven kilometers from Sevastopol, was inhabited by successive waves of settlers and, apart from the remains of the monastic structures, contains the ruins of the cave city and fortress of Calamita (Kozelsky, 2010). The earliest fortifications at Inkerman date back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> through 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD (Filippenko, 1993). The foundation of the Calamita fortress with caves dates back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD, when icon-worshippers fled from Byzantine to Crimea during the empire's iconoclastic period (Yashayeva, 1994). Construction works continued well into the 14<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, the period of the Genoese rule, when St. George's Basilica, alongside other five cave churches, were built, prompting the local toponym of Inkerman – 'Monastery Cliffs' (Mogarichev, 1997). Some of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholars believed, however, that many of the Inkerman cave churches were constructed as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, by the local adherents of St. Clement (Rostovskiy, 1992). Other authors, such as Danevskiy, asserted that the cliff city of Inkerman was founded by Taurian Scythians (Danevskiy, 1854).

Purported association with the life of St. Clement and other 1<sup>st</sup>-century AD Christians in Crimea safeguarded Inkerman a prominent place among the chief sacred landmarks of the peninsula at the time of the Crimean Athos campaign. Archbishop Innokentiy took the decision to renew three of Inkerman's churches, incorporating the inner architecture of the original cave churches and retouching the ancient Greek murals. His plans also included construction of a small chapel at the bottom of the cliff and cells for eight monks (Kozelsky, 2010). In February 1853, Crimean Archimandrite Polykarp sanctified both St. Vladimir's church in Chersoneses and the Inkerman skete (ibid.).

Simultaneously with the plans to re-build Chersoneses and Inkerman, the local Orthodox Church began research on the site of the holy spring of Cosmas and Damian, known among Crimean Tatars as *Savlyk-Su* ('healing waters') and located in the mountainous preserve eighteen kilometers from Alushta. The spring represented one of Crimea's sacred natural sites and for this reason, came to the attention of diocesan authorities. In contrast to other components of the Crimean Athos, Cosmas and Damian spring bore no material connection to the Byzantine period in the peninsula. There were no cave towns, nor ancient ruins of any kind discovered in its vicinity. The fame of the spring came from oral narratives, generated by the Crimean Christians and Tatars alike, which testified to the spring's divine powers of restoration and healing<sup>8</sup>. Both Christian and Muslim pilgrims visited the site of Cosmas and Damian annually, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July, the feast day of these two saints. Mikhail Rodionov, the official who led the research on behalf of the church, attended the ceremony and reported observing Tatars, both women and men, bathing in the spring, which they believed to possess healing powers, and lighting candles. Further, he encountered Christian priests blessing the water. On the day of the feast, Rodionov counted at least five hundred pilgrims, both Christian and Muslim, bathing in the water (Kozelsky, 2010).

On Innokentiy's request, in 1851 the land surrounding the spring was given over to the church and plans for the construction of the St. Cosmas and Damian monastery were set in motion. However, due to the outbreak of the Crimean War (1852-56) and Innokentiy's death in 1857, these intentions were not realized. Later that year, two monks started to build a small wooden church at the site. In 1874 the second church of the monastery, the Church of God's Transfiguration, was constructed (Yasel'skaya, 2007a).

St. George's Monastery on Cape Violent in the vicinity of Balaklava likewise served as an inspiration for the revival of the Crimean Athos. A popular legend dates the foundation of the monastery to 890 AD and maintains that it was erected by the Greek sailors in gratitude for their survival after the storm that crashed their ship onto the cliffs of

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<sup>8</sup> For more on the legends surrounding the miraculous powers of the spring, see section 8.1 of the present thesis.

Balaklava (Shavshin, 1997; Kozelsky, 2010). With the blessing from the Scythian bishop, the sailors carved the church into the cliffs, where the monastery stands until the present day. Modern researchers, however, believe that the monastery could not have been founded before the 15<sup>th</sup> century AD (ibid.).

The most important relic of St. George's monastery was the miracle-working icon of St. George the Victorious. This was a wooden Byzantine icon, with the Great Martyr depicted standing and holding a spear and a sword. In 1779, during the Greeks' resettlement to the coast of Azov, the icon was removed from the monastery and transported to the town of Mariupol, where it was installed in the local church. Since 1970, the icon remains in the collection of the National Arts museum in Kiev (Yashayeva, 2007b).

The site of St. George's monastery became the focus of regional research at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, because it was located near the ruins that were believed to be the ancient temple of Diana. In the 1820s, the monastery came under the supervision of the Greek Metropolitan Agathangelos, who assessed its condition as very poor, with large number of the ruins threatened with imminent collapse, and barely any monks to take care of them. According to Agathangelos, only one small stone church remained with a decrepit abbot's cell (Kozelsky, 2010). With the support from the Holy Synod, Agathangelos erected a stone church at the cemetery, two two-storied buildings housing brothers' cells, one hostel for visitors, a dining hall, a kitchen, and a pantry. Thusly expanded, by 1834 St. George's Monastery had twenty-four monks and two hierodeacons (ibid.).

Agathangelos's renovations at St. George set a precedent for the restoration of other monasteries of the Crimean Athos. The Crimean Christian antiquities, even though glorifying the memory of Byzantine, were acquiring a new, expressly Russian identity (Kozelsky, 2010).

### **3.1.3 Athos destroyed**

The dream of the revival of the ancient cradle of Christianity in Crimea came to an abrupt end with the arrival in the peninsula of the Soviet government. In the fall of 1920 the Bolsheviks gained control over the peninsula, forcing the White Army out, and the Soviet power was established, bringing with it the gradual destruction of the local religious infrastructure. The “*Decree on the Separation of the Church from the State and the School from the Church*”, adopted by the Council of People’s Commissars on February 1918 began to be successfully implemented in the peninsula. The Decree was comprised of the following thirteen paragraphs:

- (1) Church is separated from the state.
- (2) On the territory of the Russian Republic, publication of any local laws or decrees, which would constrain or limit the freedom of conscience, or establish any kind of advantages, or privileges, based on the confessional affiliation of the citizens is prohibited.
- (3) Every citizen has the right to profess any religion, or to profess none. Any deprivation of rights associated with the profession of whatever faith, or profession of none, is prohibited.
- (4) The actions of governmental and other public legal social institutions are not accompanied by any religious rites or ceremonies.
- (5) Free practice of religious rites is allowed insofar as they do not violate public order and do not infringe the rights of the citizens of the Soviet Republic.
- (6) No one is allowed to evade the performance of civil duties, citing their religious beliefs.
- (7) Religious vow and oath are cancelled.
- (8) Acts of civil status are conducted exclusively by civil authorities, namely, the departments of records of marriages and births.
- (9) School is separated from church. Teaching religion in all government, public and private educational institutions that teach general subjects is prohibited.
- (10) All churches and religious societies are subject to the general provisions of private societies and unions, and do not enjoy any privileges and subsidies,

neither from the state, nor from its local autonomous and self-governed organs.

- (11) Compulsory collection of fees and charges in favor of the church and religious communities, as well as measures of coercion or punishment on the part of these communities over their fellow-members are not allowed.
- (12) No ecclesiastical and religious societies have the right to own property. They do not enjoy the rights of legal entities.
- (13) All property of the existing ecclesiastical and religious societies is declared national property. Buildings and articles intended specifically for liturgical purposes, are transferred, by special resolutions of the local or central public authorities, in the free use of the respective religious communities<sup>9</sup>.

In the course of the 1920s, the property and land of all of Crimea's monasteries was nationalized (Yasel'skaya, 2007a). Thus, in 1923, by the "*Decree on the Crimean State Reserve and the Forest Biological Station*"<sup>10</sup>, the territory of Cosmas and Damian Monastery was incorporated into the Reserve (ibid.). In January 1924, by the resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Crimean ASSR the Monastery of St. Vladimir in Chersoneses was abolished, and its buildings were handed over to the Museum of Chersoneses (Yashayeva, 2007a). The same year, Toplov Nunnery was closed down (Yasel'skaya, 2007b). In June 1926, a similar resolution was adopted towards Inkerman Monastery (Polkanov, 2007).

St. George's Monastery on Cape Fiolent, which, prior to the 1917 Revolution, was a flourishing institution, with four operating churches (the Church of St. George the Triumpher, the Church of Christmas, the Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Life-Giving Cross, and the Church of St. Dimitrios Solunsky) and boasted a large library, consisting of over a thousand bound and unbound volumes dating back to the 16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Yashayeva, 2007b) functioned until the end of the 1920s. However, according

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<sup>9</sup> Original text taken from Gazeta Rabochego i krestyanskogo pravitel'stva, № 15, 23.01.1918.

<sup>10</sup> Presently, the Crimean State Nature Reserve

to Yashayeva (ibid.), only twelve monks continued to live there. In November 1919, St. George's Monastery was closed down. The Church of St. George the Triumpher was demolished completely, and the Church of Christmas was transferred to Sevastopol Museum Association. The rest of the monastery's buildings were given over to a state sanatorium. In 1939-1941 these buildings housed the Military School of the Black Sea Navy (ibid.).

In May 1921, the property and land of St. Stephan of Surozh Monastery in Kiziltash were transferred – termless and rent-free – to the Regional Revolutionary Committee of Feodosia. In 1923, the monastery was officially closed; its two churches (the Church of Assumption and the Seraphim Church) were converted to a hostel and a club, respectively. The domes of both churches were demolished. After World War II, the territory of the former monastery housed the storage facility for nuclear ammunition, intended for the Black Sea Navy (Donenko & Yasel'skaya, 2007).

Perhaps, the only religious institution in the peninsula that was spared complete abolition was the Nunnery of St. Trinity in Simferopol. In 1933, the reconstruction of the nunnery's church began, with the view of transforming it into a boarding school for the children of the local Greek community (Kogonashvili & Zamtaradze, 2007). Leader of the community, Anastasiy Xenupolo, petitioned to the Greek Mission in Moscow, pleading to preserve the church and stressing that considerable part of the local congregation was comprised of the Greeks, holding Greek citizenship. The following year, much due to the Soviet administration's wish to maintain at least some visibility of the freedom of religion for foreign citizens, Xenopulo's request was granted, and the church was returned to the parishioners (ibid.).



## 3.2 The Crimean Tatars

### 3.2.1 Paving the road towards the independent Crimean Khanate

Towards the middle of the 13th century, the Crimean peninsula was savaged by Baty Khan, the founder of the Mongol Golden Horde. The Mongols swept across the Eurasian plains, defeating the Kipchak tribes and absorbing them into their army ranks, and made the town of Solkhat in Eastern Crimea (from then on, Eski Kirim, which translates as ‘the old fortress’) the Mongol center of power, and the seat of local Mongol government, in Crimea (Fisher, 1978; Williams, 2001).

While the Mongols and the Kipchaks were intrinsically shamanistic, at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Uzbek, the Khan of the Golden Horde from 1313 till 1341, took the decision to convert his state into Sunni Islam, which he found preferable over Eastern Orthodoxy professed by the Greeks. Williams (Williams, 2001), alongside other historians, believes that this choice was motivated politically, and was aimed at preventing the Western Turko-Mongols that were already under the rule of the Golden Horde from assimilating with the new Christian subjects. To this end, Uzbek employed the strategy of intermarrying the Mongol elite, outnumbered in Crimea by the more numerous Kipchak-Turkic nomadic subjects, with the Muslim Turkic element. This mixture of the Mongol and Turkic Kipchak blood ultimately led to the formation of the ‘Tatar’ ethnicity (ibid.).

The root of the word ‘Tatar’ was originally derived from the tribal name of one of the powerful Mongol clans. Soon, however, it became applied to all turkified Mongols. In the year 1314, Khan Uzbek ordered to construct a stone mosque<sup>11</sup> and a *medrese* (school of Islamic learning) in Eski Kirim and thereby proclaimed Crimea part of the *Dar al-Islam*

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<sup>11</sup> Presently, this ancient mosque is difficult to identify. It is located on the town’s back alley and is in a dilapidated condition. After 70 years of Soviet counter-religious prohibitions, the Crimean Tatars have managed to reconstruct the minaret on the front of the building. Now the location of this church is regarded by the Tatars as an important symbol of the Crimean Tatar identity.

(Arabic for the 'Realm of Islam'). From this time onwards, the Crimean peninsula acted as the bastion of Tatar-Muslim power in Eastern Europe (Williams, 2001).

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century the Khans of the Golden Horde exercised their rule over an extensive domain that stretched from the Dobruca region on the southern banks of the Danube (in present-day Romania) to the Aral Sea in Central Asia. The nomads of the Horde dwelt in portable felt tents known as *yurts* and migrated long distances across the grassland plains with their herds. They were well-trained in the art of cavalry warfare, despised settled agriculturalists tied to the soil, and strongly cherished their own freedom of movement (ibid.).

By the 1420s the Golden Horde began to lose its cohesion and to gradually decline, and the great Tatar clans of the Crimean peninsula began to break off from the central control. By the end of the first half of the century, independent Tatar states governed by khans who claimed direct royal descent from Chingis Khan, emerged in Crimea, as well as in the lower Volga region with its center in Astrakhan, and in the upper Volga region with its center in Kazan. The independent Chingisid ruler of the newly arisen Crimean Khanate, Khan Haji Giray, strove to gain dominance over the rich coastal settlements controlled, at the time, by the Genoese, and to strengthen his political position among the other independent Tatar states (ibid.).

In 1443, *bey* Haji Giray established himself as Khan in the independent Crimean *yurt* (regional division of the Horde). One of his first initiatives was transferring the capital of the newly established Khanate from Eski Kirim to Kyrk Or (the future Chufut Kale), so as to escape the influence of competing Tatar clans.

In the course of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the central government of the Horde repeatedly attempted to re-establish its control over the Crimean Khanate. A series of brutal invasions, notably by Khan Ahmed in the 1470, served as a powerful impetus for the Crimean Tatars to seek protection on the side of the Ottomans (ibid.).

At this time, owing to the military support of the Sultan, the Khanate kept under its power all major Crimean strongholds, including Kerch and Perekop (the outpost that guarded the narrow entrance to the peninsula from the north) (ibid.). Two Genoese forts in Crimea, Sudak and Kaffa, meanwhile, held resolute defense against the Tatar nomads. This they managed with much success, because the latter lacked the knowledge of sophisticated siege technologies. In addition, the Genoese plotted actively to estrange different Crimean Tatar political parties from each other, and to gain support of the stronger side (ibid.).

In the course of one of such internal conflicts, the party headed by the *bey* (tribal chieftain) of the Tatar clan of Shirins requested assistance from the Ottoman Sultan Fetih Mehmed (also known as Mohammed II ‘the Conqueror’, ruler of the Ottoman Empire from 1451 till 1481), against the Genoese meddling with the internal matters of the Khanate. The Ottoman Empire was eager to extinguish the remnants of Christian power in the Black Sea, and in 1474 the Grand Vizir of the Ottoman Empire, Gedik Ahmet Pasha, was commissioned to the Crimean peninsula, bringing with him a fleet of three hundred vessels armed with the newest and most powerful canons, with the view to eradicate the Genoese colonies and to intervene in the succession struggle between Khan Giray’s sons. The defense of the Italian cities crumbled before the Ottoman attack and eventually fell (ibid.). The Vizir ordered the deportation the majority of the Genoese ruling class to Istanbul. After the take-over of the Genoese towns on the southern coast of Crimea, the Ottoman Empire annexed the conquered territories, and the newly established Crimean Khanate found itself sharing the peninsula with a new neighbor whose power it was not able to control, or subdue (ibid.). As the next step towards gaining full control over the non-Tatar strongholds of the peninsula, the Ottomans attacked the Goths who resided in the mountain plateau city of Mangup in south-western Crimea, and after a prolonged siege of 1475 the city capitulated (Vasiliev, 1936).

Simultaneously with the merge of the Tatars and the Kipchaks, the establishment of the Turko-Tatar authority over the peninsula accelerated the melding of Crimea’s many other ancient ethnic groups into the Crimean Tatar ethnos and advanced their Islamization. Many of the Greeks, Armenians and Italians of the southern coast, as well as

the few Goths dwelling in the mountains, participated in the process of blending and of the formation of the Crimean cultural unity (Williams, 2001).

However, it should not be readily believed that the Tatars of Crimea immediately formed a homogenous ethnic group. Sub-ethnic differences in dialect, lifestyle and economic activity between the Kipchak-Tatars of the northern plains and Tat-Tatars of the coastal mountains persisted up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While the settled mountain Tat-Tatars relied in their economy on mountain terrace farming and sheep herding, nomadic Kipchak-Tatars made their living by roaming across the northern steppes of Crimea and other parts of southern Ukraine with their cattle. Differences between the two groups increased with the arrival of thousands of Kipchak Tatar nomads from the Nogai Horde in the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Having arrived in the peninsula, they were looked down by the Tat-Tatars. However, all of them identified themselves – at least on the geographical basis – with the peninsula and referred to themselves as *Kirimli* (Crimean) (Williams, 2001).

As soon as the Ottoman control was established over Kaffa, this port city became the largest slave emporium in the whole Eastern Europe, for which the Ottomans purchased large numbers of Slavic peasants. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a Lithuanian traveller (quoted in Hrushevsky, 1986) reports:

They [Ottomans] are selling slaves in all the Crimean cities but especially in Kaffa, [where] herds of ... unfortunate folk sold into slavery are driven onto the boats (...). (Hrushevsky, 1986, p. 161).

With the population fluctuating between 75.000 and 100.000, according to Williams, Kaffa was one of the largest cities of the Ottoman Empire, next to Aleppo, Istanbul and Cairo – a “bustling frontier port” (Williams, 2001, p. 56), which boasted a large number of mosques, fountains, public baths, bazaars and medreses (Soucek, 1978). In the chronicles of Evliya Celebi (Celebi, 1961), Kaffa was portrayed as a thriving, populous ‘little Istanbul’. He reports that all mosques were in very good condition, altogether sixty in number (ten large and 50 smaller ones). Apart from this, the city had more than 600 baths, over 1.000 shops and as many as 160 flour mills. The census of 1638 demonstrates

that in the city at the time, there were 8 Greek quarters with 193 households, 13 Armenian quarters with 545 households, as well as 30 Circassian households and 12 Russian ones (Fisher, 1998). However, in the census of 1662 no more Russian or Circassian households were mentioned (ibid.).

In 1532, Khan Sahib I Giray decided to officially move the administrative capital of the Khanate from Kyrk Or to Bakhchisaray (Figure 8). By that time, the construction of Khan's Palace, commenced back in 1503, was completed. So was Zincirli Medrese in the town's district of Salachiq.

The Crimean Khanate continued to weigh politically in the region up to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when it became increasingly difficult for it to match the scope and the power of the flourishing Russian Empire that – at the time – stretched from Poland to the Pacific with its technically advanced, modernized army, the Empire forces invaded the steppes of northern Crimea in 1736 and overtook a considerable number of Tatar villages and towns, including the capital of Bakhchisaray (Williams, 2001). Crimean Tatars remained militarily inactive for several decades afterwards, until finally, in 1768, the Ottoman Sultan raised the Standard of the Prophet and declared a holy war against the Russians. This act led to the unwinding of the Russian-Turkish war (ibid.). In the course of military actions, the Nogai hordes, who had traditionally been the border guards of the Khanate, abandoned the Khan and acknowledged Russian suzerainty under the rule of Empress Catherine II. From that moment on, the Khanate's hope for independence was lost. In 1774, the Ottoman Porte acknowledged the Russian conquest of the peninsula; the two governments signed an agreement, establishing Crimea as an independent vassal buffer state of the Russian Empire. Russia gained the long-coveted access to the Black Sea, making Crimea the seat of one of its most prominent military units, the Black Sea Fleet (ibid.)

While both Russian and later Soviet sources emphasized the positive 'modernizing effect' of the annexation on the peninsula's Tatar population, which were – throughout both the Imperial Russian, and the Soviet times – regarded as a primitive and backward folk, this vision has been sharply debated by their contemporary Tatar sources (e.g. see analysis in

Williams 2001). Having embarked on a Western Enlightenment campaign, Russians claimed to finally have mastered the prevailing cultural ignorance of the local population, exposing it to the advances of Western civilization embodied in the introduction of modern medicine, public education, communication, etc. As the 1953 edition of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* proudly put it:

The annexation of the Crimea (*sic*) to Russia had tremendous significance for the socio-economic and cultural development of [the peninsula]. A profound change took place in the Crimea (*sic*). The construction of new cities began, roads were laid; higher culture began to be introduced, alongside the increase of the acreage of gardens, vinicultures and tobacco. (Entsiklopediya, 1953, p. 552)

From the Crimean Tatars' viewpoint, however, the annexation was a cultural and economical disaster, turning them (after numerous waves of forced emigration from the peninsula to other parts of the Ottoman Empire) into a “minority in their own homeland” (Williams, 2001, p. 74).

The traditional Crimean Tatar way of life, which was based on the indigenous understanding of the locality, was disrupted by the arrival in growing numbers of the Russian settlers who had neither profound knowledge, nor understanding of the land (Williams, 2001).

Having established the protectorate over Crimea, Empress Catherine II embarked on the initiative to create there a centralized khanate, under the rule of Khan Sahib II Giray that was to be based on the Russian state model. However, as Fisher (Fisher, 1967; 1998) points out, she did not take into consideration the scope of disunity within the Khanate itself, the differences between the settled Crimean Tatars and the nomadic Nogais as well as political conflicts between the ruling Khan and large local noble families striving for power. Apart from this, as contemporary observers noted, most Tatars were unsupportive of the newly established Russian protectorate. General Rumyantsev, hero of the Russian-Turkish war, writes:

As concerns the qualities and dispositions of the Tatar people, there is little reason to expect them to remain at peace and make proper use of their independence in the near future. [They are] filled with utter disgust for all benefits associated with her majesty and would never abandon their desire for submission to the Porte as before. (Rumyantsev, quoted in Soloviev, 1991, p. 170)

By the year 1783, Catherine II abandoned her attempts of forming in Crimea of the independent Tatar state and, urged by her closet advisor, prince Grigoriy Potyomkin, officially annexed the Crimean Khanate. Khan Sahib Giray re-settled to the Ottoman Empire, where he was later executed for his 'pro-western' moods (Williams, 2001).

### **3.2.2 Under the Russian rule: struggle and exile**

Upon the annexation of the Khanate by the Russian Empire, many of the noble Tatar land owners from Khan's administration, such as the Shirin, Mansur and Yashlav clans were granted Russian nobility titles and given substantial right of control over the formerly free Crimean Tatar peasantry, who reacted rather passively to the new order, much due to their disinterest in losing some of the privileges they had, which would be the risk should they rebel against the regime. The Russian government, in return, was supportive towards the local peasantry, realizing that their knowledge of the land can be of much assistance for establishing a viable economy (Williams, 2001).

In 1775, under the administration of Prince Vorontsov, the railroad line was laid, connecting the Taurida Province with mainland Russia, thus facilitating the movement of agricultural goods across the Empire. In the same period, telegraph was extended to the peninsula from the mainland, post-houses were constructed, regional museums were founded in Kaffa and Kerch (ibid.). A small and insignificant Tatar village of Yalta on the southern coast of the peninsula gradually began to turn into a popular resort for the Russian aristocracy, while Sevastopol on the south-west coast (formerly a small Tatar village known under the name Ak Yar (*White Precipice*) became the major Russian naval base on the Black Sea (ibid.)

Despite all these remarkable infrastructural advancements, some other aspects of the Russian colonization of Crimea are demonstrative of the negative effect that the annexation had upon the customs, culture, economy and ways of life of the Crimean Tatars. A distinct dislike and lack of respect towards the Muslim culture, alongside labeling it as ‘fanatic’, became increasingly observable among the Russians in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as they found themselves fighting Muslims in several other parts of the Empire, including the Balkans, Caucasus and Central Asia (ibid.).

Inter-religious conflicts began to escalate, which is evidenced, for example, by the accounts of Western travellers, who used to praise Russian administration’s treatment of Crimean Tatars at the onset of Russian colonization of the peninsula, but began to become increasingly critical with regards to the government’s handling of the indigenous local population in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, British traveller Edward Clarke reported that in Bakhchisaray, when the Tatar mullahs ascended the minarets at midday, so as to announce the hour of noon, Russian soldiers “amused themselves” by firing at them with muskets (Clarke, 1816, p. 173). On one occasion, a mullah was shot to death (ibid.). Clarke also noted how in Karasulbazar, Tatar cemeteries were stripped of tombstones by Russians, who went on to re-use them for construction purposes (ibid., 159).

With waves of newly arriving Slavic settlers, Crimea gradually turned into a typical Russian province, akin to others around the empire. Left without their land and engulfed in the midst of the growing Christian population, Crimean Tatars suffered substantial loss of their communal sense of unity and their Islamic identity. As Williams notes:

... for many Crimean Muslims living under Russian rule, the Crimean shores, mountains and steppes had ceased to be considered their homeland in traditional Islamic terms and had been transformed into the *Dar al-Kufr* (‘abode of the infidel’). (Williams, 2001, p. 108)

Perceiving the Ottoman Empire as adopted home, where they can freely practice their religion, the Crimean Tatars chose to flee rather than fight for their rights in a hostile



environment. By 1865, Crimea was left with the Tatar population of only 100.000, as compared to over 400.000 a hundred years earlier (Markevich, 1928, p. 396).

Laurence Oliphant, who visited Crimea in the late 1850s, noted the rapid diminishing of the Tatar population, commenting:

Whole tracts of country susceptible of a high state of cultivation, and once producing abundantly, are now lying waste; their manufactories deteriorating, their territorial wealth destroyed, their noble families becoming extinct, their poor ground down by Russian tax-gatherers, and swindled out of their substance by dishonest sub-officials. (Oliphant, 1854, p. 218)

Another reference that supports this view can be found in the contemporary analysis by the Crimean Tatar writer Mustafaev, who claims that the sole objective of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Russian politics in Crimea was to force the Tatars out of the peninsula – the aim which was reached through repressions on multiple fronts: religious, economic, as well as political. He writes:

Fettered by religious dogma, fleeced by foreign exploitation, without rights, neglected by officials, the [Tatar] people lived for a hundred of years in a nightmare. (Mustafaev, 1997, p. 22)

All this said, it would be wrong to presume the complete lack of nationalist Tatar movement among the population that remained in the peninsula. Quite on the contrary, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the visible rise of the cultural Tatar movement, led by the outstanding Crimean scholar Ismail Gasprinsky (or Gaspıralı, in the original Tatar version of his name). Gasprinsky and his followers commenced a large-scale project aiming at the introduction of a new educational reform that would re-shape Muslim education in the Russian Empire. Referring to themselves as the *Jadids* (Modernists), they succeeded in establishing more than 5.000 New Method schools around the Empire. Apart from this, Gasprinsky was the founder of the first Crimean Tatar newspaper, *Tercüman* (the Translator) that gained wide popularity among Muslims throughout Russia (Williams, 2001).

Going beyond the idea of uniting the Crimean Tatars as an ethno-religious group, Gasprinski (largely inspired by the Russian idea of ‘Pan-Slavism’) nurtured what can be called ‘Pan-Turkism’, i.e. the idea of uniting all Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire, from Crimean Tatars to the Volga Tatars, Nogais, Turkmens, Azerbaijanis, Tats and Ottoman Turks (ibid.). However, no matter how considerable his effort was, Gasprinsky’s notion of the united Turkic nation appeared increasingly utopian in the light of the impending Russian Revolution. Against the revolutionary movement, which engulfed the Russian Empire by the year 1905, the scattered Russian Turkic people felt that their future was far more linked to their immediate territories than to an amorphous Pan-Turkic state, an imaginary homeland (ibid.).

Despite the failure of their global intention, Gasprinsky’s ideas were instrumental to the spread of modernization among the traditional Crimean Tatar communities in Crimea and ignited initiative among many young forward-thinking activists. One of them was the young reformist Tatar mayor of Karasubazar – at the time, the second important Crimean Tatar enclave in Crimea after Bakhchisaray – Abdureshid Mehdi (mayor from 1907 until 1912). Mehdi struggled tirelessly to win back the land given over to the Russian landlords to the landless Crimean Tatar peasants. In doing so, he was perhaps the first activist to appeal to the feelings of the Crimean Tatars towards the peninsula as their homeland, where “every handful [of land] is stained with the blood of [their] ancestors” (Mehdi, quoted in (Seitbekirov, 1997, p. 5). Mehdi’s passionate speeches earned him respect of the fellow revolutionary, Vladimir Lenin, who highly praised the Tatar activist for his avid anti-monarchism (Williams, 2001).

In 1909, a circle of Crimean Tatar students in Istanbul established the group under the name *Vatan Cemiyeti* (‘Fatherland Society’). The goals of the group consisted in the liberation of the Crimean Tatar nation and the revival of the Crimean Tatar identity (Kirimli, 1996). Under the lead of its two main organizers, Cafer Seydahmet and Numan Çelebi Cihan, starting from the year 1912, the group went on to establish a number of secret cells in the Crimean villages and towns. According to Kirimal (Kirimal, 1970), by 1917 such cells existed in every Tatar settlement of the peninsula. The revolutionary program of Fatherland Society called for the distribution of the lands to the impoverished

Crimean Tatar peasants, the end of the power of traditional Islamic clergy, and the political freedom for all Crimean Tatars (Williams, 2001).

Mobilizing the united front of the Crimean Tatars, however, proved to be a complicated endeavor. Historians tend to explain this fact by the existence of substantial internal differences between the divided Crimean Tatar groups, including such aspects as language, origin, geography, and hence, also identity. According to Sevdiyar (Sevdiyar, 1997), prior to the 1944 deportation of the Crimean Tatars from the peninsula, there had existed over 22 local Turkic dialects, whose carriers differed not only in terms of language, but also in terms of physiognomy, skin color and style of clothing, all of which was the result of mixing of various Tatar tribes in the course of history.

Throughout the 1920s and the 1930s, the first two decades of the Soviet rule in Crimea, the major center of the Crimean Tatar movement was to be found in Simferopol, which became the capital of the newly established Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. At the initial stages, the Soviet government reacted rather tolerantly to the presence in Crimea of the Crimean Tatar national movement. Inspired by this, the leaders of Fatherland Society called for the creation of a more official and stable organization for the Crimean Tatars and went on to establish *Kurultay* ('Congress'), with the view to revive the tradition that dated back to the times of the Crimean Khanate, when *Kurultay* performed the function of a gathering of tribal *bey*s. As Williams (2001) notes, this move signified the wish of the organizers to detach the civil Crimean Tatar society from the power executed by Islamic clergy, as no clergy members were involved, historically, in the activities of the *Kurultay*. The newly established congress called for the Crimean Tatar cultural autonomy and insisted on transferring all the lands that prior to the 1917 Revolution had been concentrated in the hands of the imperial Russian landlords, to the Tatar people, whom *Kurultay* viewed as "the exclusive inheritors of this unique historical patrimony with roots that lay in the ... [Crimean] khanate's past" (Williams, 2001, p. 339).

The Provisional Government<sup>12</sup> in Petrograd did not accept these claims and supported state control over the formerly Tatar-owned lands, deciding to keep the conservative mullahs in charge of them as the state's representatives (Zarubin, 1993). In January 1918 a Bolshevik division of marines of approximately 3.000 people stormed *Kurultay's* headquarters in Simferopol and captured the president of *Kurultay*, Numan Çelebi Cihan, and had him killed. Whether this was an impromptu act, or it had been the order of the central Bolshevik government in Moscow, remains unclear. However, the turn of events obviously escalated the conflict between the Crimean Tatars and the Provisional Government and led to the radicalization of the Crimean Tatar nationalist movement. In response, the Bolsheviks ravaged the Crimean countryside and slaughtered massive numbers of Tatars in Simferopol and Bakhchisaray (Fisher, 1978; Williams, 2001).

Contrary to the hopes of *Kurultay* that the Soviet government would requite them for their support in the last offensive against the Whites, the Bolsheviks no longer displayed any interest in collaboration and rashly outlawed the Crimean Tatar party, labeling it counter-revolutionary (Williams, 2004). Lands that *Kurultay* planned to redistribute among the Tatar peasants were incorporated into large *sovkhozes* (state-owned farms).

In 1921, a massive famine struck Crimea, which was to a considerable degree the outcome of the implementation of the irrational *sovkhoz* system that did not take into consideration the previous agricultural practices in Crimea, causing starvation among the already impoverished Crimean Tatar rural dwellers, who had neither capacity, no power to oppress the regime (ibid.). Whole villages perished, with thousands of Crimean Tatars dying. As an example, mortality rates in the Bakhchisaray district alone reached 50% (ibid.).

The rise of Joseph Stalin to the supreme position in the Soviet Government in 1924 marked a dramatic turn in the Crimean Tatar history, putting a start to massive purges among the high-ranking Crimean Tatars. These purges, however, turned out to be

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<sup>12</sup> Provisional government of the Russian Republic that was formed following the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II in March 1917.

merely an overture to further calamities that were to come. According to Cemioglu (Cemioglu, 1995), in the late 1930s over 50.000 of Crimean Tatar peasants were deported to Siberia in the course of Stalin's massive collectivization campaign, on the pretext that they were *kulaks* (well-off peasants). Another Crimean Tatar author, Kirimal, reports that the whole villages were extinguished, with thousands of people sent into exile to the Siberian taiga and tundra, where "people who had grown up in a mild, southern climate and who had never before left their native mountains and the sea coast ... began to die even at the initial stages" (Kirimal, 1970, p. 83).

On May 18, 1944, military divisions of NKVD (the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs) occupied all of the Crimean Tatar villages in the peninsula, and – within one night – had their inhabitants deported to Central Asia (Izmirli, 2008; Williams, 2004). Thus, from being regarded as the *korennoy narod* (indigenous people) of Crimea, with the advantages and rights that this status incurred, the Crimean Tatars were instantaneously 'denationalized', in the political sense. From then on, for half a century, they were banned from their homeland, living as dispersed groups in the Central Asian Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and were forced to adapt to the new life as menial workers, factory laborers, and miners. Up to 1956, they lived in confined, highly regimented, special settlement camps (*spetsposeleniya*) in places of exile, unable to visit their relatives or friends – even in cases of emergency – without the official permission of the camp's commander (Williams, 2004).

In order to justify the cleansing, the Soviet propaganda asserted that the majority of the Crimean Tatars collaborated with the Nazi administration during the occupation of Crimea in World War II. Whether the extent of this claim corresponds to reality, still remains a matter of debate. As agreed by many historians, including Cemioglu, Fisher and Williams (Fisher, 1998; Cemioglu, 1995; Williams, 2004; Williams, 2001), some of the Crimean Tatar partisans did corroborate with the Germans, which can be explained both by their acute dissatisfaction with the recent repressions from the side of the Soviet state, and by their insufficient knowledge of the international political situation. Driven by the hope of deliverance from the Bolshevik regime, they agreed to support the Nazis, who displayed a milder and more tolerant attitude towards the Turkic and Muslim peoples on

the occupied territories than Bolsheviks did. The Crimean Tatars aspired to rid themselves of the oppressive Soviet regime, restore and reopen local mosques, revive the national system of education and consolidate all the Crimean Tatar communities against the policies of collectivization imposed on them by the Soviet government. However, as the same authors stress, many Crimean Tatars fought in the ranks of the Soviet army throughout World War II, as well as served in the Soviet underground as commissars and political instructors during the occupation.

In August 1944, GKO (State Defense Committee) authorized the settlement in the Crimean peninsula of 51.000 individuals, mostly ethnic Russians, in emptied kolkhozes, so as to replace the deported Crimean Tatars (Wilson, 2002). Tatar mosques, monuments and all cultural facilities were destroyed. In 1945, Crimea seized to be the autonomous republic, with its administrative status reduced to *Krymskaya Oblast'* (Crimean region). First, the region was incorporated into the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic), and in 1954, transferred to USSR (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Having found themselves in strange and hostile conditions of the Central Asia, their lives in exile regulated by the severe Stalinist regime, the Crimean Tatars had next to no opportunities for an organized political movement in exile (Cemioglu, 1995). The situation improved slightly in the years, following Joseph Stalin's death, when in 1956 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the anti-Stalinist decree, condemning the former leader's regime, in particular the practice of deportation of entire ethnic groups from their historic territories<sup>13</sup>. The decree released the Crimean Tatars from the administrative supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR; however, it stipulated that they had no right of return to the peninsula.

Throughout the 1950s, the Crimean Tatars' national movement began to intensify, in the form of multiple petitions and letters of appeal to the Communist Party of the Soviet

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<sup>13</sup> The Decree, entitled „On the cancellation of restrictions as to the special settlement of the Crimean Tatars, Balkars, Turks carrying Soviet citizenship, Kurds, Hamshenis, and their family members, deported during WWII“ was passed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of USSR on April 28, 1956. Full text is available at: [http://www.libussr.ru/doc\\_ussr/ussr\\_5080.htm](http://www.libussr.ru/doc_ussr/ussr_5080.htm).

Union, some of which were signed by as many as 120.000 individuals. As Cemioglu (Cemioglu, 1995) elaborates, the tone of these petitions abounded in expressions of loyalty to the overall goals of the Communist regime, and was filled with quotations from Lenin and other prominent Communist leaders. The signatories pleaded assistance for the repressed Crimean Tatar families in exile, and called for the right of return to Crimea.

Numerous initiative groups were created within the dispersed Crimean Tatar communities, whose aim consisted in the promotion of the national movement (ibid.). Gradually, the more radical wing of the Crimean Tatar nationalists began to dissociate themselves from the less active segments. The advocates of this wing believed that the strategy of convincing the Soviet government of the Crimean Tatars' loyalty to the ideals of communism was not an effective mechanism of gaining the government's support and resorted to writing more open, and much less diplomatic, petitions to higher state authorities, demanding justice to their people. As Cemioglu puts it, "they [Crimean Tatars] no longer tried to please the regime, and things were called by their proper (not Soviet) names" (Cemioglu, 1995, p. 96).

This change in Crimean Tatars' attitude towards the government provoked a wave of new persecutions by the authorities of the Crimean Tatar activists. Trials of participants of the national movement became frequent in the 1960s, particularly after the introduction of the new criminal code in June 1966, whose articles allowed for the punishment for "slander of the Soviet system", and for "participation in mass disturbance", both of which largely applied to the activities of the Crimean Tatar initiative groups, alongside accusations of allegiance to "Western imperialism" (Cemioglu, 1995, pp. 99-100).

Repressions persisted throughout the 1970s, and it was only in the 1980s, when the process of democratization began to spread in the USSR, that the hope for return to their homeland was revived in the minds of the Crimean Tatar deportees. In the spring of 1987, the First All-Union Conference of the Representatives of the National Movement's Initiative Groups convened in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The conference concluded with the appeal to the Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev

summarizing the key demands of the Crimean Tatars. The appeal was left with no response from the side of the government, and as a reaction, hundreds of Crimean Tatars arrived in Moscow in July of the same year to demonstrate for their national rights at the Red Square – the first precedent of such kind in the history of the Soviet Union (Cemioglu, 1995). The government responded with the establishment of the State Committee on the Crimean Tatar Affairs. Eleven months later the Committee, headed by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Andrey Gromyko, published the conclusions of its research, which clearly stipulated that the Crimean Tatars' claims for return to the peninsula were ungrounded and that the restoration of the Crimean ASSR was beyond discussion (ibid.). The explanation was that as a result of the post-war demographic changes, Crimea's population constituted predominantly of Russians and Ukrainians, and that the Crimean Tatars would not be able to re-gain their previous status under these circumstances. Understanding that they could not count on the government to return them their land, hundreds of Crimean Tatar families took the drastic decision to return to Crimea, whichever consequences they may have to face. There, they started to occupy empty land plots, first in the Bakhchisaray region, and then elsewhere across the peninsula. Local authorities responded with demolishing illegal settlements and issuing prohibiting court decisions (ibid.). Under the conditions of the gradual rise of *glasnost*' (publicity), peninsula's administration could no longer resort to overt aggression in order to expel illegal immigrants from the peninsula. Therefore, they had to limit their protest against the Crimean Tatar settlers by means of creating bureaucratic obstacles and provoking inter-ethnic tensions between Russians and Ukrainians on the one side, and the Crimean Tatars on the other (ibid.).

In November 1989, the State Committee on the Crimean Tatar Affairs finally conceded and officially granted the Crimean Tatars the right to return to the peninsula. The permission was issued in the form of the declaration, entitled "The declaration on the recognition as illegal and criminal of the repressive acts against the peoples that were subjected to forced relocation, and on ensuring their rights" that was published in the major Soviet newspaper, *Izvestiya*, on November 24, 1989. The document concerned the



restoration of the rights of the oppressed minorities as a whole, beyond the Crimean Tatar case. It read:

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR deems it necessary to undertake the relevant legislative acts towards the unconditional restoration of the rights of all Soviet citizens that had been subjected to persecution. (Verkhovnyi Sovet SSSR, 1989)

With this document, final limitations were lifted, and the repatriation of Crimean Tatars to Crimea began.

In May 1989, OKND (the Organization of the Crimean Tatar National Movement) was founded, which, at its session in June of the same year resolved to provide assistance to the Crimean Tatar Settlers. In 1991, the first congress of *Kurultay* convened in Simferopol. *Kurultay* elected the members of the supreme representative organ of the Crimean Tatar people – *Mejlis*. Coupled with the subsequent dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the formation of the newly independent state of Ukraine, these activities marked the start of the new period in the Crimean Tatar history.

### **3.3 The Crimean Karaites**

#### **3.3.1 Making home in Crimea**

The origin of the Crimean Karaites, a small ethnic group conversing in the Karaite language and professing a distinctive religion known as Karaism, as well as determining the date of their first appearance in the Crimean peninsula has been an object of academic debate for over two centuries.

The Karaite language belongs to the Kipchak group of Turkic languages, which also includes the Crimean Tatar, the Kumyk and the Karachay-Balkar languages. It is regarded as both one of the most ancient Turkic languages that are still living, and as the purest one in the group in terms of its unchangeability through time (Polkanov, 1997).

In the academic discourse, two major theories exist that attempt to explain the roots of the Crimean Karaites, neither of which has been so far recognized by the scholars unanimously. The first of them stipulates that the Karaites are ethnical Jews from Constantinople that settled in Crimea, where they adopted the local Turkic ways, or, alternatively, that they converted local Turkic tribes into their religion (Schur, 1992).

The second line of explanation, supported by the prominent orientalist Grigoriev (Grigoriev, 1846) ascribes roots of the Crimean Karaites to a Turkic group of the Khazar origin. His position was widely supported by many 20th-century academics, including Baskakov (Baskakov, 1957) and Alekseev (Alekseev, 1971; 1972). Alekseev, based on the results of craniological investigations, succeeded in establishing the continuity between the modern Crimean Karaites and the Khazars of the Khazar Kaganate and argued that when, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD the Kaganate was defeated by the Eastern Slavs of Kievan Rus, many of the Khazars, equally hostile to Islam and Christianity, adopted Judaism.

The Crimean Karaites regard their religion, Karaism, as an independent religion that should not be confused with Judaism, irrespective of its Jewish background and the central role of the three sources: the Decalogue, the Torah and the Old Testament, interpreted in a literal manner.

The major premise of Karaism lies in the independent study of the Holy Scripture, without relying on any additional sources of knowledge or interpretation (particularly, Rabbinic interpretation) (Schur, 1992). In order to avoid the distortion of God's words, the language of the Old Testament was traditionally used in religious texts, by analogy with the Arabic language for Muslims and Latin for Roman Catholics. Traditional Judaism, on the other hand, proceeded to collecting and writing down the Oral Law, and creating the Talmudic tradition – the development that answered an obvious need for the traditional laws and precepts to be adapted to the changing historical conditions (*ibid.*).

The Karaites scrupulously observe the Ten Commandments. They steadily follow the words of the prophet:

You shall not add to the word that I command you, nor take from it, that you may keep the commandments of the LORD your God that I command you. (Deuteronomy 4:2)

In the past, the followers of the teaching were called the Sons of the Holy Scripture, from which the word *Karaite* ('reading', or 'adepts' of the Holy Scripture) presumably stems (Polkanov, 1997).

One of the major discrepancies and sources of conflict between Karaites and Rabbanites lies in differences between calendar systems. While the Rabbinite calendar was characterized by sternly pre-calculated dates appointed to each festivity, traditional Karaite calendar was characterized by considerable variability from year to year, the starting point for calculation being the ripening of the ears of barley in the Holy Land that marked the advent of spring – and thus, the beginning of a new calendar year (Schur, 1992). In cases when deviations to the normal ripening period occurred, yearly calendar had to be re-calculated, and Karaite religious festivities took place on different days than those of the Rabbanites (ibid.). As a result, each party desecrated the days held holy by the other. Apart from this, Karaites insisted on basing the beginning of each month on actual lunar sightings. So important was adherence to the religious calendar that even in Karaite marriage contracts there existed a clause insisting that in case of intermarriage between a Rabbinite and a Karaite, the right of a Karaite to follow the prescribed calendar was to be respected (ibid.).

Apart from substantial differences in the calendar, Karaites and Rabbanites had major disagreements in terms of dietary laws, although these were much more marked in the times of co-existence of both groups in Jerusalem (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries) than they are in modern times. Thus, consumption of meat of animals for purposes other than sacrificial was prohibited among Karaites, however, the prohibitions applied only in Jerusalem; elsewhere, the meat of properly slaughtered animals could be consumed. Same concerned the drinking of wine (Schur, 1992). At the same time, Karaites were traditionally less strict than Rabbanites on the Biblical prohibition of “boiling a kid in its mother’s milk” (Deut. 14:21; Ex 23:19), i.e. consumption of meat and milk together. This was not the issue in Jerusalem, as consumption of meat was not allowed in any case. However, outside

Jerusalem, the stance on “meat and milk” continuously caused feuds between the two parties. Finally, Karaites conceded to not consuming milk or butter with beef and veal. The restriction, however, does not apply to the consumption of milk together with poultry meat. Some of the old discrepancies still persist, such as the detailed regulations of ritual slaughter, whereby Karaites up to this day consider the meat of animals slaughtered by Rabbanites as impure (Schur, 1992).

Altars of the Karaite temples – *kenasse* – are oriented to the south. In the northern part the building a balcony with a separate entrance for women is to be found. Unmarried girls are not supposed to visit a *kenasse*. Temples are entered barefoot and before the prayer, ritual ablutions are performed. The *Gakhan* (the social and spiritual leader) and *Ghazzans* (the priests) were traditionally elected positions. Nowadays, divine service is conducted in the Karaite language, for the convenience of the believers (Polkanov, 1997; Schur, 1995).

It is worth noting that some elements of paganism are still strongly observable in Karaites' everyday life up to date. Even the God Himself is referred to by Karaites under the name of the Old Turkic heavenly divinity – *Tengri*. Despite the Biblical commandment not to create an idol, they portray the Sun, the Moon and the stars on Easter scones, which themselves resemble the sun in shape. Apart from this, mythical divinities, *Ulug-Ata* (the Great Father) and *Kargal-Ata* (the Father-Curser) are still very popular in everyday folklore. Mothers would threaten their disobedient children with Kargal-Ata, and scarecrows impersonating the curser are installed in traditional households once a year, so as to wade away the evil forces (Polkanov, 1997).

Independently of its exact origin, Karaism is known to have seen its heyday in the 7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, when it was professed by Iranians, Arabs, Jews, as Greeks inhabiting the territories of modern Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Israel (Schur, 1992). However, by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the flowering in Karaite history reached its end with the decline of its center in Turkey. Following this, new centers arose in Eastern Europe, notably in Imperial Austria, Czarist Russia and later Poland, where attempts of Karaites to establish themselves as an independent non-Jewish minority became observable (Schur, 1992; 1995).

Early scholars of Karaism, such as A. Neubauer (Neubauer, 1887-95), believed that it was Crimea, where the cradle of Karaite literature was to be found, and that it was from there that the Karaites spread to Byzantium, not vice versa. This ‘Crimean theory’ was strongly supported and consecutively advanced by the controversial Russian Karaite leader Avraam Firkovich (whose works will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8 of the present thesis). The famous collector of Karaite manuscripts, most of which he obtained in the course of his extensive travels to Palestine and Egypt, Firkovich authored a much-debatable thesis with regards to the origin of Karaites. Based on materials, which are now largely regarded as a fabrication, he argued that the forefathers of the Crimean Karaites had arrived in Crimea in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, and thusly could not have been involved in the crucifixion of Jesus. Nor could they have participated in the compilation of the Talmud (Schur, 1992).

Firkovich’s theory caused a storm of protest among the researchers of Karaism, such as historians Strack (Strack, 1876), Harkavy (Harkavy, 1909) and Frankl (Frankl, 1876-1884), who disputed the credibility of Firkovich’s stand, maintained that his views were politically motivated, and intended to provide a “scientific” backbone to Karaite national movement. They succeeded in conclusively demonstrating, upon Firkovich’s death in 1874, that his materials abounded in forgeries. Apart from revealing multiple distortions of dates, the aforementioned academics provided proof that several sections of the old manuscripts, which included anti-Christian sentiments, were intentionally omitted, so as to make Karaites appear more supportive of the Russian Imperial authorities than they actually had been (Schur, 1992).

In light of current academic findings, it is assumed that the oldest record of the Karaite settlements in Crimea dates back to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD, which is evidenced by Aaron ben Joseph’s<sup>14</sup> report about the feud between the Crimean Rabbanites and another group of local Jewish sectarians that mentions that the latter would refrain from

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<sup>14</sup> Aaron ben Joseph (c. 1260 – 1320) was a Karaite teacher, philosopher, physician, and liturgical poet. He was born in Sulchat (Sudak), Crimea, and played a pivotal role in the regeneration of Karaism by the help of philosophical elements borrowed from Rabbanite literature (Jewish Encyclopaedia, 1906).

lighting Saturday candles and would not accept the Talmud – both of which is an indication that this group discussed was most probably the Crimean Karaites (Schur, 1992).

Major Karaite settlements in Crimea were concentrated in the two coastal cities: Kaffa (Feodosia) and Gösleve (Eupatoria), and in the mountainous and hinterland districts: Solkhat (the first capital of the Crimean Tatars) and the fortress towns of Kyrk Or (Chufut Kale) and Mangup (Aghiezer, 2003). By the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Karaite community was comprised of more than 300 families (Schur, 1992, pp. 105-106).

Evliya Celebi, the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman traveller, describes the independent status of the Karaites in Crimea in his notes produced in the 1660s. He reports that there existed a local military garrison made up exclusively of the Crimean Karaites, headed by their own commander. According to Celebi, Karaite delegates participated in the sessions of the Tatar *Divan* (Council) of Crimea (Celebi, 1961). This is confirmed by Schur (1992), who mentions that the Crimean Karaites had free access to in Bakhchisaray and were frequently consulted by the Khans on the economic and political matters. Well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century Crimea remained numerically largest and most economically important Karaite center in the world, on which, among other things, a Karaite community in Jerusalem completely relied financially (Schur, 1992).

Crimean Karaite leaders, most prominently Benjamin ben Samuel Aga<sup>15</sup>, steadily pursued a policy of increasing estrangement from other Jewish groups, which could be partially explained by political interests and had as its aim the lifting of the disabilities imposed on the Rabbanites (Schur, 1992). In 1795 a Karaite delegation to Catherine II of Russia obtained from the empress the cancellation of the double tax imposed on the rest of the Jews of the Empire. From that moment on, the Karaites (again, unlike the rest of the Jews), were permitted to purchase land (*ibid.*).

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<sup>15</sup> Benjamin ben Samuel Aga (d. 1824) - leader of the Crimean Karaites and royal treasurer of Khan Selim Giray, the last Tatar ruler of the Crimea (Jewish Encyclopaedia, 1916).

In 1827, two other Crimean Karaite public figures, Joseph Solomon ben Moses Luzki<sup>16</sup> and Simhah ben Solomon Babovich<sup>17</sup>, persuaded the Russian Government to free the Karaites from compulsory military service. In their memoranda to the Russian authorities, the Karaites intensely stressed their antagonism to the Talmud and claimed to be more loyal to the throne and the Empire than the Rabbanites. In addition, they demanded that their official designation be changed from ‘Jews-Karaites’ to ‘Russian Karaites of the Old Testament Faith’, and later simply ‘Karaites’. In 1840 they were granted the status of an independent church and enjoyed the equal standing with the Moslems (Schur, 1992, pp. 112, 114, 116).

In 1839, the Scottish missionaries, Bonar and McCheyne reported approx. 1.500 Karaites residing in the town of Chufut Kale and 5.000 in the whole of Crimea, remark that the local Karaites are “the most respectable of all Jews, men of character and intelligence, very cleanly and industrious in their habits, and much favoured (*sic*) by the Government,” that they are a very moral and trustworthy people who keep to the externals of the law very strictly (Bonar & MacCheyne, 1843, p. 330).

In the 19th century, the center of spiritual life of the Crimean Karaites moved from Chufut Kale to Eupatoria, where the seat of the local Ecclesiastical Management Board was established, alongside the residence of Gakhan, the major Kenasse, the National Karaite Library, and Karaite Spiritual School. In between the onset of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the Socialist Revolution of 1917, a number of important publications saw light, prominently in the magazines, such as “The Karaitic Life”. National and religious congresses took place freely (Polkanov, 1997). During the early years of the Soviet rule, national Karaite schools and clubs continued to function. By 1918, Crimea boasted 9

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<sup>16</sup> Joseph Solomon ben Moses Luzki (d. 1844) - Crimean Karaite scholar. He was born near Lemberg, and later lived in Lutsk, Volyn. In 1802 den Moses moved to Eupatoria in Crimea, where he became rabbi (The Blackwell Dictionary of Judaica, 2013).

<sup>17</sup> Simhah ben Solomon Babovich (1790 - 1855) – a prominent Crimean Karaite public figure and political activist.

officially recognized Karaite communities, 11 temples and 13 educational establishments, and in 1924, the First Crimean Association of Karaite Communities was founded (ibid.).

In relation to the local Jewish population, Russian officials distinguished between two different groups: Rabbinic Jews and the Crimean Karaites (Kozelsky, 2010). Rabbinic Jews included the Polish Jews, who immigrated to Crimea either before or after the Russian annexation, and Krimchaks (also referred to as ‘Constantinople Jews’) – descendants of a diverse mix of settlers, including Sephardic, Romaniote and Ashkenazi Jews. In their manners, Krimchaks were very similar to the Crimean Tatars; they spoke a Turkic language similar to that of the Tatars, but used Hebrew characters for writing. The Crimean Karaites, the non-Rabbinic fraction, distanced themselves from Krimchaks in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and, as mentioned earlier in this section, were recognized by the Russian state as an independent religious group, entirely separate from the Rabbanites, and were granted social and religious freedoms equal to those of the Russian population (ibid.)

Successful integration of the Crimean Karaites into the Russian society, however, did not only secure them economic prosperity, but also invited a severe crisis of identity. An ever-growing number of Karaites used Russian in their daily lives, which resulted in the growing unpopularity of their old Turkic dialect (Schur, 1992).

Several hundreds of Karaites fled Crimea in the course of the Civil War of 1918-1920 that left the peninsula in disarray. For those who remained settled in Crimea, collectivization of agriculture implemented by the Soviet Government in the 1920s-1930s caused considerable economic losses and evoked negative feeling towards the Communist regime (ibid.).

### **3.3.2 Under the Soviet rule: home lost**

After a politically liberal NEP (new economic policy) period that lasted until the end of the 1920s came to an end, religious, national and cultural activities were halted in accordance with the new general national policies of the USSR. Particularly dramatic for



the Crimean Karaites was the compulsory transfer, in 1928, of the Karaite national library from Crimea to the Asian Museum of the Academy of Science in St. Petersburg (Harviainen, 2003b). Within the span of twenty years, between the 1930s and the 1940s, all national Crimean Karaite organizations were banned, the temples were closed, the national library was plundered, and considerable amount of ethnographic material, preserved – even at the risk of life – by the local Karaite community during World War II was destroyed in the post-war years (Polkanov, 1997).

All of these circumstances, alongside the Crimean Karaites' long-standing quest for an independent national stance separate from that of the Jews, resulted in their cooperation with the Nazi regime during World War II (Harviainen, 2003a). Even prior to the actual German attack on Russia, as early as in 1938, 18 Crimean Karaites petitioned to the Reich's Ministry of the Interior, requesting that Karaites should not be regarded as Jews. The request was granted, even though the recommendation of the *Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung* (Department for Racial Relations) still perceived them as “*artfremd*” (of impure blood) (Schur, 1992). After Crimea was occupied by the German forces in autumn 1941, the local administration took the decision to exempt Karaites from the fate of the Jews, on the premise that the former had adopted the Tatar language and had intermarried extensively with the local non-Jewish population (ibid.). They were distributed special identity cards. Historical evidence exists that a certain (however small) number of Rabbinic Jews succeeded in surviving the occupation by posing as Karaites (Harviainen, 2003b).

The Crimean Karaites were thusly spared from the Holocaust. In return, some 500-600 of them served in the Wehrmacht, the Waffen SS and the so-called ‘Tatar Legion’ (Schur, 1992, pp. 123-125). When the German forces had to retreat from Russia, many of the Crimean Karaites who cooperated with the Nazi administration preferred to follow them west. In May 1944 more than one thousand Crimean Karaites were reported to have emigrated to Vienna (ibid.).

The Crimean Karaite sacred sites, in particular Chufut Kale, its temples and the adjoining cemetery, as well as the kenasse of Eupatoria, fell into lamentable condition (Polkanov, 1997).

In 1944, some of the Karaites were deported from Crimea by the Soviet Government, alongside the Crimean Tatars. Approximately 200 Karaites, the majority of them young people, managed to escape from the USSR to Poland, where they were granted permission to re-establish their Religious Board in 1974 (Harviainen, 2003b).

At the onset of *perestroika* ('restructuring') in the second half of the 1980s, after sixty years of prohibition, the national Karaite organization – the Karaite Society of Culture, was revived. The Karaite Assembly of 1989 hosted guests from Ukraine, Lithuania and Poland, and had a profound impact of the awakening of Karaites' national self-awareness. For many of the guests, this was the first time in more than half a century that they were able to rediscover religious services and rituals that had long been prohibited in public (Polkanov, 1997). The Assembly took place in Trakai, Lithuania. By that time, the Karaites of Lithuania succeeded in establishing the Cultural Association of the Lithuanian Karaites, the aims of which were formulated as follows: (1) the awakening of a national consciousness among the Karaites; (2) the cultivation of the national Karaite language; and (3) the re-organization of religious life. These three themes were regarded as constitutive of the ethnic Karaite identity. As a follow-up to the Assembly, a number of meetings, language courses, study groups, summer youth camps, exhibitions and international academic conferences were carried out in Poland, Lithuania and Crimea throughout the 1990s (*ibid.*).

A considerable obstacle on the path of the religious and national revival for Karaites in the initial post-USSR years (beginning of the 1990s) consisted in the lack of adequate literature. Government censorship did not allow publications on Karaites, who were then regarded as close in their origin, language and customs to the prosecuted Crimean Tatars. Old publications, on the other hand, proved to be of little use, because they were, as a rule, written in Hebrew or Arabic, or, alternatively, in the Karaite language, using

Hebrew characters, since none of these languages was comprehensive to most of the modern readers (Harviainen, 2003b; Polkanov, 1997).

According to Polkanov (Polkanov, 1997), only as few as 800 Karaites resided in Crimea at the end of the 1990s, as compared to 4.000 in 1914; 1.200 in 1979; and 898 in 1989. At the present time, the majority of the Crimean Karaites dwells in Simferopol, Eupatoria, Feodosia, Bakhchisaray and Yalta. Apart from Crimea, other compact areas of their residence in Europe are still concentrated in two traditional areas: Western Ukraine (Galicia) and Lithuania.

## **4 ETHNO-CONFESSIONAL DYNAMICS IN THE POST-SOVIET CRIMEA (1991 - 2013)**

### **4.1 Revival of the religious scene in Crimea, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union**

When in 1989, the officially 'atheist' regime in pro-communist Eastern Europe collapsed, from the ruins of the old system emerged a wholly new cluster of independent states, that had to build up their social, cultural, as well as economic, framework from scratch. The role that religion played in the process of formation of new national identities is a crucial issue, which is central for understanding of the present socio-cultural situation in Crimea, as well as elsewhere across the newly formed independent state of Ukraine.

This topic, in the Crimean context, was much researched upon by social analysts, such as Gabrielyan (Gabrielyan et al., 1998), Mal'gin (Mal'gin, 2000), Shvets (Shvets, 2004), Muratova (Muratova, 2005), Kaibulola (Kaibulola, 2005), Yakovlev (Yakovlev, 2008), Ali (Ali, 2009), Nikiforov (Nikiforov, 2009) Shegoleva (Shegoleva T. , 2011), and Izmirli (Izmirli, 2008; 2012).

As the aforementioned authors pointed out, in contrast to other regions of the former USSR, where post-Soviet revival of religious movements was observed throughout, following the prolonged period of forced atheism, Crimea did not only have to deal with the natural rebirth of formerly-repressed socio-religious processes, but also with the formation of the qualitatively new social framework under the conditions of repatriation of formerly deported citizens to the peninsula, which resulted in a drastic change of ethnic (and consequently, religious) composition of the Crimean population. The two decades, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, were therefore characterized by substantial changes in the peninsula's cultural and religious sphere, accompanied by considerable growth of ethnic and national self-perception among its residents.

The situation was complicated by the instability of the transitional political period in Ukraine as a whole, growing economic inequality between different regions of the country, as well as by the emergence of separatist tendencies, against the background of which perceptible revitalization of ethnical and religious factors and the intensification of their impact on the social consciousness of the citizens could be observed. This process, in turn, resulted in the escalation of tensions in the inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations and the increased risk of potential conflicts on ethnic and religious grounds (see Gabrielyan et al., 1998; Mal'gin, 2000; Muratova, 2005; Kaibulola, 2005; Nikiforov, 2009; Yakovlev, 2008; Izmirli, 2008; Izmirli, 2012).

According to the most recent data provided by the Central Department of Statistic of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (CDSARC, 2012), as of 1 September 2012, the total population of Crimea numbered 1.964.200, of which Ukrainians, Russians and the Crimean Tatars represented the total of 95%. The remaining 5% was shared among other minor ethnic groups, such as Belarusians, Armenians, Greeks, Koreans, Germans, Bulgarians, the Crimean Karaites, and (Rabbinic) Jews. 41% of the population was distributed between four largest urban centers of the peninsula: Sevastopol (365.800 inhabitants), Simferopol (364.000), Kerch (157.200) and Eupatoria (122.000) (ibid.). Overall, 63% of the population were urban residents, while 37% resided in rural areas. The latter proportion has increased by 7%, as compared to the previous census of 1989, due to the increased share in the peninsula's population of the newly repatriated Crimean Tatars, most of whom made home in villages and PGTs (*posyolok gorodskogo tipa* – ‘urban-type rural settlement’) (Crimea Online, 2012).

As of 2009, there were 1362 officially registered religious organizations in Crimea (as compared to 37 as of 1989), that serve as many as 50 different denominations, with 2 religious centers, 7 religious administrations, 6 monasteries, 4 religious fraternities and 9 religious schools (CIA, 2009). Although the overall variety of confessions is large and extends beyond the major denominations, two of them are prominent in the peninsula, both in terms of adherents' numbers, and in terms of the socio-cultural influence exerted among the local population. They are Orthodox Christianity and Sunni Islam, professed by the Slavic and the Crimean Tatar populations respectively. Christian Orthodox

Church organizations comprise 42% of the registered religious organizations in the peninsula (38% of which belong to (OUCM) Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate) and the remaining 5% - to (OUCK) Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kiev Patriarchate and other minor Orthodox denominations), Muslim organizations account for 29% (Krymologiya, 2013). In terms of correlation between ethnical and religious affiliations, the majority of OUCM and OUCK congregation is comprised of Slavic Crimeans, predominantly Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians, as well as the majority of non-Catholic Crimean Greeks (ibid.)

The political situation in Crimea in the course of the past 20 years has been characterized by varying levels of conflict intensity between the two major religious groups (Orthodox Christian Russians and Ukrainians, and Muslim Crimean Tatars), as well as between each of these groups on the one hand, and the Ukrainian state on the other. Particularly pronounced were the conflicts between the state and the Crimean Tatars, who found themselves among the Russian majority willing to preserve the Russian mentality, culture and language, while residing on the Ukrainian territory (see Gabrielyan et al., 1998; Yakovkev 2008; Nikiforov 2009; and Izmirli 2008; 2012).

At the onset of the 1990s, the Orthodox Church presented a complicated case, due to the split inside the church itself into three independent divisions, namely: Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kiev Patriarchate (UOCK), Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate (UOCM), and the smaller and less influential Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC). This schism set off in the year 1991, when, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russian Orthodox Church granted the Ukrainian Orthodox Church independence, whereby the former ceased all property claims and acknowledged the latter as its sole legitimate successor in the independent state of Ukraine. In 2005, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kiev Patriarchate and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church signed the Act aiming at the unification of both churches (for more on this topic, see Kozelsky, 2010).

Directly after Ukraine gained independence, UOCM officials embarked on the revitalization of the Orthodox houses of worship. To this end, many of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century

religious pamphlets and books were published anew, in order to re-establish the continuity of the peninsula's Orthodox history, supported by fresh publications by authors, such as Proskurina (Proskurina, 1997), Morozova (Morozova, 2006), Dmitriyeva and Dmitriyeva (Dmitriyeva & Dmitriyeva, 2006), and others. Crimean newspapers, such as *Krymskaya Pravda*, *Golos Kryma*, ran series of articles about local Orthodox Christian sites.

Since 1992, thirteen monasteries have been re-opened under the umbrella of UOCM, including the Assumption Monastery in Bakhchisaray, St. Kliment' Monastery in Inkerman, St. George's Monastery on Cape Fiolent, Cosmas and Damian Monastery in Alushta, St. Paraskeva's Toplov Nunnery in Topolevka, St. Georges's Nunnery of Katerlez, near Kerch, St. Stephan of Surozh Monastery in Kiziltash, near Sudak, Holy Trinity Monastery in Simferopol, Holy Lazar Musomskiy Monastery in Bakla, Apostle Luca's Monastery in Laki, Protecting Veil of the Holy Mother of God Monastery in Ternovka, St. Feodor Stratilat's Cave Monastery in Chelter-Koba, and Annunciation Monastery in Mangup (SCD, 2012). Reconstruction and reopening of the monasteries went along with the foundation of the Taurida Seminary in Simferopol, and the opening of multiple Orthodox kindergartens and Sunday schools across the peninsula (Tavricheskaya Duhovnaya Seminariya, 2012).

The process of revival of Orthodox Christianity in post-Soviet Crimea can be viewed, in general terms, as even and steady, which to a considerable extent can be explained by the fact that Orthodoxy has been enjoying continuous support from the side of the Ukrainian state, as well as by the presence of strong cultural links between Ukraine and Russia. Active in the past twenty years has been the promotion (both by the state and by the Christian Orthodox religious authorities) of the Crimean holy places as pilgrimage destinations. Currently, the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese of UOCM offers a selection of over fifty pilgrimage routes (SCD, 2012). Major destinations occupying the center of the peninsula's Orthodox Christian revival are the ruins of Chersoneses, the Assumption Monastery, and Inkerman Monastery. The Assumption Monastery has its own official website (The Assumption Monastery, 2012) and publishes its own journal, *Krymskiy Afon* ('Crimean Athos').

However, intense revival of pilgrimage to Crimea's holy sites was not without challenges. The territories of some of the Orthodox sites, such as the above-mentioned Monastery of Assumption, are being – at least in part – claimed by the representatives of another ethno-religious group, the Muslim Crimean Tatars. Issues pertinent to such potentially conflicting claims will be addressed in detail in chapter 9 of the present research.

Parallel to the revival of Orthodox Christianity, Crimea also witnessed a steady rise of Sunni Islam, which, as mentioned above, is professed predominantly by the Crimean Tatars. Vladimir Grigoryants, director of the Research Centre of Crimean Studies, argues that the process of Islamic revival in Crimea from the early 1990s until the present day was comprised of four distinct chronological stages: (1) the initial stage of rapid growth, following the collapse of the communist regime (1989-1992), (2) the stage of evolutionary consolidation (1992-1995), (3) the stage of radicalization of Islam in Crimea and its active involvement in the political sphere (1995-2001); and finally (4) the stage of separation of the Crimean Muslim clergy from the radical Islamists and adoption of a conformist position (2001 onwards) (Grigoryants, 2005, pp. 138-139).

Another chronology was suggested by El'vira Muratova (2005), who distinguished three main phases of the Islamic revival in Crimea, namely: (1) institutionalization of Islam (1989-1995); (2) politization of Islam (1996-2000), and (3) evolutionary stage that is still underway (2001 onwards) (Muratova, 2005, pp. 170-171). According to Muratova, this last, evolutionary, phase, is still characterized by the low degree of consolidation of Ukrainian Muslims (Crimean Tatars included) on the state level, whereby they lack a unified spiritual center, through which the Muslims of Ukraine would be able to act as a uniform entity on the national and the international levels (*ibid.*, p. 188).

Presently, Crimean Islamic organizations are overseen by *Duhovnoye Upravleniye Musulman Kryma* (Spiritual Administration of the Crimean Muslims). Under its umbrella, the Administration has 340 local Muslim communities, 96 mosques, and 3 medreses, currently educating 170 young boys and girls. The supreme legal authority of the Administration is *Kurultay* - the council convening every four years, which, in turn, elects the seven members of *Muftiyat*, headed by the *Muftiy* (DUMK, 2012). The supreme



plenipotentiary representative and executive body of the Crimean Tatar people, accountable to *Kurultay*, is *Mejlis*, whose aims are defined as follows: the elimination of the consequences of the genocide, committed by the Soviet state against Crimean Tatars, the restoration of the political rights of the Crimean Tatar people, and implementation of the right to free national self-determination in its national territory (*ibid.*).

From its onset, the revival of Islam in Crimea went hand in hand with close cooperation of *Mejlis* with the Turkish religio-political organizations, both state- and privately-owned. Since 1997 a steady tendency could be observed towards the development of close connections to a number of religious organizations in the Arab countries, which – first and foremost – was motivated by financial considerations. Thus, according to Muratova (*Muratova, 2005, p. 177*), 49% of all Crimean mosques were constructed by Ukrainian non-profit organizations, sponsored by Saudi Arabia (*Ar'Raid, Birlik, Zam-Zam, Caap-Foundation*). As Idil Izmirli's 2011 research (*Izmirli, 2012*) reveals, *Ar'Raid* was initially registered in Ukraine back in 1997 as a community organization initiated by Arab students from the Gulf region. Ten year later, in 2007, it was re-registered as the all-Ukrainian charitable organization, and member of the Federation of Islamic Organizations of Europe (FIOE). Izmirli's interview with the head of the Simferopol Chapter of *Ar'Raid* reveals that this organization is actively involved in the construction and restoration of mosques and elementary schools. It offers free Qur'an courses to the wide public, as well as free courses of the Arabic language. The organization donates food to needy families during religious holidays, provides support to under-aged orphans and organizes summer camps for teenagers. Financing for the above-mentioned initiatives comes from Qatar, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Islamic Development Bank (IDB), and the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). Approximately another 27% of the projects are sponsored by the Turkish government bodies, prominently, the Ministry of Religion. Only as little as 10% of the mosques were financed by the Crimean Tatars themselves (*Izmirli, 2012*).

As Muravota (*Muratova, 2005*) notes, cooperation between *Mejlis* with the international Islamic institutions is carried out in several directions simultaneously: firstly, it is spiritual education and training of the Crimean Tatar prospective clergymen abroad (mainly, in

Turkey); secondly it is the humanitarian activity carried out by non-profit Islamic organizations; thirdly, it is the public-awareness-raising initiatives carried out by the representatives of foreign Islamic organizations in Crimea. With the financial support of the Turkish government, a number of promising graduates of Crimean medreses have received grants for further religious education in Turkey and have been given a choice of employment opportunities either inside, or outside, Crimea (ibid.).

Anssi Kullberg (2004), likewise, stresses the significance of the Turkish religious influence in the peninsula in the post-Soviet period, in terms of promotion of Islam. At the same time, Kullberg stresses that even those Turkish Islamic foundations that could be described as Islamist are hardly radical. While the majority of the Crimean Tatars are Muslims, one must not forget that they are also the product of the Soviet system, which altogether prohibited religious practices. The political dimension of Islam remained overshadowed by its cultural and emotional dimensions, whereby those Crimean Tatars who perceive Islam as an integral part of their ethno-cultural identity, focused on re-discovering and reviving the everyday religious tradition of their people, clearly welcoming Turkish-style secular Islam. In view of this, the establishment of radical sects in Crimea is not appreciated. There are only very few indications of religious radicalism or extremism on the part of the Tatars (Kullberg, 2004; Izmirli, 2008).

According to Izmirli (Izmirli, 2008), the majority of the Crimean Tatars opposes political Islam as a leadership style and rejects the possibility of 'a world caliphate' under Islamic – and not national-territorial – leadership. As the author found in a series of interviews carried out among the Crimean Tatar respondents, most interviewees considered the idea of such trans-national Islamic state unrealistic, and even unwanted, because to them the core identity is their Crimean Tatar ethno-national identity, which they were not ready to sacrifice for any cause.

At the same time, the Republican Committee of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in International Relations and the Affairs of Deported Citizens (RCADC) notes how in the last decade, a growing influence of foreign Arab countries on the Crimean Muslim communities could be observed, first and foremost, through civil organizations initiated

by the Arab students, currently studying in Crimea, as well as by foreign citizens (predominantly from Kuwait, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia), who own touristic businesses in the peninsula. It was with the encouragement of these organizations that the new, and more radical, Islamic political movements began to form in Crimea, notably, under the influence of *Hizb ut-Tahrir* (The Liberation Party) (RCADC, 2011). Still, it appears that only a small minority of Crimean Tatars who have ceased hope of resolving their land- and property-related issues with the help from *Mejlis*, or the Ukrainian state as a whole, are drawn to these extremist groups. *Kurultay* repeatedly condemned *Hizb ut-Tahrir's* activities, stating that the major intention of this political organization appears to be implanting anxiety and unrest among the local Muslims, and nurturing separatist tendencies. At the same time, *Kurultay* expressed their steady support of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Crimea and its efforts towards sustaining the spiritual unity among local Muslim communities, as well as promotion of tolerance towards non-Muslim Crimeans (ibid.).

In Grigoryants' (Grigoryants, 2005) view, the fact that *Mejlis* and the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea favor the Turkish religious approach is not coincidental. Secular social structure of the Turkish society easily allows to subdue religion to ethnic interests. Apart from this, connection between the repatriated Crimean Tatars and their relatives, who retained their residence in Turkey remains close. At the present time, according to Grigoryants (ibid.), it is possible to define four major sources of Islamic influence in Crimea: (1) "Turkish Islam"; (2) adherents of radical Islamic denominations stemming from the Arab countries; (3) radical Islamist refugees from Chechnya and other North Caucasus republics; and (4) radical Islamist refugees from Central Asia, who took permanent residence in Crimea.

Brian Glyn Williams conducted an extensive research on the Crimean Tatars in the early 2000s and arrived at the conclusion that the Crimean Tatars are secular nationalists who view Islam as an important sub-component of their long-repressed national identity, as well as its defining feature. Like any other ethnicity that dwelt on the territory of the former Soviet Union, the Crimean Tatars are looking up to religion to provide them with a spiritual grounding in the unstable post-Soviet context. "I found no evidence of any sort

of Muslim fundamentalism”, Williams continues, “among the secularized Crimean Tatars who are nationalists, not Islamists” (Williams, 2004, p. 154).

This view is supported by Mara Kozelsky (Kozelsky, 2010), who points out that while the Crimean Tatars themselves admit that radical Islamic organizations are seeking to recruit new supporters in Crimea, the vast majority of the local Muslim population sternly rejects violence as a bargaining tool and has no wish to endanger their welfare in the peninsula.

## **4.2 Return of the deported citizens: challenges of repatriation**

Mass repatriation of the Crimean Tatars that began after 1989 resulted in the creation of a powerful Muslim community on the territory that used to be almost homogeneously Slavic (see Grigoryants, 2005; Muratova, 2005; Kaibulola, 2005; Izmirli, 2008); this notwithstanding the repatriation the Crimean Karaites (see (Shegoleva, 2011) – a much smaller ethno-religious group, however in no way less vigorous and determined to resume active community life in the peninsula.

Williams (2001) reports that the process of migration of the Crimean Tatars from Central Asia to Crimea was a highly organized event. He writes:

Whole collective farms, neighborhoods or extended families migrated together and were met by Crimean Tatar leaders awaiting them in the (*sic*) Crimea. Parties of Crimean Tatars would arrive in tent camps set up for them in advance in the main square in Simferopol and would join in *samozakhat* (self-seizure) “raids” on unused land belonging to the state or collective farms in the Crimean countryside. In this fashion Crimean Tatar settlements appeared throughout the Crimean countryside and leaders were democratically elected from these settlements to represent their community in (...) the *Mejlis*. (Williams, 2001, p. 440)

According to 2001 Ukrainian population census, 243.400 Crimean Tatars returned to the peninsula in the period between 1989 and 2000. This estimation excludes the city of Sevastopol, where another 1.800 Crimean Tatars have taken permanent residence within

the same period. Total increase of Crimean Tatar population, therefore, constituted some 245.200 individuals, or 10% of peninsula's population (12,1% excluding Sevastopol) (SSCU, 2001).

As of 2011, estimated 270.000 Crimean Tatars have returned to Crimea since 1989, while another 100.000 remain in the places of their exile in Uzbekistan (80.000), in other Central Asian former republics of the USSR, as well as in Russia (RCADC, 2011).

The process of the Crimean Tatar's repatriation was accompanied by complications of socio-economic and political character. Thus, only the first waves of returnees that arrived in Crimea before November 1991 were granted Ukrainian citizenship unconditionally. As Mal'gin (Mal'gin, 2000) points out, after the 1991 Ukrainian Citizenship Law came into force and until the adoption of the new Citizenship Law in 2001, only those Crimean Tatars who had been born and permanently resided on the Ukrainian territory were granted the right to obtain Ukrainian citizenship, thus making a large portion of the returnees ineligible. They remained noncitizens, which also meant ineligibility for employment, social services, or a Ukrainian internal residence permit, *propiska*, which is mandatory for basic communal services, such as gas, electricity and sewage. According to Izmirli (2008), even with the introduction of the new, milder, Citizenship Law of 2001, some 18.000 repatriates remained unregistered up to the time of her research. Larger part of the Crimean Tatar population of the peninsula were either under- or unemployed. Many of them were unable to find work in their professional capacity and were forced to resort to menial jobs, even if they had a high level of education. Since their return to Ukraine, none of the repatriates was financially compensated for the trauma and loss of property induced by the deportation (ibid.).

Izmirli's extensive study on the various aspects of resettlement dynamics of the Crimean Tatar returnees (ibid.) yielded some very revealing examples of the difficulties that surrounded the process of Tatar repatriation, in relation to such issues as land and housing deficiencies, oppressive language policies, political exclusion and ethnic clashes with other local ethnic groups.

Thus, with regards to housing deficiencies, Izmirli reports that over 128.000 returnees had no permanent housing; more than 15.000 were on the waiting list for state-sponsored housing projects. About 25.000 Crimean Tatars resided in rented apartments or dormitories much resembling Soviet communal apartments with scarce sanitary and cooking facilities. Over 50% of the families that were able to obtain land plots reported that they had not been able to complete the construction of their houses due to financial problems and were thusly forced to live in partially built, unfinished houses, some of them having only one habitable room for the whole family and lacking basic necessities such as water, heat and electricity (Izmirli, 2008).

Despite their continuous appeals for restitution and compensation for the lost property and rights, the Crimean Tatars were refused land, which was allocated to other, primarily Slavic, individuals, instead (ibid.). As a result, the Tatar repatriates had to resort to collective seizing of the land as a form of non-violent strategy, squatting unoccupied plots on the outskirts of the cities and residing in tents and temporary house boxes for as long as months, or even years, in the hope of being finally granted permission from local authorities to live there legally. The *Mejlis* banned squatting, fearing possible confrontations with the authorities, however, to no avail (ibid.). Since squatting had never before been used by any other national minorities in Ukraine, there existed no law regulating legal sanctions that were to be taken in such cases. Finally, in 2003, the new version of the Criminal Code of Ukraine was passed, which stipulated punishments, such as fines, forced work, and even imprisonment – for squatting (ibid.).

More recent data, offered by the Republican Committee of International Relations, confirm that as of September 2011, 75% of the 300 returnees' compact settlements were provided with running water, but only 25% had access to the central gas system. Sewage system was absent in almost all settlements, alongside quality road access. To the same date, over 7.500 Crimean Tatar families were still waiting to obtain state-sponsored apartments. 16.000 families have not been able to complete the construction of their own houses on the privately acquired land plots (RCADC, 2011).

The issue that proved very prominent in Izmirli's study was the 'negative labeling' of the Crimean Tatars from the side of the Russophones, based on their religion and the purported dangers of manifestations of Islamic extremism (although, as mentioned earlier in this section, Izmirli's interview results proved no actual tendency towards radical religious action among the Tatars themselves).

This said, the question of indigenesness and cultural-political autonomy, based on ethnic rather than religious premises, is quite pronounced. Thus, Izmirli's survey (Izmirli, 2008) indicated that 54,3% of the Crimean Tatar returnees aspire to achieve both cultural and political autonomy in Crimea and believe that such autonomy would improve the current situation. The question of autonomy is closely linked in the minds of the Crimean Tatars with that of indigenesness. Even though, in the 'numerical' sense, they are a minority, the Crimean Tatars believe strongly that they are the only truly 'native' people in the peninsula, and that Crimea is their homeland, while other ethnic groups are merely migrants who arrived in the peninsula from different parts of the Soviet Union (*ibid.*). None of them has the history of the nation, or the state, in Crimea, as opposed to the Crimean Tatars, with their legacy of the Crimean Khanate. Therefore, they feel entitled for autonomy and strive for their own Constitution. Only under these conditions complete cultural revival of the Crimean Tatars as a nation can be enabled. However, the Tatars stress that other ethnic groups are welcome to stay in Crimea and will be granted full freedom of religious and expression within the aspired Crimean Tatar autonomy (*ibid.*).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> In Izmirli's view, the problem of indigenesness is rooted in the text of the Ukrainian Constitution. While recognizing the differences between indigenous peoples and national minorities, the document does not specify any criteria for establishing these differences. Thus, Article 11 stipulates that the Ukrainian state should facilitate the growth and development of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious aspects of all the indigenous peoples and national minorities in Ukraine. Article 29 states that the rights of the indigenous peoples and national minorities are to be determined by Ukrainian law. Article 119 stipulates that local state administrations should support programmes on the national-cultural development of indigenous peoples and national minorities in the areas of their compact settlements. However, neither of the term 'indigenous people', nor the term 'national minority' is explicitly defined. All these articles, Izmirli insists, are vague, and hence ambiguous in terms of application (Izmirli, 2008, p. 245).

In light of all written above, major grievances of the Crimean Tatars can be summarized in the following way. Firstly, they address a number of existing political and legal aspects, namely: (a) absence of legal measures to compensate for the losses experienced during the deportation; and (b) under-representation of Crimean Tatar deputies in local authorities. Secondly, they touch upon socio-economic deficiencies, namely: (a) unsatisfactory living conditions; (b) low employment level, coupled with pronounced discrimination on the religious and ethnic premises; and (c) unbalanced, corrupted schemes of distribution of land plots. Finally, in the socio-cultural field, Tatars feel that they are not provided sufficient means from the local budget for maintenance and restoration of religious buildings of national significance, while Orthodox Christian buildings and sites receive disproportionately large monetary support. In Crimea, this problem appears to be acute, since most of the administrative decisions taken with regards to Crimean Tatars' claims are resolved by members of authorities, most of whom are Christians.

As one of Kozelsky's interviewees promptly commented:

Property was returned to churches mostly on the basis of only one criterion, namely, denominational affiliation and the religious inclinations of the officials who made decisions about the return of the property. (Kozelsky, 2010, p. 189)

Similarly to the rise of Orthodox Christianity and Sunni Islam, Karaism, has experienced its revival during the two decades following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The extent and scale of this process was, perhaps, not as noticeable as was the case of the two leading religious denomination. However, the possibility to finally be able to freely practice their religion was of crucial importance for the Crimean Karaite community, who have been eager to fight for the right to access and use the locations their ancestors had regarded as holy. Duygu Varol (Varol, 2008), a Turkish researcher, who conducted an extensive study of the Crimean Karaites, their religion and traditions in 2008, carried out a series of interviews with the representatives of the Crimean Karaite community. Varol reports that Saturday prayers at the kenasse in Eupatoria are attended by approximately twenty people, mostly elderly members of the community. The *Ghazzan*, however, related that during the feasts, the numbers double. In the course of the



interviews, some of the attendees reported to the researcher that the reasons they partake in the prayers at the *kenasse* are much rather related not to the religion itself, but to the social function thereof. Thus, one of the interviewees, remarks:

I enjoy coming to the *kenasse*, I come [here] to meet with our people, *kenasse* is a meeting place for me. The visits to the *kenasse* are interesting, but I do not want to learn anything new about religion. (Varol, 2008, p. 82).

As Tatiana Shegoleva (Shegoleva, 2011) notes, the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century were characterized by the new wave of search for self-identification among the newly-repatriated Crimean Karaites, the main trend being increased internal de-Judaization, i.e. the denial of the relevance of Jewish heritage for the Karaite culture and history, and simultaneous absolutization of the Turkic (Khazar) origin stance. This point of view is supported by Varol, who quotes one of her interviewees as saying (when asked about the current relations between the Karaites, the Crimean Tatars, and the Krimchaks who profess Rabbinic Judaism):

Krymchaks are good people but accept the religion of the Jews, Judaism, as their religion. This belief affected them negatively during the war. Since they were registered as “Jew” in their passports, they have been subjected to genocide by Germans. On the other hand, as we were registered as “Karaim” (...), Germans didn’t kill [us]. The Crimean Tatars are also nice people; we are both of Turkic descent. We all lived together in the region (...). (Varol, 2008, pp. 85-86).

When interviewing the Chairwoman of the Karaite Association of Simferopol, Varol received a similar response. The interviewee explained:

After one of my speeches, a Jew came to me and said that I was a Jew. Then a Tatar, who was also there, said that I was Crimean Tatar. I said, I was neither Jew, nor Tatar and tried to explain that we were a different nation. We have good relations with everyone, but we do not like to be seen as Jews. (...). (Varol, 2008, p. 85)

A small *kenasse* was restored and re-opened in Eupatoria in 1999, and services were resumed. Restoration of the Large and Small *kenasses* in Chufut Kale is underway.

Unlike the strongly organized and highly politicized Crimean Tatar community, the Crimean Karaites are a very small community comprised of no more than 800 individuals. On the Crimean scale, their problems, claims and aspirations remain largely 'invisible'. In particular, this 'invisibility' and non-involvement of the Karaite representatives in the process of protection of their local cultural heritage is manifested in the community's longstanding conflict with Bakhchisaray Historical and Cultural Preserve (BHCP), with regards to access and use with religious and communal purposes of the two major Karaite sacred sites in the peninsula – the cave town of Chufut Kale and the sacred Oak Grove of Balta Tiymez with the old Karaite cemetery. Both of these sites comprise the 'Karaite cluster' of case studies explored by the current thesis. The nature and character of this conflict will be investigated in detail, as part of case studies assessment.

An indispensable contribution to the stock of knowledge on Crimea's social and religious dynamics has been made by Razumkov Centre – a non-governmental think tank founded in 1994, which carries out research of public policy. Results of the center's public opinion polls carried out within the last decade provide crucial statistical data on the opinions of the peninsula's poly-ethnic and poly-confessional population and change thereof in the course of the recent years (Razumkov Centre 2011).

Between the years 2008 and 2011, Razumkov Centre carried out a number of surveys, investigating into the public opinions of the Crimeans of different ethnic and confessional affiliations with regards to inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations, languages, cultural traditions, as well as perceived discrimination on ethnic and religious grounds.

In one of the polls, 2020 Crimeans aged 18 and above, were asked the question, "What is your opinion with regards to the following religious denominations: Orthodoxy (in general), Ukrainian Orthodoxy (Moscow Patriarchate), Russian Orthodoxy, Ukrainian Orthodoxy (Kiev Patriarchate), Islam, Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, Greek Catholicism, Roman Catholicism, Judaism, Protestantism, Evangelism, and eastern religions, such as Buddhism?". As we can observe from the results of the poll, the opinions of the Ukrainian and Russian respondents largely coincide, in relation to both churches,

with UOC (Moscow Patriarchate) leading the poll and evoking positive attitudes among over 70% of both Ukrainian and Russian respondents. Russian respondents' positive answers exceed those of Ukrainians by no more than 2%, which leads us to conclude that there are slight to no differences between the two Slavic groups, when it comes to the evaluation of UOC (Moscow Patriarchate) (ibid.).

Slavic respondents' feelings towards UOC (Kiev Patriarchate) are similarly uniform, with 20% and 17% of Ukrainian and Russian respondents, respectively, evaluating their attitudes as positive; 51% and 52.3% respectively as indifferent (figures almost 5 times higher than those for UOC (Moscow Patriarchate)); and 7% and 7.2% respectively as negative (3.5 times higher than those for UOC (Moscow Patriarchate) (ibid.). These numbers testify to obvious unpopularity of Kiev Patriarchate in Crimea and clearly reflect the existing disposition of power between the two patriarchates in the peninsula.

Feedback from the Crimean Tatar respondents with regards to the same two denominations indicates that the Crimean Tatars view UOC (Moscow Patriarchate) more positively than UOC (Kiev Patriarchate) – 16.5% and 8.2% respectively; in relation to both Kiev and Moscow Patriarchate, equal number of respondents evaluate their feelings to both Kiev and Moscow Patriarchate as negative (12%); 40.7% and 48.9% of respondents stated their indifference towards UOC (Moscow Patriarchate) and UOC (Kiev Patriarchate), respectively. A relatively high proportion of the Crimean Tatar respondents claim that they do not engage themselves with the thoughts about the two Orthodox Churches (28.5% for Moscow Patriarchate and 29.3% for Kiev Patriarchate). Correlation between these numbers leads us to conclude that in their majority, the Crimean Tatars do not nurture any negative feelings towards Orthodox Christianity as a whole, with 82% of the Crimean Tatar respondents displaying no hostility towards Christian faith and almost half them expressing neutral feelings towards it (ibid.). It follows that ethno-confessional conflicts between the Slavic population of the peninsula and the Crimean Tatars are more likely caused by practical, secular, factors, such as political and economical grievances of one or the other side, than from collisions on religious grounds per se. The same is confirmed by the results of the opinion poll regarding attitudes, among Slavic and Tatar respondents, towards Islam.

Half of both Ukrainian and Russian respondents display indifference towards Islam as a religion, and only as few as 7% of the respondents from both groups view it as negative. It must be noted, however, that attitudes on the ‘positive’ scale differ from figures regarding attitudes towards Orthodox Christianity, namely, it appears that the Crimean Tatars are more vehement in their religious feelings than the Ukrainians and Russians. Thus, 89% of the Crimean Tatar respondents evaluated their attitude towards Islam as positive (compare to an average of 70% on the ‘positive’ scale among the Ukrainians and Russians in the case of UOC), which indicates that the Crimean Tatar community is more unified on the premises of religion than the Slavic one. Almost equal proportions of Ukrainians and Russians view Islam as negative (14.9% and 13.9% respectively), which is a slightly higher number than that of negative attitude among the Crimean Tatars towards Orthodox Christianity (12% in average, for both Patriarchates) (ibid.). However, neither of the numbers reveals palpable hostility of Crimean Slavs towards Islam as a religion denomination, and this, again, points to the fact that the existing ethno-confessional conflicts in the peninsula are not caused by religious considerations as such.

In relation to other Christian denominations (none of which has perceptible presence in Crimea), poll results for both Slavic and Crimean Tatar segments of the population demonstrate a relatively high degree of indifference. While recipients from all the three ethnic groups, despite their indifferent attitude, acknowledge that they are aware of what Judaism is and are sensitized about the existence of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, in the cases of Greek and Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Evangelism and Eastern religions large portion of the respondents seem to be scarcely informed (ibid.). The major conclusion that can be drawn from the results of these polls is that the Crimeans, irrespectively of whether they are Slavs or Tatars, display little knowledge of, or interest towards, religious denominations, other than those that dominate the religious space of the peninsula. It can hardly be expected that these other religions play a decisive role in the shaping of inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations among the Crimean population at the present moment, or in the near future.

In another poll conducted in 2011 among 2020 Crimean Muslims, aged 18 and above, the respondents were asked the question “What does Islam mean to you, primarily?”.

The results of the poll demonstrate clearly that for 94% of average Crimean Muslims, Islam is not a political issue, but a doctrine professing positive attitude towards others (irrespectively of their religion) and generally, non-violence. Less than 1% of respondents see self-sacrifice as part of a Muslim's lot, and 1.5% view Islam as an imperative calling for struggle with evil (ibid.). Combined with the results of the poll on Crimean Tatars' attitude to other religions discussed above, figures demonstrate that whichever tensions may arise between them and other, non-Muslim residents of the peninsula – they are hardly motivated by discrepancies in religious ideologies.

Of interest are the results of two other polls, conducted by the same research center in 2009. In the first one, 2,016 Ukrainian, Russian and Crimean Tatar respondents aged 18 and above were asked, “Do you agree with the statement that there exist no differences between ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians living in Crimea, and that two of these groups comprise one socio-cultural entity?”. As it can be observed, more Russians (40%) than Ukrainians (35%) are positively sure that ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians constitute a homogenous community; another 36% and 40%, respectively, rather agree than disagree with the statement (ibid.). In other words, the absolute majority of the respondents, both Ukrainians and Russians, recognize no particular cultural differences between each another in the social or cultural terms.

The Crimean Tatars do not share the same position, whereby only 49% of the respondents more or less agree with the statement (28.8% agree totally, and 20.1% rather agree than disagree). As many as a quarter of respondents found it difficult to answer the question posed by the poll (ibid.).

It can be concluded from the given numbers that much more ethnic Russians and Ukrainian respondents perceive each other as similar, or even identical, in the socio-cultural respect. A half of the Crimean Tatar respondents, on the other hand, do not view them as such and differentiate clearly between the two Slavic groups.

The second poll posed the question, “Do you consider that all Crimeans, regardless of their ethnic origin, possess common qualities that differentiate them from Ukrainians,

Russians and representatives of other ethnic groups?”. This poll was carried out among 2,016 respondents of different nationalities, aged 18 and above. The results demonstrate that slightly more respondents (43% against 34%) are positive that there exists something that we may call ‘Crimean identity’, and that it is shared by all the inhabitants of the peninsula, whether they are Slavs or Tatars, Christians or Muslims (ibid.).

To conclude the chapter, we shall identify the main issues that shape the relations between different ethno-confessional groups residing in Crimea; these are, at the same time, the risk factors that can be identified as potential triggers for ethno-confessional conflicts.

Based on the results of public opinion polls, there does not appear to exist a confrontation among the three most numerous ethnic groups (Ukrainians, Russians and the Crimean Tatars) due to animosity on purely religious grounds. Neither Orthodox Christians, nor Muslims view each other’s beliefs as hostile, dangerous, or unacceptable from moral or ethical positions. However, inter-ethnic conflicts do occur and are motivated by other reasons than confessional differences. The following factors act as clearly pronounced triggers:

- Land disputes: administrative distribution in accordance with the Ukrainian Land Code lead to dissatisfaction among the repatriated Crimean Tatar minority and resulted in squatting of land plots, which had been traditional areas of their settlement prior to the deportation of 1944 (peninsula’s southern coast, alongside the suburbs of Simferopol).
- Politization of the religious sphere: religious slogans are often used as a cover-up in election campaigns by different political actors attempting to lure certain ethno-confessional segment of the electorate. In the eyes of the Slavic majority of the Crimean population, local ethno-religious minorities sometimes “victimize” themselves and exaggerate the degree to which their cultural and religious rights are being violated and manipulate facts, so as to lobby their political agenda.
- Economic inequalities between different ethno-religious groups: this factor is inextricably linked with the previous two. Feeling economically discriminated,

minorities blame the Ukrainian government and the administration of ARC for biased attitude, citing as purported reasons for discrimination their ethnic and religious beliefs, although in reality, one should look for true reasons in the clashes of political, financial and territorial interests.

Overall, it can be concluded that currently, the potential of inter-confessional conflicts in Crimea is palpably lower than the potential of inter-ethnic conflicts in general. The latter have as their major triggers reasons that lie beyond religion, and hostility towards other faiths and religious traditions per se is not pronounced.

## 5 LOCATING RELIGION IN THE SOCIAL DOMAIN

### 5.1 Sociology of religion: a look into the classical approaches

In order to place religion in the social context and explore its roles, one must start by defining what *is* religion, in so far as the current research is concerned. Taking into consideration the abundance, in the sociology of religion, of approaches towards the definition of the term, selecting the most suitable one is no simple task, and it appears reasonable to borrow from all of them.

Definitions of religion in the sociological framework can be divided into four groups: substantive definitions, functional definitions, a combination thereof, and polytheistic definitions. The latter rest on the premise that no single definition can fully capture the nature of such a highly varied phenomenon as religion.

Substantive definitions seek to capture the essential preoccupations and core concerns of the religious worldviews. The role and expressions of religion in the socio-economic context is rather an overlooked aspect. As a result, substantive definitions do not adequately capture the social influence of religious practices and beliefs. An example of the substantive definition of religion, understood as a “minimum definition of religion” was suggested by Edward Tylor in 1871. Tylor understood religion as comprising “the belief in Spiritual Beings” (Tylor, 1871, p. 424). By placing such belief as a central theoretical filter of what is and what is not religion, this definition excludes from religious considerations any form of disposition which does not embody a preoccupation with non-natural agencies (see discussion in (Dawson, 2011)). At the same time, as noted by Shaw and Francis (2008), Tylor’s definition excludes from consideration as religious many practices and beliefs which engage supernatural forces that are not factually “beings” (e.g. certain forms of Buddhism and modern nature religion).



In contrast to substantive definitions, functional definitions aim at explaining the function that religious beliefs play in the societal context. Max Weber, who is widely regarded as the most influential figure for the sociological study of religion, maintains that religious belief and practice are a part of humankind's historical quest for survival, flourishing, understanding and meaning. Weber believes that religion is an inherently reasonable phenomenon that is central to the humanity's endeavor to meet its physical (food and shelter), psychological (meaning) and intellectual (understanding) needs. Maintaining that the "most elementary forms of behavior motivated by religious or magical factors are oriented to *this* world" (Weber, 1963, p. 1), he argues that "religious or magical behavior or thinking must not be set apart from the range of everyday purposive conduct" (ibid.). Weber stresses the centrality of non-rational elements in social action. He elaborates this idea through analyzing the problems of meaning – of evil, suffering, death and other major human concerns – that are inescapable in human life, but cannot be answered in purely scientific terms. In Weber's view, religion gives alternative explanation to these problems, and this not only had profound consequences for the motivation of individuals, but also had an important causal effect on social development as a whole. Weber argues, therefore, for the importance of religion in social action on the grounds of its proximity to powerful non-rational motivational forces and its capacity to provide form and pattern for those forces.

In Weber's view, less complex societies and cultures (in the evolutionary sense) are driven by the brute needs of survival. In such cases, religion assumes a purely pragmatic character oriented to acquiring or protecting basic goods essential for everyday life. As societies progress, their existence becomes less harsh and more secure. The quest for physical survival ceases to be the major quest and gives way to other concerns, such as individual and social enhancement, learning, and aesthetic expression. Religion gradually assumes an ethical role with growingly elaborate doctrines and promises that are limited not only to this world, but also to the afterlife (e.g. heavenly reward)<sup>19</sup> (Weber, 1963).

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<sup>19</sup> The most enduring component of the many worldviews formed through history is religion, with the two major questions being: firstly, what factors influenced the emergence of capitalism in Europe; and secondly, what are the differences between Western and Eastern civilizations that resulted in the emergence of

Weber maintains that the ideal construals such as concepts, values and beliefs have the capacity to influence material processes and practical activities in the sense that they are adopted and expressed in relation to concrete interests and motivations of actual people living in specific social contexts<sup>20</sup> (ibid.) Weber regards humanity's urge to understand and render meaning as central to the societies' move from primitive communities to increasingly complex and differentiated modes of societal organization – the process understood as 'rationalization' (ibid.). Being a historically important, if not dominant, element of human intellectual and practical interactions with the material and social contexts, religion thusly played profound role in this move from simple to the complex. Central to Weber's notion of rationalization is his belief in gradual devaluation of knowledge and practice that do not originate from empirically grounded rational principles such as calculability and efficiency. To label this displacement of non-calculable or inefficient forms of knowledge (of which religion is a prime example) with modern science and dominance of technocratic systems, Weber uses the term 'disenchantment'.

In another, equally classic, functionalist definition of religion, offered by Émile Durkheim, religion is understood as “a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and surrounded by prohibitions – beliefs and practices that unite its adherents in a single moral community called a church” (Durkheim, 2001, p. 46). Religion expresses internal states of being whose origins lie in external social processes. The functional character of religion, therefore, consists in

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capitalism in the former case, and not in the latter case? In order to answer these questions, Weber focuses on Protestantism (see his essay “*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*”). Using Protestant Christianity as an example, Max Weber asserts that religion was pertinent to engendering the rise of capitalist modernity in the west, notably in so far as it encouraged the believers to maintain some form of a distance from, or indifference to, the world. Eastern religions, on the other hand, promoted engagement with and presence in the world.

<sup>20</sup> Similarly to Karl Marx, Weber argues that different social groups articulate different worldviews in accordance with their collective socio-cultural and economic-political experience. Unlike Marx, Weber does not regard worldviews as mere reflections of material conditions. Rather, he sees them as emerging from the combination of social experience with particular types of ideas, values and beliefs. Following from this, Max Weber sets out to establish relational affinity between different social strata and particular kind of worldview, which inform, promote or restrain certain forms of action (see analysis in Dawson 2011).

reinforcing social cohesion and generating among believers of a shared range of dispositions, such as attachment, obedience and awe, with regards to a given set of beliefs and practices. By doing so, religion, in Durkheim's view, engenders wider social harmony.

Thus, in the framework of functionalist tradition, of which Durkheim is often credited to be the founder, his response to the given problematic lies in understanding the optimal functioning of society through the ability of its members to generate 'social solidarity' through their integration in socially cohesive structures and processes. However, given that humans naturally tend to put their self-interest above those of the social whole, individual submission must be generated from outside and reinforced by means of the power of moral authority sufficient to "tell (a person) to violate his most natural inclinations" (Durkheim, 2001, p. 284) and submit willingly to the interests of society as a whole. As Durkheim notes:

The individual submits to society and this submission is the condition of his liberation ... . By putting himself under the wing of society, he makes himself also, to a certain extent, dependent upon it. But this is a liberating dependence. (Durkheim, 1965, p. 72)

Functionalist approach thusly sees the hierarchical ordering of society as a necessary regulating mechanism and an indispensable condition of its existence.

All this said, Durkheim was convinced that in the future, religion would not fulfill the same functions as before. In the modern world, he believed, religion has become virtually defunct, and if its functions still need to be fulfilled, other agencies have to subserve them. He considered various social institutions and came to the conclusion that only the school and professional associations are capable of establishing a normative consensus in modern, complex industrial society with its elaborate division of labor (Durkheim, 2001). At the same time, Durkheim's views are criticized for attributing society an overly autonomous status from its individual human members and over-emphasizing social order and continuity to the detriment of societal dynamism and ability of transformation.

In contrast to Durkheim's views, Karl Marx maintains religion acts as an inherently conservative force underwriting the existing (conflictual) social relations and prevailing (unequal) structures of power. Religion, as Marx understands it, is primarily an expression of mechanical solidarity applied in different ways to different groups in order to maintain an oppressive system of production. In its essence, religion is "nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces" (Marx & Engels, 1995, p. 8); therefore, the abolition of religion "as the illusory happiness" of the people is a necessary condition for achieving the "real happiness" (ibid., p.3).

While the strength of classical functional definitions of religion lies in their capacity to explain the role played by religion in the social context, their weakness is inability to clearly draw a distinction between the functions performed by religious and non-religious modes of life. Firstly, if we presume that the social role of religion is making human existence meaningful, then in what manner is this role different from a variety of other non-religious ways in which people render their life significant? Secondly, if religion is a tool for promoting social cohesion among believers, then what makes it different from other means of sustaining such cohesion both among believers and non-believers, which are not religious in their essence? Thirdly, is religion still capable of fulfilling its traditional functions in today's society? Finding the answers to these questions preoccupied the minds of the sociologists of religion of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was the period when a stock of new theories of religion came to life, which can be collectively referred to as 'secularization theories'.

## **5.2 The place of religion in a 'secularized' world**

The term 'secularization' derives from the Latin word describing the transfer of material goods or personnel from religious to non-religious (secular) ownership or status. Used sociologically, the term is generally employed to denote the historical transition from a more to a less religious social order. Secularization theories, therefore, strive to respond to

what is interpreted as the decreasing presence and influence of religion in modern, urban-industrial society (Dawson, 2011).

As demonstrated by the views expressed by Weber, Marx and Durkheim, mentioned above, issues related to such theories had been present in the sociology of religion long before the term itself was coined and elaborated in mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. However, it was not until the 1950s that the theories of secularization began to take shape, notably based on the ideas expressed by Bryan Wilson, Peter Berger, and Thomas Luckmann.

Bryan Wilson (Wilson, 1982) defines secularization as the process whereby religious thinking, practice and institutions lose their social significance. He argues that this process has been observable both in Europe, where the decline in church attendance is well registered, and also in the United States, in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Wilson distinguishes between two types of functions performed by religion. Firstly, there is a manifest function – to offer humans the prospect of salvation and to provide them with guidance of how it can be achieved, normally, by ethical action. Although differing from one religion to the other, all applications of the idea of salvation have one thing in common, namely, they offer psychological reassurance and sooth human anxieties and anguish.

Secondly, religion has a number of latent functions, i.e. those that arise unintended and unseen by men as they practice their religion. Thus, the main latent function of religion, in Wilson's view, consists in conferring identity on individuals and groups, or reinforcing the sense of identity derived from other associations or affiliations. By doing so, religions "locate the individual or the group in cosmic space and in an eternal order" (ibid., 34).

Apart from this, Wilson maintains that religion functions latently as an agency of emotional expression and regulation, which is analytically distinguishable from that of social control. This function is performed through providing specific contexts and occasions that facilitate in the individuals emotional expressions of certain types. Ritual, in fact, has a double function: it both facilitates and regulates the expression of emotions.

It provides the occasion and the means for expressing emotions and, at the same time, manages them (ibid., 34-35).

Central position of Wilson's analysis of the latent functions of religion is that religion persists not because its explicit orientations are convincing, but because it serves society. At the same time, he doubts whether this still applies in modern Western world. In order to resolve the doubt, Wilson offers an analysis of latent functions of religion in "advanced societies" (ibid., 36-46).

When it comes to the matter of identity, according to Wilson, we may see individuals or groups seeking reinforcement of their self-conceptions from religious sources, however, modern nation-states are secular in their conception and seldom rely on religious legitimations. Apart from this, an essential "threat" to the traditional function of religion as a facilitator and regulator of emotions lies in the growing role of "vigorous competing agencies" (ibid., 40) which seek to manipulate emotional life, such as television, films and popular music. All of them have in their disposal the channels that are technically more advanced and more effective than those available even to the most influential religious agencies. These modern agencies rarely mobilize emotion for moral causes, except for the cases when morality is politicized and turned into an expression of public moral outrage with regards to a certain kind of injustice. In most of the cases, Wilson argues, emotional control is now left to each individual, without strong or overt public consensus on the matter. In their catering to the new open style of emotional life, modern agencies exercise emotional manipulation and control over large parts of society and trivialize emotional experience (ibid.).

Part of the explanation of decay of religion in modern societies, in Wilson's view, is that religion intrinsically has its source in the community. It draws its strength from persisting relationships in local, relatively stable, groups. This leaves religion very few chances for development in the contemporary Western world, where local communities are fused into wider systems of relationships and turn into integral parts of the "extensive, impersonal, politically-coordinated state society" (ibid., 154). This mode of modern social organization, based on impersonal role relationships, skills coordination and contractual,

formal patterns of behavior differs drastically from life in the community, where individual's duties and prescribed behavior are derived from conceptions of personal morality. A globalized, industrial society needs no local gods, local saints, local remedies, or points of reference (ibid., 159).

An additional problem for religion in the modern world, in Wilson's view, is that religious practice, such as worship or ritual, is necessarily repetitive and needs to be recurrent in order for an individual to develop a sense of commitment. However, in contemporary world, where work activity is strongly routinized, there is a strong tendency for people to look for novel and exciting activities in their leisure time. Religion, by far, is not the source of novel excitement, especially as compared to the resources of modern entertainment industry. On the contrary, in order to function as an agency of solace and socialization, religion "must always be the same" (ibid., 45), and its chances for attracting people in their leisure time is quite limited.

As it flows from the above-said, in Wilson's opinion, secularization is not only a change *in* society, but also a change *of* society and its organization. This change expresses itself in the reduction of power of religions and the declining role of the supernatural. Focusing on the diminishing significance of religious practice for the social system, and not on the decline of religious practice and belief as such, Wilson argues that the process of secularization involves change in three areas of social organization, namely: change in the locus of authority in the social system, with political power becoming free from religious sanction and acquiring its own legitimacy; change in the character of knowledge as empirical enquiry and ethically neutral investigation, which has led to the development of scientific discovery; and an increasing demand that members of modern societies should behave and take decisions in accordance with rational principles. All these transformations are characteristic of modern societies and reinforce each other. Wilson concludes, therefore, that secularization in Western societies has been a phenomenon concomitant with modernization (Wilson B. , 1998, p. 51).

In his analysis, Wilson emphasizes the shift from moral to technical preoccupations of the law that led to the process of children's socialization entirely different from how it had

been traditionally seen. Modern parents no longer attempt to provide children with a religiously supported framework of orientations and attitudes from which judgments on moral matters are to be derived. Goodwill and disinterested commitment promoted by old religion-inspired codes are thereby being increasingly eroded. In modern ‘advanced’ societies, Wilson argues, the function of providing interpretations of the physical universe no longer falls on religion. Humans ceased to rely on religion in terms of information about the natural order – this is presently the task of the natural sciences. Similarly, the social system as such does not any longer depend on religious interpretations of natural forces. Wars, political disputes and entrepreneurial activities today are rarely supported by religious motivations or legitimations (Wilson B. , 1998).

All this said, Wilson still leaves space for optimism, concluding that although modern social system operates without reference to, or need in, the supernatural, some individuals find themselves seeking reassurances in life which this system does not provide. They ask fundamental questions about meaning and purpose, and seek support and reinforcement of their own goodwill and commitment. Here, in Wilson’s opinion, may be a place for religion – a private religion functioning on the individual level. Therefrom emerges the new function of religion: providing support for those who do not find reassurance in the modern social system and are in search for positive values (ibid., 50).

Steve Bruce likewise regards secularization as a symptom of modernity – a gradual but ineluctable process brought on by the cumulative action of a number of key modernization dynamics. The most important of these dynamics are “social and structural differentiation, societization, rationalization, and increasing social and cultural diversity” (Bruce, 2001, p. 258). Structural differentiation manifests itself in the growingly complex nature of modern society, where new environments emerge with their own dynamics and expertise. Related to structural differentiation is social differentiation, whereby modern societies are characterized by a growing degree of diversification of societal structures (e.g. social strata and classes)<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> In contrast to feudal societies (with medieval castles as its cultural and social centres), where there existed a strong hierarchical social structure which was open and clear when it came differences in status, superiors



The process of societization (or, as Bruce also labels it, ‘the eclipse of community’) involves progressive disembedding of individuals from traditional contexts of social reproduction such as family, community, or class. The impacts of societization are two-fold: firstly, it alters the established patterns of social reproduction, through which traditional practices and values (exemplified by religion) are maintained; secondly, it decreases the likelihood of individuals’ routine contact with religious institutions, whose traditional involvement in everyday life (e.g. through education, health, etc.) is taken over by state institutions and other secular organizations (ibid.). Integrated, small-scale communities, Bruce claims, have disappeared, undermined by the growth of large-scale industrial and commercial enterprise and the emergence of modern nation-states coordinated through impersonal bureaucracies – the phenomenon that Bruce refers to as “the development of the anonymous city” (Bruce, 1996, p. 44).

Akin to Wilson, Bruce argues that religion has as its source the community, and it is the purposes of the community that religion traditionally tended to, thus creating and sustaining the common sense of identity among its members. Decline of the community, on the other hand, inevitably meant that people were no longer raised with the same, shared communally instilled set of values, reinforced by informal social controls. Similarly to Wilson, Bruce believes that the modern societal system does no longer rely on the inculcation of moral order (ibid.).

In Bruce’s view, science and technology have given people a notion of cause and effect and made them look first of all for the natural causal explanation of any given event. People began to derive their explanations of life events from rational and verifiable

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did not feel threatened by the presence in their minions in the same physical space that they themselves inhabited. However, this physical proximity of different classes was destroyed by increasing egalitarianism. The more affluent citizens began physically moving away from their subordinates. As towns and cities developed, they did so with clear geographical class divisions. Besides, different social groups began to see the world in different ways. As a result, the idea of a single moral universe all parts of which have their unique place in a single grand design became less and less plausible, which, in turn, has led to the fragmentation of the notion of grand moral and supernatural order into a variety of competing worldviews that different classes developed in order to make sense of their own lives and interests (Bruce 1996, 41-42).

factors. Searching for religious messages became irrelevant (ibid.). However, Bruce stresses that in his view, it would be misleading to think that science and technology turn people into atheists. There are still events and human states, such as unhappiness, extreme stress, grief and the like that cause many people to turn to God. However, they do so in a highly individualized manner, since these are personal, not social problems (ibid.).

Socio-cultural diversity, according to Bruce, results from active physical migration of peoples, commodities and ideas made possible by modern technological development. Contemporary society is turning into an increasingly diverse environment, in which classes and cultures are characterized by their own particular worldviews. Against this background, religious belief begins to be regarded as merely one perspective alongside many others, upon which one may agree or disagree. In other words, religion becomes a matter of private taste. Acting simultaneously with the process of rationalization, socio-cultural diversity both undermines the taken-for-grantedness of religious certainties and disrupts traditional mechanisms of their propagation (Bruce, 2002).

To summarize Bruce's views on secularization, the latter may be sought in three related changes: the decline of popular involvement with the church, the decline in scope and influence of religious institutions, and the decline in the popularity and impact of religious beliefs (Bruce, 1996, p. 26). Differentiation and societization, thusly, drastically reduced the plausibility of the idea of a single 'overarching' moral and religious system, to which all members of the society could belong. Religion became 'privatized', with its focus narrowing down to the individual. In addition, the fundamental assumptions about life became increasingly based on rational relationships of cause and effect, and on the insistence of technological innovation. As a result, the rationalization of the world order has "made it unlikely that [people] will often entertain the notion of the divine" (ibid., 51).

Another sociologist of religion, who contributed substantially to the secularization discourse throughout the 1960s and the 1970s, was Peter Berger, who worked both separately and in academic partnership with Thomas Luckmann. Religion is perceived by Berger as the human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established through creating

a 'meaningful order'. Sacred is understood here as "a quality of mysterious and awesome power, other than man and yet related to him, which is believed to reside in certain objects of experience" (Berger, 1967, p. 25). Bestowing the world with meaning, religion provides the basis of the so-called 'sacred canopy' that protects the believer from the possibility that life is neither meaningful, nor purposeful, the most obvious trigger of human doubt in the meaningfulness of existence being death (ibid.). In his early works, Berger echoes the belief of both Bruce and Wilson that religious worldviews work best in stable, homogenous and undifferentiated social contexts, where the idea of the sacred cosmos is taken for granted. Modern relativization of these worldviews endangers the certainty and inevitability that is essential to humankind's experience of the world. Society therefore becomes more secular, secularization here being understood as "the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols" (ibid., 107).

Peter Berger's early understanding of secularization directly links the social decline of religion (which he refers to as 'objective secularization') with the demise of individual religiosity ('subjective secularization'), stating that "as there is a secularization of society and culture, so is there a secularization of consciousness", whereby "individuals ... look upon the world and their own lives without the benefit of religious interpretations" (ibid., 107-108). At the same time, the demands for competition in the secular market context force religion to adopt the dynamics that have proved most economically successful. Hence, religious organizations increasingly assume the same character of competitive agencies as other agencies in the secular market do (ibid.).

In his studies, Berger pays much attention to religious pluralism, considering that the pluralizing tendencies of modernity are corrosive to religion. Pluralism, according to Berger, is part and parcel of modernization and hence, the increasing mobility of both people and ideas. The contrast between the 'old' and the 'new' world becomes the central feature of Berger's argument. New religious alternatives compete with older traditions. They question the plausibility of traditional beliefs and undermine the taken-for-grantedness of religious thinking – in other words, trigger secularization and change the

way in which we believe<sup>22</sup>. According to Berger, the dialectical relationship between pluralism and secularization can thusly be understood as follows: secularization generates pluralism by undermining the plausibility monopolistic religious institutions and beliefs; pluralism, on the other hand, relativizes the objective nature of religious meaning systems, thereby encouraging secularization<sup>23</sup> (ibid.).

Some of the modern scholars (e.g., see discussion in Swatos, et al. 1998) question the credibility of Peter Berger's early analysis of the extent of pluralism and its consequences, and doubt whether pluralism is a particularly new phenomenon in human history. Similar doubts were cast upon the plausibility of Bruce's and Wilson's positions, thus shifting the study of secularization towards the next phase – the study of 'post-secularization'.

### **5.3 Modern post-secularization theories**

#### **5.3.1 Questioning the universality of the secularization thesis**

At the close of the 1960s, a shift occurred in the sociology of religion, with ever more scholars expressing their doubts as to the imminence and irreversibility of the process of secularization in modern (Western) society.

David Martin (Martin, 1969; 2010), a prolific contributor to the sociological debate on religion, puts into doubt the inevitability of secularization in modern societies and

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<sup>22</sup> Berger recognizes regional differences in manifestation of secularization processes. Thus, he observes that in the European context, the church-related religiosity is strongest at the margins of modern industrial society, both in terms of marginal classes (such as petty bourgeoisies) and marginal individuals (such as those excluded from the work process). In North America, on the contrary, the churches still occupy a more central symbolic position. It may be argued, however, – as Berger suggests – that they have succeeded in maintaining this position only by becoming highly secularized themselves. Therefore, both European and American cases represent no more than two variations of the same “underlying theme of global secularization”(Berger 1967, 108).

questions one-dimensional theories of secularization in terms of their philosophical assumptions, conceptual incoherence and disinterest in historical reality. Martin believes the traditional uses (or rather, misuses, in his opinion) of the term 'secularization' to be "a barrier to progress in the sociology of religion" (Martin, 1969, p. 9).

According to Martin, the whole concept of secularization arises:

... as a tool of counter-religious ideologies which identify the 'real' element in religion for polemical purposes and then arbitrarily relate it to the notion of a unitary and irreversible process, partly for the aesthetic satisfactions found in such notions and partly as a psychological boost to the movements with which they are associated.<sup>24</sup> (Martin, 2010, p. 7).

The most essential point Martin is making is that there is and can be no unitary process called 'secularization' arising in connection with (and a reaction to) a set of characteristics labeled 'religious'. In his view, religious institutions bear no such common characteristics. The said institutions flourish or decline as a result of a complex of causes, not connected to any hypothetical common processes or characteristics.

Peter Berger, himself the adamant proponent of the secularization stance, admitted in his late works that his ideas regarding the inevitability of secularization were imbedded majorly in the Western context, and started questioning his secularization thesis with relevance to non-Western religions. In one of his writings, Berger confesses:

My point is that the assumption that we live in a secularized world is false. The world today, with some exceptions (...) is as furiously religious as ever. This means that a whole body of literature by historians and social scientists loosely labeled 'secularization theory' is essentially mistaken. In my

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<sup>24</sup> For the sake of illustration, Martin dwells on different ideologies, prominently, rationalism and Marxism, and the ways in which they conceptualize and explain the purported secularization. Thus, for rationalists, the ultimate premise is that religion is not true, based on historically involved beliefs that are incorrect, on assertions whose validity is doubtful, and on statements, which by their nature can be neither proved, nor falsified. Further, rationalists proceed to argue that the Church obstructs enlightenment and manipulates education. If people are educated properly, in neutral academic atmosphere, and on the basis of rational values, religion will steadily decline and die out. "The troubles of religious institutions" are thusly "an inevitable prelude to the triumph of truth", where a believer is roughly perceived as a "failed rationalist". (Martin, 2010, p. 8)

early work I contributed to this literature. I was in good company – most sociologists of religion had similar views ... . Some of the writings we produced still stand up ... . Although the term ‘secularization theory’ refers to works from the 1950s and 1960s, the key idea of the theory can (...) be traced to the Enlightenment. The idea is simple: modernization necessarily leads to a decline of religion, both in society and in the minds of individuals. And it is precisely this key idea that turned out to be wrong. (Berger P. , 1999, pp. 2-3)

Further, Berger goes on to concede that even in the Western society, the dynamics of modernity have provoked powerful movements of counter-secularization through which new religious beliefs are taking new institutional forms. While some religions have adapted to modern society, and have thereby contributed to the de-secularization effect – Berger notes – other ‘conservative’, ‘traditionalist’, or even ‘fundamentalist’, religious movements that refused such compromises are, nevertheless, even on the more rapid rise, as exemplified by recent Islamic and evangelical Christian movements. From this, Berger concludes that the most successful types of religion are a combination of “great religious passion, a defiance of what others have defined as the *Zeitgeist*, and a return to traditional sources of religious authority” (ibid., p. 7). The appeal of fundamentalism, in Berger’s view, lies in its “claim to give certainty”. Exactly because the rise of the modern urban-industrial society has undermined the taken-for-grantedness of the religious worldviews, which is, for great many a people an ‘uncomfortable’, perhaps even ‘intolerable’ state of affairs, “any movement ... that promises to provide or to renew certainty has a ready market” (ibid., p. 11).

### **5.3.2 From traditional religious institutions to an individual – the ‘privatization’ of religion**

Interwoven with the idea of counter-secularization is the process of individualisation (privatization) of religion – the object of study of such scholars as Berger’s close collaborator Thomas Luckmann, and José Casanova.

Thomas Luckmann (Luckmann, 1970) agrees that traditional religious institutions were becoming increasingly irrelevant and marginal to the functioning of the modern world. At the same time, however, a common individual remains as religious as ever – religiosity simply takes a different ‘de-institutionalized’ form. In other words, privatization of religion, which is characteristic of modern society, is by no means a sign of an on-going process of secularization, but rather, of mere transformation of the nature or religious belief. An individual’s sense of identity, values, dispositions, attitudes, and self-worth are all parts of his religiosity, because all of these aspects are related to feelings about what makes life worth living. In Luckmann’s terminology, these are the ‘invisible’ forms of religion.

The main point of departure of José Casanova’s (Casanova, 1994) privatization thesis is that the irreversible process of secularization has run its course; that religious beliefs have become subjective due to the rise of multiple interpretations of life, which could no longer be integrated into a single religious worldview.<sup>25</sup> In order to explore this paradox, Casanova turns to the study of private and public religions from the perspective of religious differentiation, such as distinction between ‘individual’ and ‘group’ religiosity at the interaction level of analysis; between ‘religious community’ and ‘community cult’ at the organizational level, and between ‘religion’ and ‘world’ at the societal level. Asserting that such dominant modern models of analysis of the private/public distinction were of little help when trying to grasp theoretically, analytically, and practically the relationship of religion and modernity, Casanova suggests rethinking this relationship in a more systematic way, and exploring the possible roles that religion can still play in the public sphere of modern societies.

Casanova sees the need in refining the theory of secularization by distinguishing between the general historical structural trend of secular differentiation and the various ways in which different religions respond to and are affected by it. He insists that what usually

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<sup>25</sup> Also see (Schluchter 1989, 253-254).

passes for a single theory of secularization is actually comprised of three very different propositions, namely (1) secularization as differentiation of the secular spheres from religious institutions and norms; (2) secularization as a decline of religious beliefs and practices; and (3) secularization as marginalization of religion to a privatized sphere (Casanova, 1994, p. 211). In Casanova's opinion, the only way to resolve the fruitless secularization debate would be for sociologists of religion to begin examining and testing the validity of each of these three propositions independently of each other.

Regarding the first proposition, Casanova acknowledges that differentiation and emancipation of the secular spheres from religious institutions and norms is a general modern structural trend (Casanova, 1994). However, it does not follow that modernity necessarily implies the second and the third proposition: reduction in the level of religious belief or practice, and the withdrawal of religion from the public to the private sphere. On the contrary, Casanova actively affirms and legitimates the public role of religion in the modern world, including Europe.

Concerning the second proposition, Casanova asserts that the decline of religious beliefs and practices is not a modern structural trend, and that the thesis of religious decline takes its origins from the Enlightenment critique of religion. This critique, he argues, was not so much a theoretical statement as it was a practical political program, eagerly embraced by social movements and political parties in an attempt to enforce the process of secularization from above.

Bringing the two first propositions together, Casanova concludes that

... the more religions resist the process of modern differentiation, that is, secularization in the first sense, the more they will tend in the long run to suffer religious decline, that is, secularization in the second sense. (ibid., 214)

and that by contrast,



... a religion that accepts and embraces the modern principle of differentiation ... (and) the modern denominational principle of voluntarism ... will be in a better position both to survive the modern process of differentiation and to adopt some form of evangelical revivalism as a successful method of religious self-reproduction in a free religious market. (ibid., 214)

An adverse case (e.g. the case of post-Socialist Poland) is when the resistance comes in the opposite direction, i.e. from a disestablished hierocratic institution (Catholic church) against the differentiation that was being carried out by the state power, which lacked societal legitimacy. The resistance to secularization was associated with societal resistance to illegitimate state power. In this instance, such a resistance actually strengthened religious institutions instead of weakening them (ibid.).

Lastly, with respect to the third proposition, Casanova agrees that the process of religion's becoming private refers to the very process of institutional differentiation, which is characteristic of the modern social order, wherein secular spheres emancipate themselves from religious norms and ecclesiastical control. Forced to withdraw from the modern secular state, religion finds refuge in the private sphere (ibid.).

Peter Berger (Berger, 1979), too, admits that in many modern societies religion has been shifted entirely to the private sphere, whereby religious commitment has become a highly personal choice, the 'heretical imperative', as Berger puts it. The demise of religion as a dominant social force makes the question of being or not being religious a subjective preference rather than a social process.

### **5.3.3 Emotional dimension of belief – religion as a chain of memory**

Another proponent of post-secularization theories and leading French sociologist of religion, Danièle Hervieu-Léger (Hervieu-Léger, 2000), who is seeking to identify and refine the conceptual tools essential for understanding of religion in the modern world. Her inspiration is Durkheimian in origin, and the key to it lies in the concept of

‘memory’, more concretely – an awareness of shared memory as an important feature of both social and individual identity. Hervieu-Léger defines religion as a specific mode of believing. Two central points to be grasped in her analysis are: the chain that makes an individual believer a member of community – a community that gathers past, present, and future members; and the tradition, or collective memory, which becomes the basis of this community’s existence. Hervieu-Léger argues that modern societies (especially European ones) are not less religious because they are increasingly rational, but because they become less and less capable of maintaining the memory that is central to their religious existence. They become ‘amnesic societies’.

Placing tradition, or what Hervieu-Léger refers to as ‘the chain of memory’, at the center of the question of religion puts the viability of religion in the direct connection with viability of the collective memory among its adherents. Hervieu-Léger writes:

The possibility that a group – or an individual – sees itself as part of a chain or lineage depends, to some extent at least, on mention of the past and memories that are consciously shared with and passed on to others. (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 123)

This brings us to the central problem pinpointed by Hervieu-Léger, namely: how can religion survive in modern, highly adaptive ‘societies of change’, which are no longer memory-driven, or oriented towards reproduction of what has been inherited? Although, as the author stresses, it would be too simplistic to establish a rigid division between ‘societies of memory’ and ‘societies of change’, it is reasonable to admit that the effect of change – which Hervieu-Léger accepts as a function of modernity itself – inevitably erodes the cultural and psychological continuity in modern societies. This is implied in the essence of the secularization stance, even though the theories of secularization seldom put memory at the center of their analysis. With this in mind, Hervieu-Léger suggests that taking into consideration the contemporary transmission of memory, which presents the core component of the maintenance of the chain of collective belief, may present a fruitful basis for analyzing the role of religion in modernity.

Memory and religion, thusly, in Hervieu-Léger's view, form a structural connection. As the author illustrates:

In traditional societies where the domain of religious symbolism is structured entirely by a myth of creation, which accounts for the origin of both the world and the group, collective memory is given: it is totally contained within the structures, organization, language and everyday observances of tradition-oriented societies. In the case of differentiated societies where established religions prevail and where distinctive communities of faith emerge, collective religious memory is subject to constantly recurring construction, so that the past which has its source in the historical events at its core can be grasped at any moment as being totally meaningful. To the extent that the entire significance of the experience of the present is supposed to be contained (...) in the foundational events, the past is symbolically constituted as an immutable whole, situated 'outside time', that it outside history. (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 124)

Religious memory (as well as any collective memory as such, in Hervieu-Léger's opinion) possesses a distinct 'normative dimension', which is being manifested through "selective forgetting, sifting and retrospectively inventing" (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 124), and thusly acts as a "regulator of individual memory at any one moment" (ibid.). This memory can even take the place of individual memory "whenever it passes beyond the memory of a given group and the actual experience of those for whom it is a reference" (ibid.). It incorporates (as well as constantly reconstructs and reactivates) "the currents of thought which have outlasted past experiences and which are newly actualized in the present" (ibid., 124-125).

The normativity of religious memory rests upon the fact that the group defines itself as 'a lineage of belief', whereby memory feeds the self-definition of the members and where the continuity of the lineage of believers transcends history. It is, in Hervieu-Léger's words, "affirmed and manifested in the essentially religious act of recalling the past which gives meaning to the present and contains the future" (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 125). She further explains:

The practice of anamnesis, of the recalling to memory of the past, is most often observed as a rite. And what characterizes a religious rite in relation to all other forms of social ritualization is that

the regular repetition of a ritually set pattern of word and gesture exists in order to mark the passage of time (...) with the recall of the foundational events that enabled the chain to form and/or affirm its power to persist through whatever vicissitudes have come, and will still come, to threaten it. (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 125)

While clearly acknowledging that the emotional intensity and symbolic richness of the ritual evocation of the chain, and the ways the memory is mobilized, may be very different in different contexts of faith, Hervieu-Léger stresses that the continuous actualization of the chain of memory constitutes the central dynamic of all religion.

With this in mind, Hervieu-Léger further addresses the existing situation with regards to the function and meaning of religion in modern society, where the “affirmation of the autonomous individual, the advance of rationalization (...) and the process of institutional differentiation” (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 127) break up the ‘sacred canopies’ and thusly denote „the end of societies based on memory“ (ibid.). The author explains:

The growth of secularization and the loss of total memory in societies without a history and without a past coincide completely; the dislocation of the structures of religion’s plausibility in the modern world works in parallel with the advance of rationalization and successive stages in the crumbling of collective memory. (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 127)

All these processes, Hervieu-Léger asserts, contribute to the differentiation of ‘total social memory’ into a multitude of ‘specialized circles of memory’, as do globalization, urbanization, and industrialization, all of which inevitably lead to the destruction of stable, locally-bound communities and undermine traditional social networks.

To understand the driving forces behind the disintegration of collective memory in modern societies, Hervieu-Léger turns to the analysis of Maurice Halbwachs’s “*Le Mémoire collective*”<sup>26</sup> and identifies (based on Halbwachs’s theory) two tendencies, which, in conjunction, have lead to the existing state of things. The first tendency consists in the “expansion and homogenization of memory” (ibid., 128), which goes hand in hand with

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<sup>26</sup> Halbwachs, M., 1968. *Le Mémoire collective* [1950], Paris: PUF.

the “destruction of a social network that assured the transmission of collective memories from one generation to the other” (ibid.). Furthermore, the advent of capitalism and technology resulted in the “gradual alignment of all spheres of social life on the sphere of production, which itself only aroused technical, functionalized and neutral, memories” (ibid., 129).

This process of homogenization of collective memory created favorable conditions for the development of the second tendency, namely that of the “limitless fragmentation of individual and group memory”. As Hervieu-Léger explains, in modern society, every individual belongs not to one, but to a whole number of groups simultaneously and hence, the collective memory “is composed of bits and pieces”. Under these conditions, the problem of “growing ignorance” among the young people with regards to history is not surprising. The cause of this ignorance, in Hervieu-Léger’s view, is not so much the overwhelming amount of information that is “stored” by the young generation, but rather the difficulty, for the young people, to “organize this mass of information by relating it to a lineage to which they spontaneously see themselves as belonging” (ibid., 129-130).

Being both estranged from the traditional communal life and from the prescribed stable system of moral values, a modern individual, in a way, loses his past in the complex and multi-layered systems of meaning, where preferences and judgments are based on private choice – and thus, dis-attaches himself from the chain necessary to maintain the continuity of the collective memory.

Thus, the question of social ties lies at the core of the question of memory. When collective memory is reduced to fragments and made instantaneous, losing its wholesome nature and continuity, it becomes increasingly difficult for an individual to recognize him- or herself as a link in the chain of belief, and hence, makes it hard for them to understand why there exists a need to extend this chain further into the future.

At the same time, Hervieu-Léger argues that it would be erroneous to presume that, being deprived of the need to refer, continuously, to the past, in order to make sense of the present, humans do not crave for meaning that would help them to figure out the

surrounding world. Quite on the contrary, she maintains that “the uncertainties brought about by the removal of [the presence of memory] together with the impact of accelerated change cause the demand for meaning on the part of society to proliferate in all directions” (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p. 141).

These uncertainties find their reflection particularly strongly in the search for identity, to which modern society is ill-equipped. Production of identity foresees a collective sharing of the effort to produce meaning among a certain group, Hervieu-Léger argues, and such effort is not possible without a minimal imaginative grasp, among members of this group, firstly, of the continuity of both the group and the individual, and secondly, of a vision of a common future. A fragmented, disorganized, disintegrated collective memory makes both of these prerequisites hard to conceive. However, the need for rootedness persists and often finds its manifestation in ‘trendy’ modern tendencies, such as passion for genealogy, popularity of historical novels (in particular, family sagas), and high esteem of antiquities, to name but a few. Hervieu-Léger goes on to conclude that “the passion commonly felt for everything concerned with the celebration of roots may be seen as the converse of the intensely felt sense of the loss of collective memory” (ibid., p.142).

The imaginative projection of continuity nowadays takes the form of “interlacing shattered memories” (ibid., p.143) that are constantly re-invented and re-shaped in response to current demands and are strongly impacted by the pressures of change typical of modernity.

This said, the question that arises at this point is: what kind of religious innovativeness is needed so as to encourage the re-inventing of the disintegrated chain? In Hervieu-Léger’s opinion (quite similarly to other post-secularization scholars), such innovativeness manifests itself through the emergence and ever-growing popularity of the so-called ‘elective fraternities’, where “the primacy [is] given to an individual’s personal commitment in relation to the group” (ibid., p.144). The author continues:

An elective fraternity corresponds to a certain community of values and references which has developed through shared interests, experience and hardships. Elective fraternity is a relationship

that it both willed and ideal in the sense that it is presumed to bring into being what ties of blood are so often incapable of ensuring between members of a family – real solidarity, transparency of thought and communication, and common values and memories. (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p.150).

Special attention is paid in Hervieu-Léger's work to the role of ethnic religions for the reconstruction of memory in modernity. Ethnic revival, she argues, comes hand in hand with the preservation of ethnic identity. She writes:

The particular attraction that operates between what is ethnic and what is religious springs from the fact that the one and the other establish a social bond on the basis of assumed genealogy, on the one hand, a naturalized genealogy (because related to soil and to blood), and a symbolized genealogy (because constituted through belief in an reference to a myth and a source), on the other. (Hervieu-Léger, 2000, p.157).

In the recent years, Hervieu-Léger goes on to note, ethnic mobilization of religious symbols has come to the forefront whenever conflicts on religious grounds reinforce community, national and social confrontation, and various ways are often being considered of turning religious and confessional references into effective instruments for constructing ethnic and national identity. Be it the case of Northern Ireland, the 'troubled societies' of the former USSR, or that of ethnic and religious revival in western democratic countries, such mobilization invariably strives to "offer the same sort of emotive response to the demand for meaning and personal recognition which the abstract nature of modern societies (...) makes more and more urgent" (ibid., p.157). Thusly, the religious and ethnic strain "complete or combine in re-establishing a sense of 'we' and of 'our' which modernity has at once fractured and created nostalgia for" (ibid.).

Drawing on the case of Catholic revival in socialist Poland, Hervieu-Léger demonstrates how the symbolic language of a historic religion makes available to the believers a set of meanings that enables them to make sense of their existence, as well as fosters the formation of identity and of what the author refers to as 'the pride of place', whereby Catholic practice came to stand both as a witness against the hypocrisy of the existing secular Sovietized model and as evidence of the "political, moral and cultural

permanence of a Poland that rejected its subjection to the Soviet system” (ibid., p.159). This example demonstrates how two components, the ethnic, and the religious, converge in a dual movement involving the ‘ethno-symbolic homogenization’ of traditional confessional identities, an ‘recharging’ and reintegration of the ethnic identities.

Through her approach, Hervieu-Léger thusly discovers an emotional dimension of belief that helps individuals withstand the process of secularization, where belief itself is defined as a totality of individual and collective persuasions that do not depend on empirical verification and, in general, on recognized methods of scientific control. Instead, these persuasions find their justification in the fact that they give coherence and meaning to the subjective experience of those who believe. Where religious memory is concerned, the normativity of collective memory is reinforced by the fact that the group of believers perceives itself as ‘the descendency of believers’.

Hervieu-Léger goes on assert that this ‘religious memory’ tends to be fragmented and loses its specificity in modern society – which brings the memory to a crisis. The contradictory symptoms of the sacred in crisis and at the same time of revived religious enthusiasm puts into question the traditional theory of secularization supposedly resulting from a crisis of religious institutions that are unable to meet the needs of the increasingly rationalized society. Hervieu-Léger sees the main task of the sociology of religion(s) in understanding what religious dynamics are developing at present, and how they fit in between the two contrasting tendencies: decline and renewal.



## 6 LOCATING CULTURE IN THE LANDSCAPE

### 6.1 Landscape

Landscape study is the field that is incorporated in a variety of disciplines, depending on the perspective that the researcher seeks to explore. Most prominent of them include landscape ecology (studies the ecological effects of spatial patterning of ecosystems and develops approaches to landscape planning), landscape history (explores the ways in which humanity has changed, and is continuing to change the physical appearance of the environment) and landscape architecture (a multi-disciplinary field that incorporates an array of disciplines such as geography, geology, ecology, botany, horticulture and industrial design, with the aim of applying artistic and scientific principles to the research, planning, design and management of both natural and built environments).

Although the term ‘landscape’ as such has been present both in the German (*Landschaft* – literally, ‘shaped land’, a small region, or administrative unit) and in the English (*landscape* or *landscaef* – human-made spaces in the land) languages, the notion of ‘landscape’ in its modern connotation was introduced in the 16th century by Dutch painters and signified ‘rural scenery’, a tract of land perceived from an artistic viewpoint. Since then, a number of different definitions of ‘landscape’ have been developed, adding up to the multiple layers of meanings, underlying this term.

Thus, the Oxford Dictionary of English defines the landscape as “the visible features of an area of land, often considered in terms of their aesthetic appeal” (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2010). The Merriam-Webster refers to it as “a portion of territory that can be viewed at one time from one place” (The Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2004). However, for the purpose of this research, which addresses the symbolic meaning of the landscape, rather than its tangible features per se, we prefer to adopt the definition of a landscape given by Cosgrove & Daniels in their collection of essays on the iconography of the landscape (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988). The authors conceive the term more in cultural

than in physical terms, and describe landscape as a cultural image, stressing the importance of landscape as a mode of human signification, informed by, and itself informing, social, cultural and political issues. This approach aptly emphasizes the idea that a landscape, in its physical form, acquires meaning only when it is comprehended, or understood, in a certain way. It follows, therefore, that the value of a landscape is based upon the subjective, viewer-driven perception.

A similar approach is reflected in Michael Jones's (Jones & Stenseke, 2011) analysis of "landscape as scenery" and "landscape as seen by people". Landscape as scenery has at its core the "visual content of an area observed from a particular viewpoint" (Jones & Stenseke, 2011, p. 7) and is studied through the prism of human feelings, experiences, and emotions. Representations of landscape understood in this sense can be expressed through the works of artists and writers (e.g. landscape paintings, poetry), which contribute to the forming of expectations concerning landscape ideals among wider public. Representations of landscape, Jones goes on to note, vary over time as a result of transforming ideologies, interpretations, and media tendencies (e.g. in film and photography) (ibid.).

Landscape as an area seen by the people, in Jones's understanding, largely reiterates the understanding of landscape as offered by the European Landscape Convention, whereby it is viewed as "an area, as perceived by the people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (Council of Europe, 2000). Here, landscape is perceived as more than simply an area, or as something objective; above all, landscape is an area that people share, value and use (also, see Olwig, 2007).

As section I.2 of the Guidelines for the implementation on the European Landscape Convention further elaborates:

(t)he sensory (visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, taste) and emotional perception which a population has of its environment and recognition of the latter's diversity and special historical and cultural features are essential for the respect and safeguarding of the identity of the

population itself and for individual enrichment and that of society as a whole. (Council of Europe, 2008)

Similar views are shared by Antrop (Antrop, 1997; 1998), who stresses that landscapes are written in a multifaceted and symbolic language, which can be interpreted differently by different observers. Hence, different people 'see' different landscapes at the same spot; everyone will read the story of the landscape in accordance with what one knows and is able to recognize in patterns and elements shaping the given landscape.

A similar line of thought is followed by Lionella Scazzosi (Scazzosi, 2011). Scazzosi refers to the term landscape in vein with the notion of 'landscape of meanings', where landscapes are attributed different meanings that result from the uses that local populations attribute to places and their elements, such as a meeting point, a place of rest, or a focal point of religious practices. These meanings then enter and get settled into the mechanisms of collective memory. Tim Ingold (Ingold, 2000) supports this view, noting that landscape studies should adopt a 'culturalistic view', which presupposes that every landscape is a particular cognitive or symbolic view of a place, and that one should adopt what he refers to as a 'dwelling perspective', in accordance to which a landscape is an enduring record of, and a testimony to the works and lives of the past generations who dwelt in it, and as a result, left traces of themselves.

The aspect of 'meaning' in the landscape is particularly relevant for the holy, sacred landscapes, where cognitive and affective aspects or perception are inextricably linked. This linkage is manifested through attribution to a place of the *genius loci*, i.e. spirit of a place, which reveals itself in a variety of signs in the landscape, both tangible and intangible, that reflect an age-old symbolic and spiritual meaning (Colquhoun, 1997). Such *genius loci* may be comprised of the 'invisible heritage' in the landscape, such as a body of stories, or legends that are spread among local people, which evoke a strong feeling of awe and respect for their ancestors (Alumäe, Printsman, & Palang, 2003).

In this sense, landscapes are ‘cultural products’, and from this notion, we proceed to the discussion of the next definition, which is instrumental in the framework of the given research.

## **6.2 Cultural landscape**

The notion of a cultural landscape, of which a sacred landscape is viewed as an example in the framework of the present thesis, was introduced in the academic discourse in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by the human geographer Otto Schlüter, who researched on the impact of human-induced changes on the visible features of the Earth that are contained within distinct areas. He distinguished between the two essential categories: the *Urlandschaft* and the *Kulturlandschaft*, the former designating a landscape in its natural form that it had before anthropogenic impact occurred, and the latter referring to a landscape that has been created by human culture (Schlüter, 1907).

Instrumental to the shaping of the modern understanding of the term ‘cultural landscape’ have been the works of the American human geographer Carl O. Sauer, who, in his seminal work “*The Morphology of Landscape*” defined cultural landscape as “fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group”, where “culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result”. (Sauer, 1925, p. 46)

He continues:

Under the influence of a given culture, itself changing through time, the landscape undergoes development, passing through stages, and probably reaching the end of its cycle of development. With the introduction of a different, that is, alien culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on remnants of an older one. The natural landscape is of course of fundamental importance, for it supplies the materials out of which the cultural landscape is formed. The shaping force, however, lies in culture itself. (ibid.)

Sauer's ideas, and particularly the idea of the opposition of the cultural landscape to the natural landscape, were criticized by some of his contemporaries, such as Richard Hartshorne (Hartshorne, 1939), who found the division of material features of any particular area into separate cultural and natural elements illogical, since cultural elements in the landscape – even if considered separately – still constitute an integral part of the landscape as a whole.

From the 1960s, the term 'cultural landscape' began to be increasingly adopted in other disciplines and became part of the rhetoric of environmental management, agricultural economy, human geography, agricultural policy-making, nature conservation, and cultural heritage management. Different disciplines have used the term in different ways, depending on the academic tradition and the methods into which the practitioners have been schooled. As American human geographer Lester Rowntree observes, in all its ambiguity elusive etymology, the term of cultural landscape appears to serve as “a bridge between space and society, culture and environment” (Rowntree, 1996, p. 127).

Multi-disciplinary discourses on the subject of cultural landscape throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have cumulatively created the global context for the further discourses that emerged in the 1980s and the 1990s and that has been gaining momentum ever since.

As Ken Taylor points out:

Cultural landscape study at this time was ... coincidental with a widening interest in the public history movement and everyday landscapes. It underpinned the notion that landscapes reflecting everyday ways of life, the ideologies that compel people to create places (...) are significant. (Taylor, 2012, pp. 30-31)

These places, in Taylor's view, reflect the stories of people and events through time, and create a sense of continuity – “a sense of stream and time”. What more, they also provide the context necessary for understanding of cultural heritage (ibid.).

Following decades of different application and elaboration of the cultural landscape concept, a new impetus was provided towards its understanding within the framework of the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The major intention of introducing the category of cultural landscape into the World Heritage framework was to overcome the separation between the natural and cultural heritage, whereby, in the words of Plachter & Rössler (1995):

Cultural heritage protection was dominated by the ideas of art historians and focused on single monuments, while nature protection reflected the goal of natural scientists to protect threatened species of ‘untouched’ nature. (Plachter & Rössler, 1995, p. 16)

Cultural objects, thusly, were seen as independent from their landscape environment, and natural areas – as separated from their social context, including human activity. Nature conservation was focused on protecting ‘nature’ from ‘humans’, where the latter were seen as a disturbance, and therefore, as the authors continue, “nature modified by humans seemed beside the point, ... had little value, and was not recognized as a genuine problem for conservation” (ibid.).

In 1992, the World Heritage Committee at its 16<sup>th</sup> session in Santa Fe, USA, adopted the new guidelines with regards to the inclusion the category of cultural landscapes in the World Heritage List, thus making it the first international legal instrument to recognize and protect them as heritage. The Committee concurred that cultural landscapes represent the “combined works of nature and of man” designated in Article 1 of the Convention, which are “illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal” (Mitchell, Rössler, & Tricaud, 2009, p. 19). With this in mind, three categories of cultural landscapes were defined, namely:

- I. The clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

- II. The organically evolved landscape. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub-categories:
- a relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period; its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form;
  - a continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress; at the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.
- III. The associative cultural landscape. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent. (UNESCO, 2005, p. 84)

Another perspective on cultural landscape was taken by the Council of Europe in the “Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on the Integrated Conservation of Cultural Landscape Areas as Part of Landscape Policies, No. R(95)9” (Council of Europe, 1995) adopted in September 1995. The document defines the cultural landscape as follows:

[Cultural landscape areas] are specific topographically delimited parts of the landscape, formed by various components of human and natural agencies, which illustrate the evolution of human society, its settlement and character in time and space and which have acquired socially and culturally recognised (*sic*) values at various territorial levels, because of the presence of physical remains, past land use and activities, skills or distinctive traditions, or depiction in literary and artistic works, or the fact that historic events took place there. (Article 1)

For the purposes of the current research, even though it does not focus on the World Heritage-related issues, the definition of cultural landscape as suggested by UNESCO is appropriated. The type of cultural landscapes under study, in the UNESCO terms, clearly falls under the category of the *associative cultural landscape*. The value of such landscapes is based on the interaction between people and their environment. They are recognized and protected under the UNESCO World Heritage Convention for the outstanding value of this interaction, not necessarily for the value of the physical features of a cultural landscape itself. As the UNESCO *Handbook for Conservation and Management of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes* explains:

The category of associative cultural landscapes has contributed substantially to the recognition of intangible values and to the heritage of local communities and indigenous people. These landscapes are places with associative cultural values, some considered as sacred sites, which may be physical entities or mental images that are embedded with people's spirituality, cultural tradition and practice. (Mitchell, Rössler, & Tricaud, 2009, p. 35)

Thus understood, the values of an associative cultural landscape can only be assessed through the prism of the meaning that its users, or groups of people that identify themselves as their owners, or guardians, bestow upon it. In the case of sacred sites, this meaning is rendered against the background of religious views of the people who consider themselves to be associated with these sites. This association is manifested through the attitude of awe, respect, as well as through the feeling of intense spiritual connection. Notably, at the same time, sacred landscapes are not static; on the reverse, they develop, transform over time, and are capable of acquiring new features without losing their authentic associative values.

As the authors of the aforementioned *Handbook* stress, in order to safeguard such values, maintenance of culturally viable and strong communities is of vital importance (*ibid.*, p. 107). This conviction is also shared by IUCN, whose *Sacred Natural Sites: Guidelines for Protected Area Managers* (Wild & McLeod, 2008), prepared in collaboration with UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme, which emphasizes the link between



sacred natural sites and the local communities that act as their custodians. The authors write:

A defining feature of sacred natural sites is that people have cared for them, often for a very long time. These are people who have acted as guardians and custodians of the spiritual, cultural, biological and other values of such sites and who are usually closely identified with them. Often these guardians work collectively and have formed a variety of institutions to look after the site. (Wild & McLeod, 2008, p. 7)

The histories of such sacred sites reflect the complex relationship between humans and nature. Frequently, the reverence felt towards a sacred site is reverence for nature *itself*, in other cases it is derived from “significant events, historical associations, settings for rural communities with deities, or ... mediation with the cosmos” (ibid., p. 8). For the local communities that hold these sites sacred, they are not only ‘landscapes’, but also integral elements of ‘sacred spaces’, which draws us to the next essential concept, which will be discussed in Chapter 7.

## 7 THE SACRED, THE SPACE, AND THE MEMORY – ESTABLISHING THE LINK

### 7.1 Sacred space

Religious groups do not merely exist in space, but also build and imagine this space in the context of faith, hence the notion of space represents a fundamental component of religious worldview. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the theme of religious territoriality, the contextuality of religious belief and practice, and the meaning and uses of sacred space were investigated intensely by scholars coming from the fields of human and cultural geography in general, as well as geography of religion and comparative religion in particular.

Ever since the emergence of the ground-breaking publication by Rudolf Otto (Otto, 1917), “*Das Heilige: Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*” (“The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non- Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational”), the interest aroused by the phenomenon of sacredness has persisted in the academic research. In his work, Otto analyzed the awe-inspiring mystery (*mysterium fascians*) and majesty (*majestas*) of the sacred that emanates an overwhelming superiority of power. He characterized the experience of the sacred as numinous (divine), because it is induced by the revelation of divine power. The numinous, in Otto’s vision, presents itself as something ‘wholly other’ (*ganz andere*) from ordinary human experience. It manifests itself as a reality of a wholly different order from the usual, ‘natural’ realities.

Forty years later, the famed historian of religion, Mircea Eliade, published his renowned work, “*The Sacred and the Profane: the nature of religion*” (Eliade, 1959), where he elaborated on the phenomenon of the sacred in all its complexity, claiming that the sacred is not necessarily as irrational as it is believed. It was he who introduced into the scientific research the dichotomy of the ‘sacred’ and the ‘profane’ and defined the essence of this

opposition. He also coined the term 'hierophany' – the act of manifestation of sacred realities, which covers a whole scope of revelations from most elementary ones, manifested in ordinary objects, such as stones or trees – to the supreme hierophany (e.g. for Christians, the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ). One of the quintessential themes of this book is the sacred space and making the world sacred.

According to Eliade, religious conceptions of space distinguish between the two domains: the sacred space, the primary characteristics of which are defined in explicitly religious terms by the believers themselves, either materially or symbolically; and the secular (or profane) space, which is not essentially religious in its nature. For a religious man, Eliade argues, space is not homogenous; and this non-homogeneity finds expression in the experience of an opposition between space that is sacred, and the rest of the space that stretches as “a formless expanse surrounding it” (Eliade, 1959, p. 20). When the sacred manifests itself in a hierophany, there is “not only a break in the homogeneity of space; there is also revelation of an absolute reality”, opposed to the ‘non-reality’ of the rest of the world (ibid.). For profane experience, on the contrary, space is homogeneous and neutral. In order to make sense of it, all we need is to merely keep in mind how classical geometry defines space.

Yi-Fu Tuan, the founder of humanistic geography as a discipline, offers the analysis of characteristic qualities of a sacred space, suggesting that such space must be characterized by “apartness, otherworldedness, orderliness and wholeness” (Tuan, 1978, p. 84) and argues that the true meaning of ‘sacred’ goes beyond stereotype images of temples and shrines, because “at the level of experience, sacred phenomena are those that stand out from the commonplace and interrupt routine” (ibid.).

Other authors, such as cultural geographers Richard H. Jackson and Roger Henrie, identify sacred space as “(the) portion of the earth’s surface which is recognized by individuals or groups as worthy of devotion, loyalty or esteem. Space is sharply discriminated from the non-sacred or profane world around us”. Sacred space, they continue, “does not exist naturally, but is assigned sanctity as man defines, limits and

characterizes it through his culture, experience and goals” (Jackson & Henrie, 1983, p. 34).

Prominent geographer of religion, Roger W. Stump, agrees with this definition and stresses that sacred space – in contrast to secular one – is to be understood in explicitly religious terms by the believers who recognize it as such, and make use of it for ritual purposes. From a believer’s perspective, a sacred space thusly is defined as a “space that bears a direct connection to the superhuman entity or entities postulated to exist within a religious system, or that is directly involved in the interactions between humanity and such entities” (Stump, 2008, p. 26).

All of these definitions are applicable in the context of current research, because they point out to the existence of certain commonalities among conceptions of sacred space in various religious systems (the point that is critical, when discussing ‘shared heritage’). The fact that such commonalities are indeed observable has been a prominent theme in the traditional field of history and geography of religion (particularly see Eliade, 1959). In the more recent, late 20<sup>th</sup>-century academic research, the attempts of discovering commonalities between religions were labeled by some authors (see, for example, Patton & Ray, 2000), as a generalization that ignores the genuine differences distinguishing superficially similar phenomena from one another, and that intrinsic contextuality of religion invalidates the use of universal categories, such as sacred and profane spaces. Because all religions are, in a sense, locally applied – Patton and Ray argue – it may seem highly problematic to search for common categories of space on a larger scale.

All this said, we believe, together with Simon Coleman and John Elsner (Coleman & Elsner, 1995), that while religious systems are diversely expressed locally, they also share common patterns of belief and practice as part of a broader tradition. Believers practice their religion at the scale of their own personal lives, but at the same time, they understand their faith in more general terms, namely as a system embracing concrete manifestations against the backdrop of a single, larger system. In this context, general concepts, such as ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ space are instrumental for understanding both

the structural similarities that exist between the elements of different religions, and specific expressions of these elements in particular geographical settings.

By sanctifying certain chosen spaces, believers (no matter what their religious affiliation is) draw on a variety of meanings that are rooted in their religious worldviews. Through these meanings, they define the sources of sacredness of space in diverse ways. Roger Stump (Stump, 2008, pp. 302-204) suggests dividing sacred places into seven categories, based on the sources of their religious significance (see Table 2). Thus, he distinguishes between ‘cosmological spaces’ that represent key locations in the larger cosmic structure; ‘theocentric spaces’ that acquire sanctity from adherents’ belief in their direct association with a deity or another superhuman being; ‘hierophanic spaces’ that are considered sacred due to a certain divine revelation or apparition that took place there; ‘historical spaces’ that draw their sacredness from the central role they played in the historical development of a religion; ‘hierenergetic spaces’ that provide a source of contact between believers and supernatural entities; ‘authoritative spaces’ that acquire their sacredness due to their association with the activity of a religious leader or another spiritual authority that contributed to the interpretation of divine will, or participated in a superhuman event; and finally, ‘ritual spaces’ that provide an important link between religious practice and particular space. All of these categories often overlap, and can take a variety of forms.

Jackson and Henrie (Jackson & Henrie, 1983) suggest a similar typology of sacred space, but distribute the types into three broader categories. Firstly, there are the so-called ‘mystico-religious sites’. These include temples, shrines, cathedrals, sacred groves, mountains or trees that are generally believed to be points of direct contact between God and man (compare with ‘theocentric spaces’ in Stump’s classification). Secondly, there are the ‘homelands’ – sacred spaces representing the roots of each individual, family or people that are sacred only to adherents of particular religions. Finally, the authors distinguish ‘historical sacred sites’ (compare with Stump’s ‘historical spaces’) that have been conferred the status of a holy place as a result of a particular event that occurred there.

Table 2 Categories of sacred space (adapted from Stump, 2008)

<b>CATEGORY</b>	<b>SOURCE OF RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE</b>	<b>EXAMPLES</b>
<b>Cosmological</b>	Crucial locations, either real or imagined, within the cosmos	Heaven and Hell; mythical Mount Meru as the center of the world
<b>Theocentric</b>	Continual presence at a location of the divine or supernatural	Hindu temple as a god' dwelling place; Mount Olympus as home of the Greek gods; Western Wall in Jerusalem
<b>Hierographic</b>	Setting of a special religious apparition, revelation or miracle	Ascension of Jesus from the Mount of Olives; visions of Mary at Lourdes
<b>Historical</b>	Spaces that draw their meaning from the central role they have played in the historical development of a religion	Bethlehem as a birthplace of Jesus; the Judeo-Christian concept of the Holy Land
<b>Hierenergetic</b>	Access to manifestations of superhuman power and influence	Hindu sacred rivers as a source of healings; tombs of Sufi shaykhs in Islam
<b>Authoritative</b>	Center of authority as expressed by major religious leaders or elites	Potala Palace as the seat of the Dalai Lama; the Vatican in Roman Catholicism
<b>Ritual</b>	Repeated ritual usage in relation to an atmosphere of sanctity	Pilgrimage routes in various religions; Mosques as sites of communal prayer

In general, the phenomenon of divinization of natural spaces is more characteristic of religions with a strong animistic (e.g. paganism) or polytheistic (e.g. Hinduism and Buddhism) basis than of the revealed, historical religions (e.g. Islam, Judaism and Christianity) (Stump, 2008). The latter tend to place emphasis only on natural sacred spaces, with a particular historical association, such as a specific event in sacred history or an occurrence of a divine revelation.

With all of the above-mentioned in mind, we shall conclude with a comprehensive definition of a 'sacred space': a sacred space (in opposition to a 'profane', 'secular' space, i.e. a space devoid of any religious meaning and evoking no associations, or particular feelings, among believers), as understood in the framework of current research, is a certain area, existing in physical reality, the most essential attributes of which do not consist of its physical elements per se, but are bestowed upon it, through special

associations that an area evokes among believers. Such territories are widespread across the Earth and play a prominent role in the forming and functioning of traditional religious worldviews, in the process of religious, as well as cultural, self-identification of the people.

In many cases, sacred spaces have been revered, through various historical periods, not only by one, but by many religious groups that subsequently resided on the surrounding territory. The newly arrived peoples 'overtook' the tradition of sanctification of such spaces, transforming and adding up to the narratives and legends that had been developed by their predecessors (e.g., see Varner, 2009, on the history, meaning, and mythology of holy wells).

Owing to their unique natural and cultural elements, as well as the reverend attitude towards them among believers, such territories:

- express and maintain key ideas with regards to the worldview and spiritual values of a given religious group, therewith ensuring the transfer of traditions from one generation to another;
- enjoy a special protective status;
- act as carriers and guardians of people's collective memory;
- encourage social coherence in a given religious group, through development of the feeling of unity and kinship among its members;
- evoke the feeling of inspiration, aesthetic admiration and harmony;
- function as locations, where traditional religious activities (festivals, ceremonies, rites, etc.) take place;
- enable harmonious inclusion of natural objects into the spiritual framework.

Safeguarding of such sacred spaces, therefore, guaranties the continuous existence of a religious group in space and time, and facilitates the common feeling of pride and dignity; it helps members of a group understand who they are, and what it means to be one of 'them'. In cases, where sacred spaces are perceived as 'homelands', they are also instrumental for the development of the feeling of belonging – both geographically and

mentally – to a certain location, the feeling of ‘being home’. In order to understand how these perceptions, and feelings, are formed on the level of society, one must answer a major question, namely: how is the connection between people and sacred space realized against the backdrop of Hervieu-Léger’s notion of a ‘chain of memory’, particularly in the Crimean context? In order to answer these questions, we shall proceed to the next section.

## **7.2 Places of memory: sacred landscapes as memoryscapes**

Hervieu-Léger’s approach towards religion as a chain of memory, with the emotional component of belief at the core, is particularly relevant in the case of religious revival in the former Soviet republics, of which Ukraine is a demonstrative example. Moreover, the implications of this process for the dynamics of inter-ethnic relationships are of particular interest in the socio-political context of Crimea, where, with the fall of the Socialist regime on the onset of the 1990s, there opened entirely new opportunities for cultural and religious self-expression among formerly discriminated ethnic minorities, such as the Crimean Tatars and the Crimean Karaites, who were finally allowed to return to their historic homeland.

In the two decades following the repatriation to Crimea of the deported citizens much has been written with regards to the emotional perception by them of the newly reclaimed ‘home’, as well as to the memory thereof that had been circulated among diaspora in exile. A particularly fruitful research has been carried out on the Crimean Tatar case, including very insightful works by authors, such as Greta Lynn Uehling and her *“Beyond Memory: Crimean Tatars’ Deportation and Return (Anthropology, History, and Critical Imagination)”* (2004) and Brian Glyn Williams’s *“The Crimean Tatars. Crimean Tatariness alive”* (2001).

Uehling’s book presents an encompassing study on the role that collective memory, stories and dreams of the homeland have played in the deportees’ decision to return to Crimea. It provides a remarkable insight into the narratives of deportation and homeland, circulated among both the first and the second generations of the deportees (the ones who



were born in Crimea prior to deportation, and their children, who were born and raised in exile). Arguing that “creating and sustaining a story or myth about home is one of the few ways of reestablishing continuity for exiled, diasporic, and displaced persons” (Uehling, 2004, p. 81), Uehling stresses the importance that passing from one generation to the other of the “powerful and lasting images that evoke a familiar past and perpetuate the memory of common loss” (ibid.) plays in the formation and maintaining of the feeling of national unity.

When asked, what is ‘homeland’, one of Uehling’s interviewees emotionally replies:

Homeland. What are you saying? Homeland – it’s our ancestors, first of all, it’s our whole life! It’s our elders, our parents, our *soul*. It’s our blood, our bread, it’s all we have. (...) For us, homeland is bread, water ... We came back and before they called us traitors as though we gave all this to the Germans and Tatars are traitors. When we came back, things of course changed, although there are still those who insult us. For the sake of homeland, we are ready for anything, even for death, if only we can live in the homeland. (Uehling, 2004, p.22)

The taken-for-grantedness of the idea that the best place to live is where your homeland is, acted as the main driving force behind the Crimean Tatars’ persistence, despite all the calamities of repatriation to the peninsula, to re-establish themselves on the land, with which, they felt, that they were *one*. It was their desire to restore the connection with the roots of their national identity, for the sake of which they were ready to go through whichever hardships they may encounter. The urge to return to the place of common memory threads the narratives of Greta Uehling’s interviewees, and even though the author reports on how some of them became gradually disenchanted when faced with the harsh socio-economic reality of being an unwanted minority in the peninsula, their desperation seems to seldom have been strong enough to truly regret their choice to return.

Maintaining idealized memories of the homeland and the instrumental role that it has played in sustaining the Crimean Tatar group identity throughout the years in exile is addressed in much detail by Brian Glyn Williams (2001). Thus, he writes:

The narratives of the deportation from the ‘island’ homeland usually begin with an idealistic portrayal of the Crimean ASSR and home village or micro region in the peninsula prior to the deportations. The Crimean countryside is glorified and the political rights of the Crimean Tatars in ‘their’ republic recalled. The narratives describe the horror of removal from the ‘Eden’ of the (*sic*) Crimea and seek to bring to life the true nature of the tragedy. (Williams, 2001, p. 414)

Most Crimean Tatars who grew up in exile, Williams notes, recall having been told stories of life in Crimea and based on these stories, developing images and ‘mental maps’ of the homeland which they have never known. He elaborates:

All Crimean Tatar children heard stories from the (*sic*) Crimea of the Salgir River, legends of Çadır Dağ [Chatyr Dag], tales of the Bahçesaray’s (*sic*) beauty and idealized narratives of such terraced (...) villages as Yalta, Uskut, Tarak Taş, Alushta and Dere Köy. A typical Crimean Tatar source (...) recalls, “Everyone dreamed of his village in the (*sic*) Crimea, his birthplace and no one wanted to believe that the homeland had been lost for ever. (Williams, 2001, p. 415)

This urge for return for the Crimean Tatars was more than a craving for the beautiful homeland, but also very much an issue of restoring the national pride. For the Crimean Tatars, proud of their national history as they were, and deeply hurt by the label “traitors” put on them by the Soviet government (see (Izmirli, 2008; Uehling, 1994; Williams, 2001; Williams, 2004), Crimea is the unique site of the independent Crimean Tatar state, the burial place of their Khans – and thusly, the place, which enables them to re-establish the link with the past, upon which their national identity resides.

For the Slavic population of the peninsula, the ability to revive their religious sanctuaries, after 75 years of prohibition, symbolized, in its own way, the ‘coming back home’ in the sense of gaining the possibility, finally, to re-establish the connection with their Orthodox Christian roots. This re-connection, in fact, was two-fold: on the one hand, it enabled the rebuilding, in the present-day post-Soviet context, of the pre-Soviet Slavic Christian Orthodox identity; on the other hand, the reconnection went even further, to establishing the continuity with the much-celebrated Greek past of the peninsula. The post-Soviet revival of the Orthodox Christian holy places in Crimea can therefore be in many ways

viewed as the second rebirth of what Mara Kozelsky (Kozelsky, 2010) refers to as the ‘Crimean Athos’ (see section 3.1).

If we perceive religion as a chain of memory (as suggested by Daniele Hervieu-Léger), it becomes quite clear that collective memory, which serves as the basis of community’s existence, is not only rooted in the minds of its members, but also in the geographical context, with all its important communal-life related features, that the group perceives as ‘home’. These features (be it houses of worship, holy sites, graves of the saints or elders) are an indispensable part of the specific landscape of collective memory. Living in their vicinity, visiting them, praying, remembering, reflecting – all these rituals help the members of the group to resist the ‘amnesia’ of modernity.

Furthermore, if we turn to another post-secularization sociologist of religion, José Casanova (Casanova, 1994), then what, if not being aware of, and being able to visit, a holy site, is what he refers to as the “return of the sacred” (or rather, even return *to* the sacred), which helps the highly privatized religion of the present day to go “public” again?

Connectedness between the actual physical features of the landscape, their perception as sacred by members of a certain group, and the fact that this sacred status of a place is derived from the continuously re-invented and re-constructed ‘histories’ that are passed from one generation to the other, is what makes such a place a ‘landscape of memory’ – something which Timothy Clack (2007), in his very insightful work on the role of memory in landscape archaeology refers to as a ‘cultural memoryscape’.

Clack offers the following definition of the term:

The memoryscape characterizes elements of certain religious experience. Essentially, it is the intersection of memory, emotion and being-somewhere and is a feature of the experiential world that may evoke a response related to the numinous in certain context ... . All humans dwell within a memoryscape (Clack, 2007, p.1).

He argues that if we accept that “culture, emotion, memory and landscape are all interrelated”, then the cognitive notion of such a memoryscape is “an expression of the convergence zone that homogenizes these characters” (ibid., p.5).

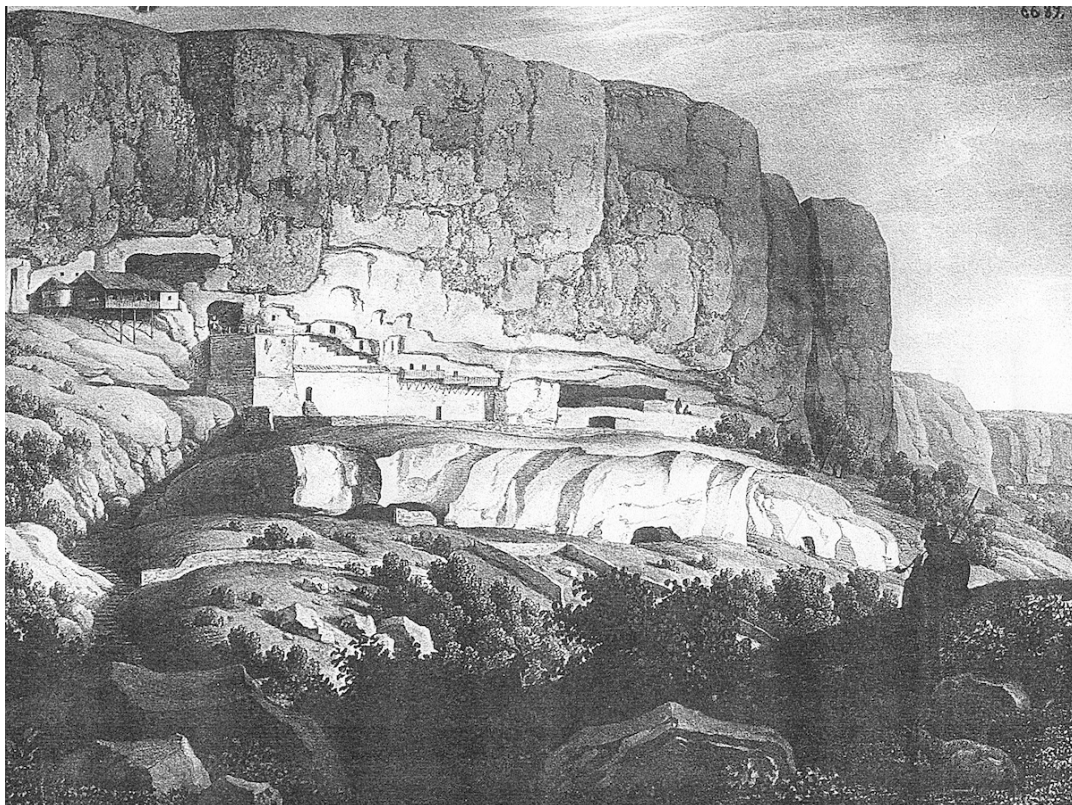
If we look again into Stump’s typology of sacred space (Stump, 2008), we shall discover that indeed, most of the proposed categories explicitly have to do with collective memory. Thus, both theocentric (settings of continual presence of the divine) and hierographic (locations of a particular religious apparition, revelation or miracle) spaces can only become and remain such overtime by continuous circulation of a story (legend, myth) asserting their sacredness. Even more so are the so-called historical and authoritative spaces, which are perceived as sacred due to the central role that they have played in the historical development of religion, or due to the fact that they have historically acted as centers of religious authority.

The concept of shared memory was instrumental for case studies selection in the framework of the present research. The task was not only to choose among many possible options the sacred landscapes that best reflect the beliefs of Crimea’s multi-ethnic, multi-religious population, but also such landscapes that are, at the same time, landmark memoryscapes, whose protection is imperative for keeping the chain of memory among the communities that hold them holy, unbroken.



Figure 1. Physical map of Crimea (Source: [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5f/Physical\\_map\\_of\\_the\\_Crimea.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5f/Physical_map_of_the_Crimea.jpg))





*Figure 2. The Assumption Monastery, circa 18th cent. (Source: BHCP Archive)*



*Figure 3. Cosmas and Damian Monastery, 19th cent. (Source: <http://soborno.ru/>)*





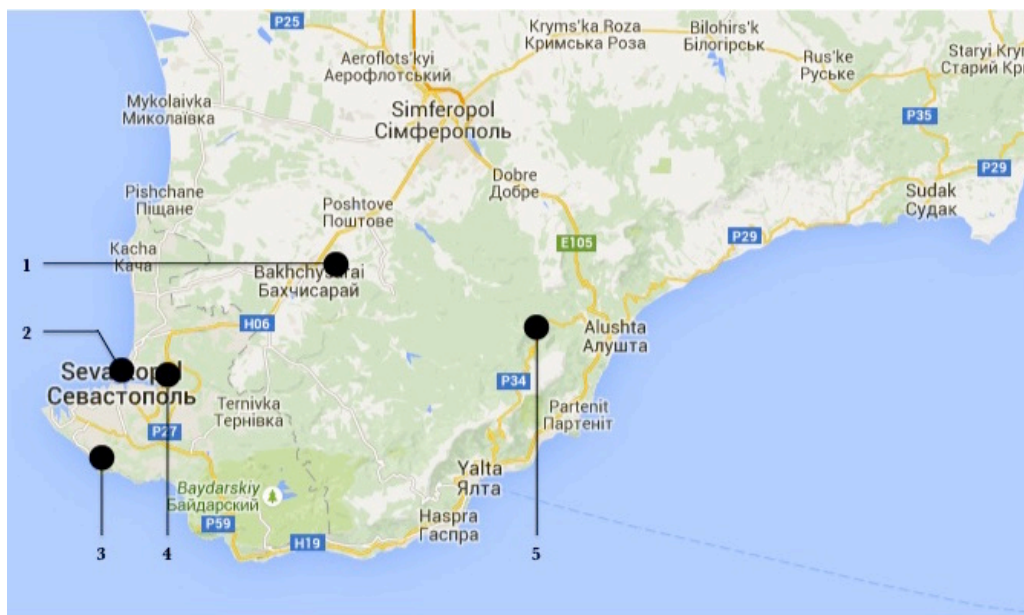
Figure 4. St. Vladimir's Cathedral in Khersonesos, end of the 19th cent. (Source:<http://grim.ru>)



Figure 5. Inkerman Monastery, beginning of the 20th cent. (Source:<http://sevdig.sevastopol.ws>)



Figure 6. St. George's Monastery, end of the 19th - beginning of the 20th cent. (Source: <http://photo.qip.ru>)



1. The Assumption Monastery
2. Vladimir's Cathedral
3. Inkerman Cave Monastery
4. St. George's Monastery
5. Cosmas and Damian Monastery

Figure 7. Major projects of the 'Crimean Athos' (Generated with mapbuldr)





Figure 8. K. Bosoli, in Bakhchisaray, 19th-cent. engraving (Source: BHCP Archive)



Figure 9. Crimean Karaite family, beginning of the 20th cent. (Source: <http://www.lechaim.ru>)



Figure 10. Crimean Karaite women, beginning of the 20th cent. (Source: <http://www.lechaim.ru>)



*Figure 11. O. Raffé, Travellers arriving in Chufut Kale - engraving, 1837 (Source: <http://www.culturelandshaft.wordpress.com>)*



*Figure 12. J. Mivill, Ruins of Mangup Kale - engraving, 1818 (Source: (Gritsak, 2004))*

## **8 THE CASE STUDIES**

### **8.1 Selection process**

The pre-selection of the sacred landscapes, which may act as suitable case studies for present research was based on the overall conceptual framework, which can be summarized as follows:

- Landscape is not static, or given; it is made sense of and constructed by the people, who do not stand outside, but inside it.
- A sacred landscape is a type of cultural landscape, where associative values are pre-eminent.
- Values of such a landscape are not intrinsic to it, but are bestowed upon it, through special associations that this landscape evokes among believers.
- Sacred status of a landscape is derived from the continuously re-invented and re-constructed 'histories', passed from one generation to the other, hence every sacred landscape is a memoryscape.
- These histories are created by means of selective remembering, sifting and re-inventing of the past.
- A sacred landscape acts as an anchor of cultural and religious identity, which evolves together with its cultural and religious context.
- Safeguarding of sacred landscapes guarantees continuous existence of a religious community in space and time, ensures rootedness and strengthens local pride. It helps members of a community understand who they are, and what it means to be one of 'them'.

The approach towards the selection of the case studies encompassed three successive stages. On stage one, pre-selection of possible locations to be considered as case studies was undertaken, based on the results of the field trip to Crimea conducted in the spring of



2011. Twenty-three sacred sites of varying scale and importance that are worshipped, or have been worshipped in the past, by the members of different local ethno-religious groups were identified, visited and noted down for further investigation (**Error! Reference source not found.**). On stage two, assessment of the potential case studies was carried out (see Table 3), based on the three criteria.

*Table 3. Assessment matrix for pre-selected sacred sites*

	<b>TYPE OF SACRED SPACE</b>		<b>LEVEL OF STATUTORY PROTECTION</b>		<b>AVAILABILITY AND RELIABILITY OF BACKGROUND INFORMATION</b>
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)	hierographic historical hierenergetic authoritative ritual	(1)	sites, which are not included in any of the existing protective listings drawn by the state	(1)	sites, in relation to which only scarce information is available (such as individual travellers' reports and passing references in literary sources)
		(2)	sites recognized as heritage objects of local significance	(2)	sites, whose detailed description can be found in multiple literary sources, however, their present condition has not been systematically assessed
		(3)	sites recognized as heritage objects of national significance	(3)	sites, whose history and significance is well-recorded in literary sources, and whose current condition is regularly assessed in the form of conservation and maintenance reports, generated by local, regional, or state authorities

Criterion I - typology of sacred space: all identified sites were sub-divided into categories, based on the typology of sacred space developed by Roger Stump (see section 7.1), so as to assess their relevance to the scope of analysis:

- (1) hierographic;
- (2) historical;

- (3) hierenergetic;
- (4) authoritative;
- (5) ritual.

Criterion II – level of statutory protection: level of statutory protection of each of the identified sites was investigated; the results were presented on the scale, where:

- (1) stood for sites, which are not included in any of the existing protective listings drawn by the state;
- (2) stood for sites listed as heritage of local significance;
- (3) stood for sites listed as heritage of national significance.

Criterion III – availability and reliability of background information: availability of reliable information with regards to the history, significance and current condition of each site was assessed, where:

- (1) stood for sites, in relation to which only scarce information is available (such as individual travellers' reports and passing references in literary sources);
- (2) stood for sites, whose detailed description can be found in multiple literary sources, however, their present condition has not been systematically assessed;
- (3) stood for sites, whose history and significance is well recorded in literary sources, and whose current condition is regularly assessed in the form of conservation and maintenance reports, generated by local, regional, or state authorities.

As it can be observed from the overview of the assessed sacred sites (Table 4), of the twenty-three locations that were considered as possible case studies, fourteen are hierographic sacred spaces (i.e. places of a special religious apparition, revelation or miracle), six can be classified as historical sacred spaces, eighteen as hierenergetic sites (i.e. those that provide access to manifestations of superhuman power and influence), two are authoritative sacred spaces (i.e. centers of authority as expressed by major religious leaders or elites), and twenty fall under the category of ritual sacred spaces (i.e. such where ritual practices have been carried out continuously).

Table 4. Assessment of pre-selected case studies (listed in alphabetical order)

<b>NR.</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>SHORT DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>TYPE</b>	<b>STATUS</b>	<b>DATA</b>
1	Assumption Monastery	Bakhchisaray	cave monastery / spring	(1) (2) (3) (5)	(3)	(2)
2	Ay-Alexiy (St. Alexiy)	General'skoye	spring	(1) (3) (5)	(1)	(1)
3	Ay-Andriy (St. Andrey)	General'skoye	spring / remains of a church	(1) (3) (5)	(2)	(1)
4	Ay-Kostandi (St. Konstantin)	Luchistoye	spring	(1) (3) (5)	(1)	(1)
5	Ay-Vasil (St. Vasily)	General'skoye	spring	(1) (3) (5)	(1)	(1)
6	Ay-Yan-Petri (St. Joan and Peter)	General'skoye	spring	(1) (3) (5)	(1)	(1)
7	Ay-Xori (St. Georgiy)	Izobli'noye	spring	(1) (3) (5)	(1)	(1)
8	Azis-Su (Savopulo)	Simferopol	spring	(3)	(2)	(1)
9	Balta Tıymeز	Bakhchisaray	burial / sacred oak grove	(2) (3) (5)	(2)	(3)
10	Beshik Tau	Bakhchisaray	mountain	(1) (3)	(3)	(1)
11	Chufut Kale	Bakhshisaray	mountain / cave town / historic architectural complex	(2) (4) (5)	(2) (3)	(3)
12	Cosmas and Damian monastery with holy spring	Izobli'noye	monastery / spring	(1) (3) (5)	(3)	(2)
13	Gazy Mansur	Bakhchisaray	burial site	(2)	(3)	(2)
14	Kachi Kalyon with St. Anastasia holy spring	Predush'e'noye	cave complex / holy spring / single tree	(1) (3) (5)	(2) (3)	(2)
15	Kiziltash monastery	Sudak	monastery / cave / spring	(3) (5)	(1)	(1)
16	Kyrk Azis	Zuya / Litvinenkovo	cave / burial site	(3) (5)	(1)	(1)
17	Mt. Svyataya (Kara Dag mountain range)	Feodosia/Koktebel	mountain / burial site	(1) (3) (5)	(3)	(2)
18	Old town of Bakhchisaray	Bakhchisaray	historic architectural complex / burial site	(2) (4) (5)	(2) (3)	(3)
19	Papas Tepe	Shebetovka	mountain / burial site	(5)	(1)	(1)
20	St. Feodor Studit	Temovka	holy spring	(1) (3) (5)	(1)	(1)
21	St. Clement's Inkerman monastery	Balaklava	cave monastery	(2) (5)	(2)	(2)
22	St. Ioann Postnyi	Oboronnoye	spring	(1) (3) (5)	(1)	(1)
23	T'oplov' Nunnery with St. Paraskeva holy spring	Topolevka	cave monastery / spring	(1) (3) (5)	(2)	(2)

Of the fourteen hierographic sacred spaces, in one case (the Assumption Monastery) the miraculous revelation of a holy icon was reported. Twelve feature holy water sources attached to purported burial sites of local elders or saints (St. Alexiy, St. Andrey, St. Konstantin, St. Vassiliy, St. Joan and Peter, St. Georgiy, St. Feodor Studit, St. Ioann Postnyi, St. Paraskeva holy spring of the Toplov Nunnery, Cosmas and Damian holy spring of the Cosmas and Damian monastery, and St. Anastasiya holy spring in Kachi Kalyon), and two (Savopulo fountain and the holy well of the Assumption Monastery) feature healing water sources, which are not specifically associated with burial sites (Artyomov & Sukhinia, 2007; Boreyko, 1998; Kovalenko, 2000).

The three holy mountains included in the list (Beshik Tau, Mt. Svyataya and Papas Tepe) have legends about miraculous hierophanies attributed to them. Thus, the local legend has it that Mount Beshik Tau in the vicinity of Chufut Kale is hiding in its interior the 'holy cradle' that was presented as a gift to a Karaite ruler named Prince Musa by a Jerusalem *Ghazzan*, promising that Musa's grandson, who was soon to be born, would become the new savior of all Karaites. Musa died on his way home, and the cradle was given over to the Prince's son, who vowed that all his children and grandchildren would be nursed in this cradle. One of Musa's descendants, named Ilyagu, achieved great fame as a courageous warrior and defender of all Karaites, but was killed as a hero in the battle against the Genoese in 1261. On the night when Ilyagu died, the holy cradle ascended to the top of the mountain with the help of divine powers, and disappeared in its interior. Until now, the Crimean Karaites believe that one day, the rocks of Beshik Tau will open wide, revealing the cradle and marking the beginning of new history for the Karaite people (Polkanov, 1995a; Fadeyeva, 1998).

Mt. Svyataya ('holy') of the Kara Dag range is one of Crimea's most revered sacred sites. According to the local legend (Filatova, 2002), on the top of the mountain lies the grave of the righteous Crimean Tatar elder, *azis*, named Kemal Babay. Kemal Babay was an honest and wise old man, who knew Quran by heart, travelled a lot, made a pilgrimage to Mecca, visited Istanbul, and wherever he went, he remained sincere and was never afraid to speak up openly about injustice that he encountered. At the end of his life, Kemal came to live in a modest house in the village of Otuzy

(located in the vicinity of present-day Shebetovka), where he tirelessly helped fellow-villagers, offering them wise advice in complicated situations.

Seeing that the old man's health grew weaker and weaker and that he was nearing death, the villagers came to visit Kemal at his bedside and asked him, where he would like to be buried. "I want to be buried", he said, "where the stick that I shall throw will fall" (ibid.). With these words, Kemal stood up, walked slowly towards the door, stepped out of the house and, gathering his power, threw the stick into the air. The stick flew as high as the peaks of Kara Dag and landed on one of its peaks. This was where the villagers buried Kemal Babay when he died. Some time afterwards, shepherds reported seeing a mysterious green light emanating from the elder's grave, and rumors began to spread that the grave possesses miraculous healing powers. Pilgrims from all over the peninsula (not only the Crimean Tatars, but also Greeks, Armenians and Bulgarians) came to visit the grave and pay their respect to Kemal, and they were all healed of their ailments (ibid.). After the Socialist Revolution of 1917, the site of the grave was razed to the ground, and no evidence remains as to its exact location.

Mount Papas Tepe is another example of peninsula's sacred mountain. The legend has it that at the top of the mountain, there lies the grave of yet another Crimean Tatar *azis*, Kurd Tade. Like Kemal, he was known for his kind helpfulness, sincerity, and profound knowledge of Quran. When Kurd Tade grew old, he became overwhelmed with passion for a young beauty and was unfaithful to his devoted and loving wife of many years. The old man felt deeply remorseful, and one morning, ascended mount Papas Tepe and confessed his sin to Allah, adding, „Let the young go back to the young, and let the youth have everything that it is afraid to lose". Allah forgave Kurd Tade and took his soul. At that very spot, the old man was buried. His grave has since become a popular pilgrimage destination among the Crimean Tatar girls and women seeking to regain their lost love (Filatova, 2002). Similar legends abound with reference to other sites on the preliminary list. They were re-published multiple times in various ethnographic sources, e.g. see (Filatova, 2002; Kovalenko, 2000; Kovalenko, 2001; Listopad, 2002; Markov, 1872, reprinted 1995; Mogarichev, 1997; Polkanov, 1995a; Proskurina, 1997), and others.



Five sacred landscapes qualify as historical sites. Thus, the sacred oak grove with the ancient Karaite cemetery of Balta Tiymez and the cave town of Chufut Kale are historical sacred locations presenting unique evidence of the heyday of the life of the Crimean Karaite community in the peninsula, while the two other sites, namely the old town of Bakhchisaray with the Khan's Palace and Salachiq historical district, and Gazy Mansur cemetery testify to the unique period in the history of the Crimean Tatars. At the same time, having acted as important political, cultural and religious centers, these four sacred sites also represent authoritative sacred spaces. The same concerns the Assumption Monastery, owing to the outstanding role that it played in the revival of 'Crimean Athos' back in the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Of the eighteen sites classified as hierenergetic sacred spaces, fourteen feature holy springs, whose waters are believed to possess healing qualities and serve as focal points for carrying out a variety of religious rituals. In relevance to Christian Orthodoxy, such rituals are conducted on the days of major religious festivities, such as Epiphany and Trinity. Normally, stone wells of a basic open type are constructed at the site of a spring, or in locations, where ground waters lie relatively shallow below the earth surface. Most often, cultivation of a well presupposes the presence on top of it of a two- or four-sloped shed, a vessel tray into which the water is to be poured, a bench where a pilgrim can rest, and a large cross with an icon, wrapped into a towel (Listopad, 2002). Some of the wells are equipped with ritual baths, but such cases are rare. It is also possible to come across bare spring outlets devoid any over-structures.

In order to illustrate the way in which local tales attribute miraculous hierophanies at the sites of holy water springs, we shall dwell in detail on some of the popular Crimean legends related to the two sacred springs: St. Paraskeva holy spring of the Toplov Nunnery and St. Anastasia holy spring in Kachi Kalyon.

St. Paraskeva holy spring at the foot of mount Karatau is also known among the Crimean Tatars as *Chorkar-Salyksu*, which translates as "a spring of holy water". St. Paraskeva is said to have been born in Rome, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, during the reign of the Emperor Antonius. Her parents, devout Christians, who had been childless for many years, prayed to the Lord for an offspring. Eventually, their prayers were heard, and a girl was born. She was named Agia Paraskeva. After her parents' death, Paraskeva went on to preach Christian sermons among local pagans. Since Rome was

at the time a major center of paganism, the authorities were outraged by Paraskeva's insistence on spreading God's word. Emperor Antonius himself is said to have ordered Paraskeva's forced conversion into pagan faith, however, the attempts proved to be fruitless. Infuriated, Antonius ordered the woman to be killed, through submerging her into a cauldron filled with boiling oil. To everyone's sheer astonishment, Paraskeva re-emerged from the cauldron fully intact. In disbelief, the Emperor ordered the same water to be sprinkled onto his face. So it was done, and, burnt heavily, Antonius went instantly blind. In desperation, he knelt before Paraskeva and begged, "Have mercy on me and bring back the light into my eyes, so that I can believe in God you preach!". Paraskeva miraculously restored the Emperor's eyesight, and he converted to Christian faith. Later, in Tempi area close to Thessaloniki, Agia Paraskeva was brutally tortured and decapitated by pagans. After her death, Paraskeva was canonized (SCD, 2011).

In another version of the legend, Paraskeva was condemned to death and thrown to be devoured by a vicious serpent that dwelt in the woods nearby the village where she preached. Paraskeva shielded the serpent off with the Christian cross, the sight of which made the beast's body split in two, and miraculously dissolve, to never be seen again (ibid.).

In 1778 a Greek peasant reportedly discovered the icon of St. Paraskeva at the water spring in Toplovka. Having perceived this happening as a divine apparition, the peasant took the icon to Mariupol and donated it to the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin, where it remained for many decades. It is believed that at one point the icon's miraculous healing qualities saved the town from cholera. St. Paraskeva herself is reported to be seen every night, wandering around the Toplov Nunnery, dressed in monastic clothes, holding a staff and a palm branch in her hands, and blessing every person she should meet on her way. If a traveller suffers from a certain disease, he becomes immediately cured by her healing glance. Should someone want to harm the well, or the monastery, St. Paraskeva punishes him by the "invisible force". The local legend has it that once, thieves attempted to steal the wooden boards intended for the renovation of the monastery's church. While trying to carry away their loot, they were "frozen" by St. Paraskeva's glance and could not move away from the spot for the whole night. In the morning, they were discovered by the monks (Artyomov & Sukhinia, 2007).

Another popular local legend attributes miraculous qualities to Cosmas and Damian spring (Kovalenko, 2000). The story has it that once upon a time, there lived a Greek doctor who had two students, Cosmas and Damian. When they grew up, these talented youths surpassed their teacher in medical mastery. The old doctor grew so jealous that he killed them both. Afterwards, he repented for his crime and asked God to create two springs of healing water in the place, where the poor brothers had died, that would heal people with as much skill as the brothers themselves. Another legend (ibid.) holds that once on a hot summer day, a leprosy-stricken shepherd stopped by the spring to slake his thirst. Exhausted by the long walk, he soon fell asleep. In his sleep, the shepherd dreamt of two men with nimbi around their heads, who introduced themselves to him as Cosmas and Damian and ordered the man to bathe in the spring, promising that this should rid him of his ailment. The shepherd instantaneously awoke and plunged into the water. Then, he fell asleep again and was re-visited in his dream by the same men, who said that he was healed, but in order to retain his health in the future, he needs to bathe in the spring every year, on July 1<sup>st</sup>. Indeed, the shepherd was healed, and he spread the word of the miraculous powers of the spring among other locals. Until present, the spring remains very popular among the Crimeans. Up to this day, on July 1<sup>st</sup> each year, people dressed in festive garments gather in the monastery to perform ritual ablutions.

In the Crimean Tatar folklore, the healing powers of Cosmas and Damian spring (known as *Savlykh Su*, “healthy water”) are explained by the fact that its waters flow out of the spot where a Muslim saint had been buried. The water of the spring is believed to be particularly effective against the evil eye, and melancholy (Kovalenko, 2000). Another Crimean Tatar legend tells of a shepherd who fell and broke his leg, while herding his sheep in the hills nearby. Inner voice ordered the man to go to the spring, which he did with unusual strength, given his injury. Upon drinking the water, the shepherd immediately felt better. Then, he plunged into the waters of the spring and was fully cured (Kozelsky, 2010). Other Tatar legends similarly mention shepherds and villagers, guided by inner voice to the spring, where they all experienced the water’s restorative powers (ibid.)

The Crimean Tatars frequently attach scraps of cloth to the basin of the spring. This custom is subject to a variety of interpretations. The act may represent the idea that the disease will be left in the discarded scrap. Alternatively, it may be a relic of the

habit of leaving the whole of the garment as an offering. Yet another theory holds that when a piece of cloth rots away, so does the illness of the individual who placed it at site of the spring (Varner, 2009).

Chemical analysis has demonstrated that the water of St. Cosmas and Damian's well contains heightened concentrations of calcium, as well as notable concentrations of silver ions that disinfect the water. Taking into consideration that silver does not naturally occur in Crimea, its presence in the water most probably results from anthropogenic activities. According to Kovalenko (Kovalenko I. , 2000), this can be explained by the fact that the local monks, being aware of the cleansing powers of silver, used silver tubes in the construction of water catchments and placed silver objects, such as spoons and coins, in the water of the well.

Yet another popular local legend tells about the origin of St. Anastasia holy spring in Kachi Kalyon. The legend has it that in the times long gone, the caves of Kachi Kalyon were inhabited by loathsome beasts. Locals were terrified by them, locked themselves inside their houses every night, and hid their cattle in barns. On the outskirts of the village, there lived a mother with a young daughter, whose name was Anastasia. The woman herded sheep, and the daughter often helped her. One evening, as Anastasia was bringing the herd back home to the village, a horrific multi-legged monster sprung out of a cave and, grabbing one of the sheep in its claws, dragged it to the den. The brave girl rushed to save the sheep, but stumbled upon a rock and injured her leg. Slowly, Anastasia turned back and walked home. On the way, the beasts caught up with the girl and tore her to pieces. The rock could not bear the little Anastasia's cries, and the stones began rolling downhill, killing and burying all the beasts underneath. In the morning, the villagers went looking for the girl and discovered that where the rocks went down, in the grotto, a spring of crystal water was flowing out, like a stream of tears, collecting into a little pool. Nearby stood a cherry tree, which in its shape resembled a kneeling human figure, as if grieving for the dead girl. That day, the villagers gave the grotto with the spring the name of St. Anastasia's and later constructed a small chapel to commemorate the place (Fadeyeva, 1998; Afanasyeva, 2011).

Of the twenty-three selected sacred sites, ten (St. Alexiy, St. Konstantin, St. Vassiliy, St. Joan and Peter, St. Georgy, Kiziltash, Kyrk Azis, Papas Tepe, St. Feodor Studit

and St. Ioann Postnyi) do not enjoy an official protective status of any level. They are either in dilapidated condition, or maintained through non-governmental funds; five sites (Ay-Andriy with remains of a Christian Orthodox church, Savopulo fountain, Inkerman monastery, Toplov Nunnery, and Balta Tiymez cemetery) are listed as heritage of local significance. Chufut Kale, Kachi Kalyon and the Old town of Bakhchisaray present mixed sites, portions of which are recognized as heritage of national significance, while other parts enjoy the status of heritage of local significance.

Cosmas and Damian monastery with the holy spring of the same name is located on the territory of the Crimean State Nature Reserve, the largest nature preserve in the peninsula, while Kara Dag massif, with Mt. Svyataya, forms part of Kara Dag Nature Reserve, organized in 1979 on the base of the Kara Dag research station named after T. I. Vyazemskiy. Between 1963 and 1979, it has been known as Kara Dag Branch of the Institute of Biology of the Southern Seas under AS of UkrSSR). In 2004 the aquatic-cliff complex of Kara Dag was inscribed on the List of Wetlands of International significance (Ramsar Convention) (NASU, 2014). Visitor access to both the Crimean State Nature and the Kara Dag Nature Reserves is strictly regulated and only possible in the form of organized tours.

With regards to the degree of availability of reliable information concerning the history, significance and current condition of each of the sites, the amount and quality of the data available proves to be in direct correlation with the level of statutory protection that the sites in question enjoy. The ten sites that are not included in any state-generated protective lists are also the ones that are least of all covered in the academic literature. The information regarding their history, significance and current condition is limited to random travellers' reports and cursory mention in the (mostly non-academic) publications, largely re-printed from one source to another. These data cannot therefore be used as a basis for a scientific investigation. Another constraint for research in relation to these cases lies in the lack, at the present time, of clear maintenance concept, or of records of previous alterations and repairs – all of which makes the authenticity, and relevance, of these sites questionable.

The two sacred landscapes that form part of strictly protected nature reserves – the Crimean State Nature Reserve and Kara Dag Nature Reserve – pose yet another

difficulty for in-depth research. Although the activities of these reserves are very well recorded in academic sources from the standpoint of natural heritage and include a broad range of topics, such as conservation of natural complexes and biological variety, integral studies of terrestrial and marine ecosystems, fundamental and applied research in the fields of physiology and biochemistry of marine organisms, development of scientific foundations and approbation of various forms of ecological education, etc., the cultural context remains largely omitted (NASU, 2014). There exists a severe lack of comprehensive and reliable data regarding the sacred sites contained within the territories of the two reserves, with most of the information being comprised of non-academic publications and reports, duplicating each other. In-depth research is further complicated by the limitations in access to the locations in question.

With these considerations and constraints in mind, several of the pre-selected sacred landscapes had to be eliminated from the list of prospective case studies. Thus, ten sites that do not enjoy any official protective status from the side of the state (St. Alexiy, St. Konstantin, St. Vassiliy, St. Joan and Peter, St. Georgy, Kiziltash, Kyrk Azis, Papas Tepe, St. Feodor Studit and St. Ioann Postnyi) had to be excluded owing to the fact that their authenticity had been lost irretrievably due to uncontrolled alterations, dilapidation and in some cases, complete destruction. The two sacred landscapes that are contained in the strictly protected nature reserves (Cosmas and Damian Monastery and Mt. Svyataya), one the other hand, had to be deleted from the list, as further research would be complicated by their limited accessibility, as well as due to lack of information with regards to the sacred sites contained within their territories.

After careful consideration, Savopulo fountain in Simferopol was excluded from the list of possible case studies on the grounds that its associative values have been eroded by the loss of healing qualities of its water, which is now qualified as undrinkable on account of sanitary considerations. At the present time, Savopulo performs hardly any ritual function. The same concerns mountain Beshik Tau, where no ritual activities of any sort are performed. Both of the locations lack the living character, which stood out as a critical aspect in the final selection process.

Reasoning that the case studies must be representative of Crimea's diverse multicultural and multi-religious population, it was decided that the selected sacred

landscapes should fall into three groups: (1) the Orthodox Christian sacred heritage; (2) the Crimean Tatar sacred heritage; and (3) the Crimean Karaite sacred heritage.

The seven remaining landscapes (the Assumption Monastery, the Toplov Nunnery, Inkerman Monastery, the town of Chufut Kale, the sacred oak grove Balta Tiymez with the ancient Karaite cemetery, the old town of Bakhchisaray, and the Muslim cemetery Gazy Mansur) were analyzed more closely with the view of distributing them across the three aforementioned groups, based on their history and relevance for each of the three ethno-religious groups.

The associative values of the town of Chufut Kale stem from the three different sources: firstly, having acted as the administrative, cultural and religious center of both the Crimean Tatar and the Crimean Karaite communities, the town played the pivotal role in the history of the peninsula and in the shaping of its inhabitants' cultural and religious identities; secondly, it town is directly associated with the authoritative power of both the rulers of the Crimean Khanate and the prominent religious leaders and public figures of the Crimean Karaite community; thirdly, the town hosts a number of religious buildings, which played an important role in the lives of the Tatars and the Karaites at different historical periods. Although the town was abandoned over a century ago, to this day it remains a major landmark testifying to the peninsula's turbulent history and a gathering point of the present-day Crimean Karaite community.

Chufut Kale is comprised of multiple buildings, cave complexes and hydrological structures, some of which are listed by the Ukrainian state as heritage of national significance, and others - as heritage of local significance. While not all of the town's sections have been sufficiently studied, overall, the history and significance of Chufut Kale is well recorded in literary sources, and its current condition is regularly assessed by the responsible agencies. Chufut Kale clearly qualifies as a representative case study for exploring the development and protection of the peninsula's sacred landscape from the multi-cultural and multi-religious perspective.

The sacred oak grove Balta Tiymez with the ancient Karaite cemetery presents a unique combination of a burial site and a sacred natural landscape, whose associative value is derived from three of the five sources of significance suggested. Firstly, the

cemetery is a historical site, where many of the Crimean Karaite prominent personalities found their rest; secondly, the oaks of the sacred grove comprise present a powerful hierenergetic location, where, through the ancient oaks, the Karaites gain access to manifestations of superhuman power, god Tengri and establish the connection with the diseased relatives buried thereunder; and thirdly, the oak grove remains a setting for ritual activities carried out by the Crimean Karaite community.

As it will be elaborated in the next chapters of the thesis, the ancient cemetery caused quite a controversy of both historical and religious nature. Hence, it has been widely discussed from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards in both native and foreign literary sources. Balta Tiymez is listed as heritage of local importance, and the amount of information with regards to its history, significance and current condition can be assessed as sufficient as the basis for further in-depth research. Being a constellation of sacred elements, which is unique not only for Crimea, but also on the world scale, Balta Tiymez presents a well-substantiated selection as a case study in the framework the present thesis.

Same can be said about the old town of Bakhchisaray. Having been the capital of the Crimean Khanate and the heart of the Crimean Tatar state, as well the burial site of the most highly respected Crimean Tatar rulers, the town can be clearly regarded as a historical sacred site. At the same time, Bakhchisaray together with the district of Salachiq present an example of an authoritative sacred space, in so far as it acted as both the official residence of the Crimean Khans and the seat of one of Crimea's most famous Islamic religious schools, Zincirli Medrese. The Muslim cemetery of Gazy Mansur located within a walking distance from Salachiq presents a unique example of the cultural and religious continuity, which is very typical for Crimea. This historic sacred site, which grew around a former Derwish *Tekke* (monastery), is linked to the lives of the three Muslim saints, who believed to be buried there. The old town, together with the adjacent sacred sites, can therefore be counted as the memoryscape of outstanding significance for the Crimean Tatar ethnos.

The three remaining monasteries on the preliminary list represent the same type of sacred heritage, and for this reason, it was concluded that one of them should be selected as a reference. Comparison based historical significance and current relevance resulted in the following conclusion: while both the Assumption Monastery



and Inkerman Monastery were constructed on the sites of earlier cave monasteries, whose foundation dates back to as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD, Toplov Monastery is a relatively new complex, which was first opened in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Unlike the two former monasteries, which exemplify a harmonious combination of exceptionally beautiful natural environment with sacral architecture imbedded in the landscape, the latter is a recently restored complex of buildings of average architectural value. While the significance of the Toplov Monastery as a present-day Christian Orthodox sanctuary has to be recognized, it does not illustrate Crimea's multi-ethnic and multi-religious past vividly enough to be selected as a case-study.

Further, selection had to be made between the Assumption Monastery and Inkerman Monastery. Both of them present outstanding examples of historic sacred landscapes and act as important ritual centers of the peninsula, however, if we refer to the overview table (Table 4), it becomes obvious that the associative values of the former from a much wider variety of sources than in the case of the latter. While Inkerman Monastery meets only two of the five criteria (as a historical and a ritual space), the Monastery of Assumption satisfies four out of the five: firstly, it is hierographic site (due to the miraculous revelation of the Holy Mother of God, which occurred in the rock upon which the monastery was later built); secondly, it is a major historical site and a prominent memoryscape, due to its connection with both the Greek colonization of the peninsula and the revival of the Crimean Athos, which took place in the 18<sup>th</sup>- 19<sup>th</sup> centuries; thirdly, the holy water well located on the territory of the monastery is regarded as a hierenergetic source and it therefore remains highly popular with the local inhabitants and the pilgrims alike.

Apart from this, the Assumption monastery presents a remarkable example of a Christian Orthodox sanctuary, which lies in the area, where sacred heritage of other ethno-religious groups abounds, too. For these reasons, the Assumption Monastery qualifies better as a case study, both on account of its vibrant history and of its location.

With these considerations in mind, a schematic map of the five sacred landscapes which were identified as case studies after the final selection (the Old Town of Bakhchisaray, Gazy Mansur cemetery, the cave town of Chufut Kale, Balta Tiymez cemetery, and the Assumption Monastery), was developed (Figure 15). All of them are

incorporated into Bakhchisaray Historical and Cultural Preserve. Part of the elements situated on the territories of these sites are recognized as heritage of national significance (see “*State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bakhchisaray recognized as objects of national significance*“), others are listed as monuments of local significance (see “*State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bakhchisaray recognized as objects of local significance*”)<sup>27</sup>.

Defining the legal status of the Assumption Monastery presents certain difficulties. Territorially, the monastery is located within the domains of the above-mentioned Bakhchisaray Historical and Cultural Preserve. However, it is legally overseen by the administration of UOC (Moscow Patriarchate) and thusly, holds the autonomous status, distinct from other parts of the Preserve. One of its churches, alongside two auxiliary buildings, are recognized as monuments of national significance and listed in the “*State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bakhchisaray recognized as objects of national significance*“.

All the selected sacred landscapes are memoryscapes of exceptional importance for the ethno-religious groups concerned. It is these sacred places that, if we apply Daniele Hervieu-Léger’s (Hervieu-Léger D. , 2000) terminology, keep the chain of memory unbroken and provide the present-day Slavic Orthodox Christians, Crimean Tatars and Crimean Karaites alike with the awareness of a collectively (or, one may say, ‘communally’) shared memory – an important element of both their social and individual identity. Keeping in touch with the holy sites thusly facilitates the continuity of collective memory and prevents the community from becoming – once again, in Hervieu-Léger’s words, “amnesic”.

Based on their history and relevance, the five studies can be distributed in the following way: (1) the old town of Bakhchisaray with Salachiq and Gazy Mansur cemetery form the Crimean Tatar heritage cluster; (2) the cave town of Chufut Kale with the Karaite cemetery and the sacred oak grove Balta Tiymez form the Crimean Karaite heritage cluster; and finally (3) the complex of the Assumption Monastery

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<sup>27</sup> The listings are available on the official website of the Republican Committee of Crimea on the Protection of Cultural Heritage (<http://monuments-crimea.gov.ua>).

forms the Orthodox Christian cluster. Detailed description of the selection follows in the next section.

## **8.2 Description of the case studies**

History of the area, where the present town of Bakhchisaray lies, has been from the ancient times characterized by a particular position at the border of the two large historic-geographical regions of the peninsula: the steppe and the mountains. These two entities never existed in isolation from each other, but instead, remained in permanent contact.

The steppes were the home of the nomads: first the Scythians (7<sup>th</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC), Sarmatians (1<sup>st</sup> century BC – 4<sup>th</sup> century AD) then the Huns (4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD), Khazars and Bulgars (6<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD), Pechenegs (9<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) and Kipchaks (from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century). At all these periods, the local population presented a mixture of descendants of different ethnicities: Taurians, Greeks, Scythians, Sarmatians, Goths, Huns, Alans and Turks (Mogarichev, 1993; MCU, 2011).

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the history of Crimea took an important turn that went on to define its future for the following five centuries: in 1223 the Kipchaks of the northern Black Sea coast were attacked and defeated by the army of Jochi, the son of Genghis Khan. In 1239 the Mongols invaded again, this time subduing the steppes of Crimea irrevocably and establishing their administration (*ibid.*).

While the time under the rule of the Golden Horde may be regarded as a dark age for many of the eastern-Slavic regions conquered by Mongols, for Crimea, the age was a prosperous one, from both economic and cultural points of view. The peninsula lay on the intersection of the most vital trade routes connecting the East with the West. At the same time, conversion of the Golden Horde rulers from paganism to Islam meant, for the peninsula, the introduction to the cultural riches of the Islamic world (*ibid.*).

While the Crimean steppes fell under the rule of the Golden Horde, the mountainous southern part of Crimea (although ethnically diverse as well), remained almost entirely

in the power of the Byzantine Empire with its center in Chersoneses, whose culture drastically differed from that of the steppe nomads. In the early medieval period, the area along Churuk Su river in Bakhchisaray Valley remained a distant outpost of the Byzantine Empire. Its main stronghold was the Kipchak fort known at the time as Kyrk Or atop the plateau separating the two vast valleys: Mariam Dere and Ashlama Dere. At the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century this area became the scene of turbulent political affairs: in 1299 it was burnt down in the course of the struggle between Emir Nogay with the local Khans (Mogarichev Y. , 1992; MCU, 2011). At the time, the ethno-confessional composition of the fortress's inhabitants was quite diverse. Apart from Turks and Mongols, it included Christianized descendants of the local Alani, Armenians and a small community of the Crimean Karaites, who, despite their inconsiderable number, played a vital role in the economic life of the peninsula. Gradually, Kyrk Or turned from a small provincial town into a major cultural and spiritual center of the region. Down in the valley, a new settlement was founded, which came to be known as Eski Yurt ("the old village"), lying on the territory modern-day Bakhchisaray. Located there was one of the oldest and most revered Muslim cemeteries, where the famed student of Prophet Muhammed, Melik-Ashter, was presumably buried; alongside three 16<sup>th</sup>-century Crimean Khans (Mehmed II Giray, Saadet II Giray and Mehmed III Giray).

In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Golden Horde experienced the instable period of internal feuds and civil unrest. At the same time, Crimean *Ulus* (province) was on the rise and thrived owing to successful international trade. By the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Khan Haji Giray (ruled 1441 – 1466), whose residence is believed to have stood in present-day's Bakhchisaray district of Salachiq, where he was later buried, established himself on the throne of the *Ulus* and became the founder of the famed dynasty of Crimean Giray Khans (MCU, 2011). In 1502, his son, Mengli I Giray (ruled 1478 – 1515), put an end to the internal strife for power over the Crimean peninsula and proclaimed himself direct successor to the whole of the Golden Horde's Empire. Thus, the small provincial seat all at once became – nominally – the capital of the Golden Horde, which stretched from the Caspian Sea to Ural (ibid.).

At the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Mengli I Giray erected a new Khan's residence in Salachiq (possibly, in the place of the previous palace constructed by his

father), named Devlet Saray. Next to the residence rose Zincirli Medrese (religious school), the mosque and the family vault of the Khans (ibid.).

Mengli I Giray's aspirations to rule over the united Golden Horde were fulfilled only partially. A number of independent Khanates, each with its own ruling dynasty, established themselves across the territory of the Horde. These were impossible to control from as far as the coast of the Black Sea, and in order to gain more influence over the disintegrating state, the Crimean Khanate entered a union with the Ottoman Empire (ibid.).

In 1532, under the rule of Sakhîb I Giray (ruled 1532 – 1550), the capital of the Khanate was transferred from Salachîq to the present-day location of the Khan's Palace in Bakhchisaray. Remaining partially dependent on the Ottoman Empire until the signing of the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarjî<sup>28</sup> at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War (1768-74), the Crimean Khanate, with its new capital in Bakhchisaray, expanded and prospered (ibid.). Being the first capital of the Crimean Tatar state, it was what may be called poetically the heart of the nation.

Kyrk Or, now abandoned by the Crimean Tatars for the new capital, fell into the hands of the Crimean Karaites and came to be known as Chufut Kale ('the Jewish Fortress'). Nevertheless, being the burial site of Djanike Khanym, the legendary female historical figure, daughter of Tokhtamish (Khan of the Golden Horde in 1380 – 1395), and lying in the direct proximity of another revered old Muslim cemetery, Gazy Mansur, it was still held in high regard by the Muslims of the peninsula.

The Crimean Karaites made the fortress their spiritual center, constructing on Chufut Kale plateau the two Karaite synagogues, *Kenasse*. Down in the valley, which due to similarity in physical features, was known as the local Jehoshaphat, stood the sacred oak grove, worshipped by the Crimean Karaites since their arrival in the peninsula. It was under these trees that each Karaite wished to be buried. Gradually, the grove transformed into what now is the largest and most ancient Karaite cemetery in Europe (ibid.).

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<sup>28</sup> The Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarjî (also spelled Küçük Kaynarca) was a peace treaty signed on 21 July 1774 between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire.

Parallel to the above-mentioned developments, in Mariam Dere gorge on the side of Chufut Kale, yet another important spiritual center was rising - the Orthodox Christian one. Here, on the spot of the ancient Greek settlement of Mariampol (from which the name of the valley is derived) a cave monastery was founded. The oldest cultural layer of the monastery dates back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD, and from that time onwards, the monastic complex, which later came to be known as the Assumption Monastery, expanded along the steep slopes of the gorge. According to the local legends, it was here, in the rock high above the ground, that the icon of the Holy Mother of God revealed itself. The miraculous hierophany sealed the reputation of the location as one of the most revered holy sites of the peninsula. After the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Empire at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the monastery's life received a new impetus (see Chapter 3), and eventually, it turned into one of Crimea's major Orthodox sanctuaries (ibid).

This outstanding and rare constellation of architectural, cultural, religious and natural elements concentrated on such a relatively small territory is a completely unique phenomenon not only for Ukraine, but also on the European scale. It is very seldom that one may find a comparable variety of co-existent influences, what more, in a place that is still a living, bustling organism, inhabited (at least in part) by the descendants of the old peoples that vanished from the map of history centuries ago.

In the case of the cultural legacy of Bakhchisaray district we have in front of us a constellation of sacred sites, organically intertwined with the surrounding landscape, each of which bears a different shade of 'holiness'. If we go back to the classification of sacred spaces by Roger Stump (Stump, 2008), discussed in chapter 7 of the present thesis, we may observe not one, but many sources of religious significance may be applied to the local context.

## **8.3 History, significance and current condition of the case studies**

### **8.3.1 Case study 1: The Assumption Monastery**

The road from Chufut Kale runs toward the suburbs of Bakhchisaray, deepening gradually into the ravine stretching between the steep rocks. Slightly further the road reveals the abandoned caverns, which once made up the rock Monastery of Assumption.

The monastery's history began with the foundation of the Greek Christian settlement in the Mariam Dere gorge, named Mariampol. Modern scholars (Tur, 1998; Belov, 1997; Kozelsky, 2010) agree that the Greek colonization of this part of the region occurred between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., during the iconoclastic period, when a group of Greek Christians found refuge in the Crimean mountains. Remnants of this cliff town can still be seen in the vacated caves carved in the slopes of the gorge. Some authors (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 1993) believe, however, that the monastery was originally based in the caves in the proximity of the southern gate of Chufut Kale, and that it was transferred to its present venue after Chufut Kale became the residence of the Crimean Khans in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The monastery is frequently mentioned in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup>-centuries sources. It appears that it maintained close relationship with Moscow and obtained substantial financial support from the then-Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 2007). Russian diplomats, during their missions to the Tatar Khan in Bakhchisaray, visited the monastery in order to pray before embarking on their trip back home (ibid.).

The foundation of the monastery is connected with a number of legends. One of them was written down in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Ivan Lyzlov, a Russian historian, author of *“The Scythian History”* and ambassador of the Russian Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich (1596—1645). Lyzlov (quoted in Fadeyeva 1998) narrates:

Once upon a time there lived, in a mountain nearby, a Great Serpent devouring men and cattle alike. In fear, people abandoned the place and left it empty. Still, some of the Greeks and the Genoese remained, and prayed to the Holy Mother of God, and begged her to rid

them of the Serpent. One night they saw a candle burning at the top of the mountain. Not being able to climb the mountain, because it was so steep, the people carved in stone a staircase, which led to the peak. There, beside the candle, they found the icon of the Holy Mother of God, and the Great Serpent, stretched dead by its side. People knelt and thanked the Mother of God for saving them from the Serpent. The Serpent they cut into pieces and burnt. Since that moment, locals started to come there often and prayed to the Holy Mother of God. (Fadeyeva, 1998, p. 112)

According to Lyzlov, once the Crimean Khan visited the Assumption Monastery and asked the Mother of God for help him against the enemies who he was at war with at the time, promising her a substantial tribute. Indeed, he returned home victorious, and fulfilled his promise by supplying the Monastery with candles for one whole year. His heirs often did likewise (Lyzlov, quoted in (Borisov, 1995).

Another local legend, recorded by the Russian archaeologist Dmitriy Strukov (Strukov, 1876), speaks of how, in the times far gone, a local shepherd named Mikhail brought his herd into the valley to graze and saw the icon of the Holy Mother of God imbedded approximately 20 meters high in the rock, with a candle burning in front of it. Struck by this miraculous vision, he immediately told about it to the other locals. When the news reached the local prince, he ordered the icon to be removed from the rock and brought to his house, which stood in the rock's vicinity. So it was done, and the prince, together with his family welcomed the icon. But the following day the icon vanished and was later found safely set in the rock, where it had been originally discovered. The prince ordered it back to his house. Again, it was brought in, but returned to its original place the following day. The prince concluded that the icon did not wish to be removed from the rock. He put it back and carved a small chapel in the rock and later ordered a staircase to be carved in the rock, so that the locals could go and pray in front of the miraculous icon. Because the revelation of the icon took place on August 15, the feast day of the Assumption of Mary, the chapel was christened the Chapel of the Assumption of the Mother of God.

Interestingly enough, this legend mirrors some of the much older pagan tales, in which an evil serpent devouring men and cattle was a very popular character. As Fadeyeva (1998) notes, the young shepherd is curiously named Mikhail, in honor of Archangel Mikhail, who is traditionally depicted piercing a serpent-dragon's throat with his sword. Churches in his honor usually replaced pagan sanctuaries of Apollo,



which were traditionally erected on hilltops. Furthermore, Russian archaeologist Nikolay Repnikov (referenced in Fadeyeva 1998) discovered a number of Tauri stone blocks at the site of the Monastery. He also claimed that the square in front of the Monastery, where annual festive services take place on August 15<sup>th</sup>, resembles a dolmen, which once again points to its possible use in pagan times.

By the end of the 1770s, the Assumption Monastery came to a decline due to Catherine II's scheme to relocate the non-Slavic Christians of Crimea to the Russian Azov seaside. A massive resettlement campaign under the leadership of general Alexander Suvorov took place in 1778, during which approximately 30.000 Greeks and Armenians were transported, under the escort of Russian troops, to the Azov coast, where they went on to found the town of Mariupol – a major Greek settlement in Ukraine up to this day (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 2007; Kozelsky, 2010).

After the Greek exodus, the monastery was deserted and its main relic, the icon of the Holy Mother of God, was carried away by the monks and afterwards regrettably lost. There were no priests left to serve, and no patrons to finance to maintain the monastery's facilities (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 2007). The Orthodox Christians, who remained in the peninsula, appealed to Khan Sahib Giray, requesting him to find a new superior for the monastery. In 1781, the Khan invited the priest, named Konstantin Spirandi, from Constantinople, to lead the congregation (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 2007; Kozelsky, 2010).

In 1783, when the Crimean peninsula was officially annexed by Russia, imperial troops quartered in the vicinity of Bakhchisaray, and for the time being, the Assumption Monastery became host to the parochial church. Owing to monetary inflow from Moscow, the monastery's condition improved substantially over the following years (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 2007).

In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian government began the systematic restoration of the Christian holy places in Crimea with the view of attracting more Russian Orthodox settlers to the region (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 2007). In 1850, the restored monastery was re-opened owing to the effort of Innokentiy (Archbishop of the Chersoneses and Taurida Diocese, from 1848 until 1857), who was an avid vindicator of the safeguarding of ancient sacred sites in Crimea. Gradually, the

complex expanded. By the winter of 1851, builders and architects, who meticulously tried to preserve the monastery's authentic look and character on each stage of renovation, had made considerable progress. By 1852, *Odesskiy Vestnik* reported that the Assumption Monastery had already attracted its first elder, who settled in Crimea "after various travels through the religious communities of the fatherland, Palestine, and Athos" (Kozelsky, 2010, p. 109). As a gift from the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, the monastery obtained the icon of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God, as a replacement for the lost relic. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there have been thirty monks living in the monastery (ibid.).

In order to establish the monastery's miraculous pedigree and justify its position as the flagship monastery of the 'Crimean Athos', the old legends describing the divine epiphany of the Icon of the Holy Mother of God were circulated widely in various literary sources, explaining the appearance of the icon in the rock, the sanctification of the location, and subsequent foundation of the monastery at the site. The church officials argued, in addition, that the monastery was built prior to the arrival of Mongols in Crimea, thus concluding that Christianity predated Islam in the region. Innokentiy, in his article entitled "*Novootkrytyi Uspenskiy Bakhchisarayskiy skit*" ("The newly-opened Assumption Skete in Bakhchisaray") and published in *Odesskiy Vestnik* in 1852, emphasized that at the times when the monastery emerged "Crimea was located still in the state close to its original wilderness", "when Tatars and Bakhchisaray still did not exist", and "before the invasion of Mongols (...), when there was a colony of Genoese and the authority was still Greek" (Archbishop Innokentiy, quoted in Kozelsky, 2010, pp. 107-108). Innokentiy's article stressed also that after the spread of Islam in the peninsula, Tatars treated the Assumption Monastery with reverence nearly as deep as that of Christians. He repeatedly described the Assumption Monastery as a location of "particular respect for not only the Orthodox Christians of Crimea, but also of the Tatars themselves" (ibid.) and noted that "in spite of their Muslim fanaticism", the Crimean khans often "sought protection in the Holy Place, and lit candles in front of the Holy Icon" (ibid.). He goes on to note that following the Greek exodus from Crimea, "it might be expected that the Tatars would seek to erase any signs [Greek] presence", but instead, Tatars safeguarded the monastery (ibid.).

Thus, the narrative revolving around two key characteristics of the Crimean Athos was taking shape: on the one hand, it emphasized the pre-eminence of Christianity in Crimea over other faiths, such as Islam; on the other, it stressed the importance and relevance of a Christian holy site that extended beyond boundaries of confessions.

At the time of the siege of Sevastopol of 1854-1855, during the Crimean War, a military hospital was stationed in the monastery's premises. The tombs of the fallen war heroes are still to be found in the thalweg of Mariam Dere valley (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 2007).

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Assumption Monastery was an extensive complex comprised of five churches (the ancient cave church of Assumption of the Holy Mother of God; the cave church of Apostle Mark constructed in 1859; the church of the Kings Konstantin and Elena constructed in 1857; the church of the St. Innokentiy of Irkutsk constructed in 1896; and the church of the Great Martyr George constructed in 1875 (ibid.).

A number of buildings housing the monastery's additional facilities were erected. In 1862 the Superior's house and a two-tiered refectory building comprised of a kitchen, a bakery and a refectory were constructed on the middle platform of the rock, alongside six new monks' cells. Sixteen more cells were cut in the rock, and two more were built at the bottom of the gorge. In 1867 two two-storied hotels for pilgrims and visitors were erected. A fountain with the basin, was installed on the main square, and a new road connecting the monastery with the town of Bakhchisaray was constructed. A staircase of eighty-four steps leading from the main square to the entrance up to the monastery plateau was cut in the rock, and a new bell tower was erected. An orchard was laid out to the south of the monastery, reminiscent of the Garden of Gethsemane in Jerusalem, and the so-called 'Gethsemane Chapel' was built amidst it (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 2007).

Thusly, the domains of the monastery spread across the three levels:

- Level 1 (the bottom of the Mariam Dere gorge) consisted of the refectory buildings, two hotels for pilgrims and visitors and the Holy Gate, the church of

the Great Martyr George, with its two cemeteries (one civil and one military), and the orchard with Gethsemane Chapel.

- Level 2 (middle) with superior's house, the central square with the fountain, the church of the St. Innokentiy of Irkutsk, and three caverns.
- Level 3 (upper) with the cave Church of the Holy Assumption, the Church of Apostle Mark, and the Church of the Kings Constantin and Elena, the bell tower, thirteen caverns and a steeple.

Cultural layer of the monastery and the settlement of Mariampol located in the lower part of the canyon slopes and at its bottom have been disturbed by the construction, in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, of a cemetery, by introduction communication systems, as well as by landslides (particularly, on the north-eastern slope). Overall, a maximum of 20 to 30% of the monastery's original cultural layer have been affected by re-building and partial, or complete, destruction. Currently, BHCP's inventory identifies 116 components of the Assumption Monastery complex that have been researched on and duly recorded. Most of them are rock structures (cells, cave churches, chapels, stairs, corridors and terraces), which were constructed around the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. and were repeatedly rebuilt up to the 20th century. Other components include the remains of the settlement of Mariampol, and two structures whose construction dates back to the 19th century (Superior's House and Belfry).

The oldest cultural layer of the monastery is comprised of the caverns located on the south-western and south-eastern slopes of Mariam Dere gorge. Part of them are built into the valley's natural grottos. All of these caverns are organically fitted in the surrounding landscape and form its integral component. They present seven distinct groups (Bobrovskiy / MCU, 2006):

- Group I of the caverns is represented by the rock structures on the southwestern slope of the gorge. It is comprised of 37 buildings fitted in the rock, distributed in six tiers. A fragmented natural rock gallery ascending from the bottom of the gorge to the Church of Assumption served as the internal planning basis, by linking the terraced tiers. Apart from the church itself, the complex includes the monks' living cells, sepulchers and utility rooms. Most of them underwent substantial rebuilding in the course of the monastery's renovation in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Facade walls with cutouts for windows

- and doors were added. Rock staircase was renovated, and cave walls re-plastered. Wooden and stone iconostases were installed in the Holy Assumption and St. Mark's churches, respectively. In the cave room, which was formerly the church of St. Konstantin and Elena, church walls were restored).
- Group II of the caverns is located on the opposite slope of the gorge, vis-a-vis the buildings of group I. It consists of 42 caverns, distributed in six tiers. Two caves can be singled out as small churches or chapels. Also traceable are a number of rooms and artificial terraces housing grain tanks. The tiers are interconnected via a system of staircases carved in the rock. Part of the caverns of group II were used as living quarters and utility rooms in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries by the inhabitants of Mariampol.
  - Group III of the caverns stretches along the northeastern slope of the canyon, 25 meters to the west of group II. It is comprised of 11 caverns divided in two tiers. Two of them are former chapels, the others are ruined living quarters with adjacent utility rooms.
  - Group IV is located on the northeastern slope of the canyon, to the east of group II. It consists of 11 rock structures, predominantly cave cells, divided in three to four tiers. The cells are fitted in the natural grottos: they served as living quarters and utility rooms. Also included in the group are four large natural grottos with no traces of anthropogenic use. Part of the structures in this group was utilized as living quarters and utility rooms in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries by the inhabitants of Mariampol. In the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries facade walls were added and part of the inner cave walls was re-plastered.
  - Group V is located on the northeastern slope of the gorge, forty meters to the south of group IV. It consists of seven cave cells in four to five tiers. One of the rooms, presumably, had a ritual function of a memorial chapel commemorating a place of burial (Bobrovskiy / MCU, 2006). Some of the structures underwent rebuilding in the course of the monastery's renovation in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries.
  - Group VI is located on the northeastern slope of the canyon, 25 meters to the east of group V. It is comprised of four caverns distributed in two tiers. One of them, presumably, used to be a chapel (*ibid.*).
  - Group VII is located on the opposite slope, 100 meters to the left of group I. It is comprised of four structures: two cave cells, a utility room and the room

containing the remains of the so-called Gethsemane chapel. The structures are carved in the rock and comprise three tiers. The chapel bears evidence of repairs conducted in the medieval period (*ibid.*). Some of the building materials, however, date back to the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the monastery was a very affluent institution. It owned considerable share of the Mariam Dere valley, including an orchard and a vineyard. Apart from this, it owned the stocks of the Black Sea Steamship Line and Trade Society. All sources taken together, the monastery's income amounted to as much as 12.173 roubles – a very sizeable capital at the time (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 2007, p. 250).

In 1921 the monastery was closed after the clergy protested against the Soviet power. By 1929, all of the monastery's churches were taken down. By the 1990s, only an inconsiderable part of the complex had been preserved, including the main hall of the Church of Holy Assumption with four columns and some traces of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century mural and window openings facing Mariam Dere valley, the Superior's house, ruins of the fountain, and the rock staircase leading to the monastery's plateau, where a number of dilapidated cells and crypts could be found. Also surviving were the two buildings of the monastery's hotel (*ibid.*).

In the 1990s, the Assumption Monastery was re-opened. Presently, three churches are functional. The church of the Great Martyr George on the slope of Mariam Dere gorge is being restored (*ibid.*).

Larger part of the monastery's territory is construction-free and has been preserved in its authentic condition (north-eastern and, partially, north-western slopes of the gorge). Of the old settlement of Mariampol only a few house foundations remain, alongside the supporting wall of the terraced road running along the northeastern slope of Mariam Dere. Clusters of caverns forming monks' premises still retain their original planning. Most of the caverns are presently abandoned. Only those located in the proximity of the Church of Assumption are utilized as living quarters and storage rooms.

Situated on the middle level of the monastery complex is a large square with the **Superior's house** on the left end (Figure 18) and the chapel-shaped fountain in the

back of the central part (Figure 19). The fountain erected in honor of the icon of the Mother of God marks the place where a holy water source emanates. Water is not collected from the fountain directly, but is streamed through the pipe towards the frontal end of the square, where the outtake is equipped with a water tap and a small concrete basin underneath, wherefrom pilgrims fill in the vessels they bring along with holy water (Figure 20).

The rock wall adjacent to the stairs leading to the upper level of the complex is decorated with reliefs depicting various Orthodox cathedrals located in Ukraine and beyond. Each of the reliefs has a small reliquary, where a handful of earth brought by pilgrims from the place depicted is stored (Figure 21). The rock stairs bear a pivotal symbolic meaning, representing the path from Earth (outside the monastery) to Heaven (inside the monastery) – the abode of God.

The rock stairs lead to the so-called **Archangels' Passage** (Figure 22) – the arch-shaped chapel marking the entrance to the monastery's main territory. The walls of the arch are painted with the images of God's eight Archangels. The sculpture of the Great Martyr George the Victorious is to be found in front of the chapel (Figure 23). The Passage opens in another, smaller, square (Figure 25), from which the magnificent view of the gorge beneath, and of the main square with the fountain and the holy water well opens.

A short flight of stairs further leads to the confession rooms (Figure 24), and, turning to the left, another flight brings the visitors to the first of the monastery's rock churches.

The **Church of Apostle Mark** is small in size and is intended for daily prayers, which the monks attend together with the monastery's superior. In front of the Church of Apostle Mark, the stairs take their final turn (Figure 26) and lead to the main, and the largest, rock church of the monastery – the **Church of Assumption of the Holy Mother of God** (Figure 27). Entrance to the church is guarded by Seraph, whose impressive figure is carved in the rock. To the left of the entrance to the church is the fresco depicting sinners in the Infernal Lake. The church is comprised of two cave rooms: the central, larger one contains the reliquary with the

relics of the saints. On the left side from the altar, the cave wall opens into the balcony overlooking the Mariam Dere gorge (Figure 28).

Attached to the rock above is the balcony with the fresco depicting the Holy Mother of God with the Infant Christ. This place is regarded as the site of the original apparition of the icon of the Holy Mother of God, described in the legends. On the left and the right hand sides, the fresco is surrounded by the depictions of the seven Bishop-Martyrs of Chersoneses (four to the left and three to the right).

Mounted on the lectern in the central part of the church is the icon of the Holy Mother of God. On its right side, the main room opens into another, smaller one. This latter room contains the main treasure of the Assumption Monastery – the Most Holy Bakhchisaray Icon of the Mother of God Pangaea.

The expansive inner hall of the church is very light, with chalk white painted walls. It is decorated with columns, in between which traces of murals are visible. Outside the church, in a niche decorated with spiral columns, and on both sides of it, the mural dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, executed directly on the surface of the rock, is to be found. After a recent restoration, the mural was covered by a modern painting (Fadeyeva, 1998). Fragments of mural oil paintings dating back to the 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries can be traced (in the interior, as well as on the facade rock wall), which were later re-plastered. Presently, they are in need of restoration.

### **8.3.2 Case study 2: The cave town of Chufut Kale with the sacred oak grove Balta Tiymez and the ancient Karaite cemetery**

#### **8.3.2.1 Chufut Kale: from Tatar fort to the Karaite hometown**

The construction of the first defensive complex in Chufut Kale dates back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, the period of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian. At the time, the population of the town was comprised of mixed barbarian tribes dominated by the Alans, and the fort was known as *Qirq-Yer*, *Qirk-Or*, or *Kyrk Or* – Turkic for “Forty Forts” (Kizilov, 2003, p. 761). The name “forty forts” may sound inappropriate



applied to this single fortification; however, it may be explained by the fact that the Tatars referred to the whole region of the Crimean mountains as “forty forts” and consequently transferred this title to a single town, which became one of the major Tatar administrative centers (ibid.).

Archaeological data confirm that in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century AD, Kyrk Or became dependent on the Tatars (Fadeyeva, 1998). It was seized by Janibeck, Khan of the Golden Horde from 1342 until 1357 (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 1993). The fort’s strategic position was of such importance for the Tatars that in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Khan Haji Giray, the founder of the Crimean khans dynasty, designated the town as the capital of the Khanate (ibid.).

After the conquest of Kyrk Or by the Tatars, the ethnic composition of its population changed significantly. The Christian population, including Alans and Goths, shrank in numbers. Presumably, part of them moved to Mariam Dere valley and were replaced by the newcomers – the Crimean Karaites and Armenians. Thus, Kyrk Or grew into the town of three vibrant communities: the Tatars, Karaites and Armenians. These three communities are clearly mentioned in the early *yarliks* (letter patents issued by the Crimean Khans) of 1459 and 1468 (Fadeyeva, 1998; Kizilov, 2003).

Some scholars, such as Mikhail Kizilov (2003) do not exclude the possibility that the Crimean Karaites could have appeared in Kyrk Or as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when – according to the legend that may as well hold truth – Khan Baty brought with him forty Karaite families and settled them in ‘Dschuffut-Kale’ (the legend was recorded by the 19<sup>th</sup>-century German traveller Johann Georg Kohl in his book “*Reisen in Südrußland*” (Kohl, 1841, pp. 259-260). Kizilov notes that this legend agrees with a number of others, which tell about the establishment of Chufut Kale by forty Karaite families, or alternatively by forty Karaite brothers, who fought together with the Crimean Khans (on this topic, see also (Markov, 1872, reprinted 1995).

In the times when Kyrk Or functioned as the Crimean Tatar capital, the Muslim Tatar population of the town was concentrated in ‘the Old Town’, inside the fortress, while the Crimean Karaites and Armenians resided outside the fortress, in the adjacent suburb, known as ‘the New Town’. However, the situation changed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Crimean Tatars made a decision to transfer the capital of their

Khanate to Bakhchisaray. In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as reported by traveller Evliya Celebi (Celebi, 1961), the representatives of the Tatar administration moved to the new capital. Bakhchisaray was viewed by the Tatars as a more suitable location, as it was situated down in the valley and hence, was easily reachable. In addition, some sources, such as report by the German traveller Nikolaus Ernst Kleeman suggest that the Tatars' decision to abandon was mainly facilitated by the difficulties with water supply (Kleeman, 1773). Evliya Celebi, too, reports that as a result of the drying up of the local water wells, the inhabitants of the town resorted to transporting water to the town from the outside, on donkey backs (Celebi, 1961).

From that moment onwards, the town has been mainly populated by the Karaites and has been referred to as Chufut Kale, the “Jewish Fortress”, and the old Tatar name gradually fell out of use (Kizilov, 2003). As a suburb of the new capital of the Khanate, Chufut Kale began to develop economically and reached the peak of its prosperity in the late 17th-18th centuries (Aghiezer, 2003).

The townsmen of Chufut Kale engaged themselves in grazing sheep, planting vineyards, viniculture, production of food, leathery, and trade. Evliya Celebi narrates how each morning the Karaites travelled to Bakhchisaray with their merchandise, but were obliged by law to leave the city by the fall of night. Settlement of Jews in the capital was prohibited (Celebi, 1961; Aghiezer, 2003).

Traditional Karaite dwellings are described by contemporary travellers. Thus, Celebi (1961) remarks that apart from residing in stone houses, some of the Crimean Karaites also inhabited the local caves, and that in 1769 there were 200 houses in the New Town. Celebi describes the houses as beautiful, stone-made buildings, with tiled roofs.

From the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and until the Russian annexation of Crimea in 1783, Chufut Kale was used by Crimean Tatar officials as a detention place for high-ranked prisoners. In 1666, Celebi reports:

There is no way to get out of this prison of Chufudkalesi (*sic*), unless your remains are taken from there in a coffin. To such an extent does this prison resemble an inferno. (Celebi, 1961, p. 94)

According to Celebi, guarding and keeping prisoners lay in the hands of the Karaite population (to whom he refers as the 'Jews'). He continues:

There are no Moslems there at all, and even its commandant, garrison, guards and doorkeepers are all Jews. (ibid., 93-94)

Apart from prisoners of war, Chufut Kale also counted among its prisoners members of foreign embassies, potentially hostile to the Crimean Khanate. Notably, conditions in which the latter sort of prisoners were kept, were often much worse than those of the former. They were not allowed to leave the town, but did not receive any food or money to sustain their stay. It was not uncommon for the local Karaite merchants to alleviate the situation by borrowing prisoners money and providing them with food (Kizilov, 2003).

From the *yarliks* granted to the Karaite community of Chufut Kale by the Crimean Khans, which Avraam Firkovich scrupulously collected in his archives, it can be deduced that the inhabitants of the city enjoyed a number of special rights. They were employed by the Khan as caretakers of the fortress of Chufut Kale and, in exchange for their service, received such benefits as exemption from various taxes, including release from *angarias* (forced labor for the Khan), alongside exemption from the requirement for the citizens to provide Tatar officials and soldiers shelter in their homes and to supply them with horses and carts on demand (Aghiezer, 2003).

In the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries the architectural ensemble of the town underwent a number of substantial modifications. Thus, the Eastern defensive Wall was erected surrounding the New Town, the part where the Crimean Karaites dwelt. Archaeological data prove that this wall was constructed no earlier than the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 1993).

Upon Crimea's annexation by the Russian Empire in 1783, Chufut Kale began to attract the interest of the Russian and European tourists, including a number of outstanding Russian men of letters, such as Alexey Tolstoy, Vassily Zhukovsky and Alexandr Griboyedov. Adam Mickiewicz, a prominent Polish poet, was among the ones who visited Chufut Kale in the course of his trip to Crimea in 1825. He was deeply impressed by the town and devoted to it one of his so-called 'Crimean

Sonnets', entitled *The Road over the Precipice in Chufut Kale*.<sup>29</sup> While Crimea was establishing itself as a prestigious sea resort for the wealthy and the privileged of the Empire, Chufut Kale became frequented by the members of Tsar's family (Kizilov, 2003).

Based on the data from contemporary travellers' accounts, such as that of Peter Simon Pallas, it follows that the population of Chufut Kale at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries counted approximately 1.200 individuals, residing in 200 houses, from which it can be deduced that each household was comprised of six people (Pallas, 1802, p. 36). Ebenezer Henderson reports larger numbers: 1.500 inhabitants from about 250 families (Henderson, 1826, p. 311). Dubois de Montpereux offers a more detailed account, reporting 1.109 inhabitants, including 492 males and 617 females (De Montpereux, 1843).<sup>30</sup>

Later accounts, dated 1840s, reflect the gradual abandonment of Chufut Kale as a result of mass emigration of the Karaite inhabitants to other towns in Crimea, notably to Bakhchisaray, Eupatoria, Kherson and Feodosia, as well as outside the peninsula – to Odessa, Nikolaev and other trading centers in the south of present Ukraine (Harviainen, 2003a). In the course of, and straight after, the Crimean War of 1853-1856, some of the wealthy Karaite families emigrated to Moscow, St. Petersburg, Ekaterinoslav (present-day Dnepropetrovsk), Elizavetgrad (present-day Kirovograd) and other more remote and safer Russian cities, leaving Chufut Kale deserted (ibid.). Kizilov (2003), based on the contemporary notes from 1856 by the writer and journalist Nikolay Berg, describes the town as practically empty, nearly a ghost town, inhabited by just a few Karaites that remained there merely out of loyalty to the Ghazzan, Solomon Beim.

In 1872, Evgeniy Markov, in his book *“Ocherky Kryma”* (“Crimean Essays”), speaks of Chufut Kale as an abandoned town with only several families continuing to live there, under the guidance of Avraam Firkovich (Markov, 1872, reprinted 1995). Laurence Oliphant, yet another British traveller to visit to Crimea in the 1850s, reports of his visit to Chufut Kale in 1852 that, contrary to his expectations to find the town “filled

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<sup>29</sup> Original Polish title *“Droga nad przepaścią w Czufut-Kale”*, from Mickiewicz, A., *Sonety*, Moscow, 1926.

<sup>30</sup> All numbers are referenced in Kizilov 2003 (see p. 767).

with picturesque groups of handsomely dressed men and lovely maidens”, there was hardly a soul to be seen (Oliphant, 1854, reprinted 1970, p. 207). From these accounts, it can be deduced that despite the effort of the leaders of the Karaite community, such as Beim and Firkovich, the emigration of Karaites from Chufut Kale in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, triggered by both economic reasons and those of safety, in light of the Crimean War, could not be halted (Kizilov, 2003).

British traveller Charles Henry Scott, who visited Chufut Kale during the Crimean War, provides a detailed account of the town and its inhabitants. Describing the town as “an imposing place ... forming an isolated domicile of a curious people” (Scott, 1864, p. 311), he reports entering it, alongside his travel companions, through a small door cut in a thick stone wall, wherefrom the visitors went straight into the main street, which was narrow and composed of low houses, built in the Tatar style, with only the entrance doors facing the street, but all rooms opening into inner courtyards.

Altogether, Scott counted 200 houses, of which only 72 were inhabited at the time of his visit. Much of the population, he explained, emigrated to other towns in Crimea and the south of Russia, where “wider fields are open for a more profitable exercise of the intelligence and energy possessed by the Karaites” (ibid., 315) can be found than in Kale. The traveller concludes that expansive ruins, which could still be clearly visible at the time of his trip, “attest that it was at one time a very large and populous town” (ibid., 315). Scott goes on to note that the Crimean Karaites of Chufut Kale (to which he refers to as ‘Tchoufut Kalé’) are strongly attached to the town, because, as the ‘Rabbi’ told them, “[the place] was originally fixed upon by their ancestors from its resemblance to Jerusalem” (ibid., 315).

Another traveller, the Karaite sage named Seraya Shapshal, writes of his impressions of the town in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century:

Most houses, with a very few exceptions, point to the fact that the town had quite and original look to it; all houses were decorated with balconies and windows overlooking inner courtyards. Majority of the houses had two stories, in the upper of which always lived the owner of the house, while the lower one was allocated for horse and mule stables. Also available was a special room, where sheep were put for the night. The houses were heated by primitive stoves arranged in the middle of a room. On the sides that faced the street, the houses had plain white stonewalls with occasional small windows and tiny porticos. These

walls were called on to conceal from the curious eye that what was happening in the households. (Shapsal, 1896, p. 21)

Nowadays, the town can be reached either by means of a footpath leading from the bottom of the rock to Chufut Kale's Southern (or Small) Gate, *Kichik Kapu*, or via the road running on the side of Mariam Dere valley through the Eastern (Large) Gate, *Biyuk Kapu*. The town's defensive complex has remained so remarkably preserved until present that it is not possible to enter the fort, if the gates are closed.

The remains of the town are comprised of the three parts (Figure 30): the empty western part, *Burunchaq* (Little Cape), covering the area of approximately thirty-six hectares; the Old Town spreading over seven hectares between Burunchaq and the middle defensive wall; and the New Town covering three hectares, between the middle and eastern defensive walls.

Apart from the two Karaite *kenasses* (synagogues), the town hosts a vast number of other remarkable heritage assets. Those of them, which are located in the Old Town, date back to the pre-Tatar period and shed light on the earlier stages of development of the fort, present considerable interest from an historical point of view. Some of the architectural structures are presumed to have been part of a monastic cave complex (possibly, the initial seat of the Assumption Monastery, as discussed in section 8.3.1 of the present thesis), prior to its conversion to the capital of the Crimean Khanate.

Being the first and only centralized resident area in the world, where the Crimean Karaite community comprised the majority of the population, over a span of centuries, Chufut Kale is regarded as a sacred area by every person identifying themselves as Karaites. The town is a place, where people's collective memory dwells of community's life before their deportation from the peninsula of 1944. It is the only witness of how the life of the community was hundreds of years ago – a cultural center, a shrine, and the only 'home' that the Karaites have ever known.

### **8.3.2.2 Cult buildings**

There are two Karaite *kenasses* in Chufut Kale, both of which are remarkable for their Oriental architectural design. According to Gertsen and Mogarichev (1993), the

**Large Kenasse** (Figure 29, Figure 31, Figure 32) was erected in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, possibly on the place of an earlier shrine that had not been preserved. Evgeniy Markov describes the appearance of the kenasse in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as follows:

The synagogue looks like a real monastery; it is surrounded by mighty walls and is hidden from the eye completely in the yard. Its cleanliness is outstanding. In the first room, where visitors take off their shoes, there are benches, and no other seat besides them. Lamps of a rather curious shape, and in abundant number, hang on wooden triangles similar to those in the mosques. Instead of the altar there stands a sort of a lectern, and on top of it – a richly adorned Pentateuch of great antiqueness. Generally speaking, [the synagogue] is very plain, small and poor. Next to the synagogue, in the mentioned confined courtyard, covered by grass and safely locked, there stands the library of the famous Karaite Rabbi (*sic*) Firkovich. This Firkovich is the patriarch of Chufut ... . His son was our guide. Firkovich himself was away, arranging the sale of his beautiful hand-written library. (Markov, 2007, p. 84)

The Large Kenasse is rectangular in shape, oriented along the north-south axis, and covered by a tiled gable roof. The walls are made of finely-worked stone with the use of limestone solution. Entrance to the kenasse is through the northern façade (Figure 33). On the exterior, on the northern and partially western sides, an open arched gallery is attached to the building (Figure 34), covered by a flat tiled roof. The columns of the gallery rest on a low parapet of massive stone plates. Lower sections of interior walls of the kenasse are paneled with wood, and so is the flooring. The northern wall is lined with bookshelves. The northern part of the room is separated from the rest of the building by a wooden lattice. In front of this Large Kenasse a stone reservoir is to be found, which testifies to the ablution tradition, whereby every person who wanted to enter the building had to wash his hands and feet (Kizilov, 2003).

Another detailed description of the kenasse, dating back to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century is offered by Charles Henry Scott. He writes:

The synagogue, which stands in the only garden of the town, and where the Feast of Tabernacles is held, is scrupulously clean. It contains a very old and interesting manuscript version of the Book of Moses, the date of which I regret to find omitted in my Notes. The principal ornaments are some silver lamps, also a large tank of the same metal, with an inscription given by the present empress. (Scott, 1864, p. 315)

Much agreeing with this is the account of Laurence Oliphant from 1852, who writes of the kenasse:

The synagogue was a plain building, differing in no respect ... from an ordinary Jewish place of worship. We looked at some magnificently bound copies of the Old Testament in manuscripts. (Oliphant, 1854, reprinted 1970, p. 208)

The **Small Kenasse** (Figure 35) was constructed at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Its interior design and decoration are even more moderate than that of the large one. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when considerable part of the Crimean Karaites left Chufut Kale, Avraam Firkovich reportedly used this building as a storehouse for his valuable manuscripts, which he had collected in the course of his extensive travels Crimea, Caucasus and the Orient (Kizilov, 2003, p. 772). The exterior design on this kenasse is very similar to the Large one, with entrance on the north and a wooden gallery.

Until recently, both kenasses, although being in a worn-out state, retain most of the features described in the 19<sup>th</sup> century accounts. However, reckless restoration works of 2001 stripped their walls of a large part of Hebrew inscriptions, alongside the wooden altar and much of the inner adornment of the Large Kenasse.

Apart from the two Karaite kenasses, the town is home to the two Crimean Tatar sacred architectural heritage sites – the **Mausoleum (Dyurbe) of Djanike Khanym** (Figure 36) and **ruins of the mosque** (Figure 37), lying to the west of the mausoleum. Djanike Khanym, the daughter of Tokhtamysh, Khan of the Golden Horde from 1380 until 1395, became heir of the clan of Tokhtamysh following the death of her father and brother. She thusly became the ruler of Kyrk Or and remained in this capacity until her death in 1437. Djanike is believed to have played a crucial part in the formation of the Crimean Tatar Khanate, and there exists a popular Crimean Tatar legend, which links the destiny of Djanike Khanym with the mysterious ‘siege well’. The legend has it that that once, when Kyrk Or was besieged, a young shepherd named Ali entered Djanike’s palace and told her, in desperation, that the people of the town are isolated and dying of thirst. He said that there is a belief among the people in the existence of a secret hidden well in the rocks of Kyrk Or, to which only she can find her way. Djanike began searching and indeed, guided by the mysterious voice, discovered the secret well. All night, she and Ali carried water



from the well and into a large pool, capable of holding enough water to quench the thirst of every townsman. In the morning, the pool was full, and the people of Kyrk Or were saved from death. Exhausted, Djanike died and went into history as the town's savior (Fadeyeva, 1998).

The mausoleum is an octagonal building, with a portal on its eastern side, shaped as a semi-circular arch. Corners of the octagon are decorated with columns. In the 1940s, in the course of archaeological works, the burial was uncovered, however, no actual remains of Djanike were found. Researchers concluded that the mausoleum had been looted several times in the past. In 1966, conservation of mausoleum's masonry was carried out and roof tiles were renewed (MCU, 2012).

**Ruins of the mosque** are located in close proximity to the Orta-Kapu gate, 20 meters to the west of Djanike Khanym's mausoleum. Its southern wall faces Kenasse street, the northern one overlooks Burunchaqsakaya street. Adjoining the mosque on the western and eastern sides are the ruins of the living quarters. The mosque is rectangular in shape and is traditionally oriented along the east-west axis (Figure 37). The northern wall is made of finely worked stones as well as of re-cycled architectural details, some of them bearing remains of relief ornament. One of the blocks comprising the wall bears an inscription in Arabic, "746", which corresponds to the year 1346 (Akchokrakly, 1928; BHCP, 2013f). Three other walls are built of rubble.

Differences in masonry point to the fact that building materials for the mosque were borrowed and re-used from an earlier structure, or structures (BHCP, 2013f). The north-western corner of the mosque shows remains of the minaret basement, next to which, in the western wall, entrance door used to be located. Of this door only the frame and the threshold remain. The surface of the southern wall bears traces of the *mihrab* niche (Figure 38). Two smaller niches are located on its left- and the right-hand-sides (ibid.) On the inner surface of the southern wall, basements of the two pilasters are clearly visible.

Similar pilaster remains can also be traced on the northern and western walls. Researchers believe that the inner space of the mosque was divided into three parts by two rows of columns of rectangular shape, upon which the pointed arches rested (Akchokrakly, 1928; Bogdaninskiy & Zasytkin, 1929; Gertsen & Mogarichev, 1993;

BHCP, 2013f). At the time of the restorations works carried out in the mosque in 1964-1965, the external walls of the building measured 0.6 – 1.8 m in height. The condition of all of them, apart from the southern one, was assessed as satisfactory (BHCP, 2013f). By the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in the absence of adequate conservation measures, the masonry of the mosque dilapidated considerably. In 2010, repair and conservation works were carried out, with the aim of reinforcing the upper layers of the exterior walls (ibid.). Currently, ruins of the mosque are open to visitors.

### **8.3.2.3 Residential quarters**

The residential quarters of both the Old and the New Town of Chufut Kale presently lie in ruins. **Ruins of the Old Town's residential quarters** spread between the Burunchaq Wall on the west and the Middle Defensive Wall on the east. Three streets traverse the town: Kenasse street in the south, Middle street in the center, and Burunchaq street in the north. Adjoining them are multiple minor side streets. The urban structure of the town was relatively dense and mostly comprised of traditional two-storied Karaite mansions, separated from the street by stone fences (BHCP, 2013e). On the ground floor, utility rooms were located, where the owners kept their cattle in the winter periods; upper floor served as living quarters, often with small balconies opening into inner courtyards, where further utility buildings were located. The houses had tiled roofs and were heated with the help of stone stoves, *tandyr*s (ibid.). **Ruins of the New Town's residential quarters** lie between the Middle and Eastern defensive walls. The Main street runs from east to west and connects the **Biyuk Kapu** (the Large Gate) (Figure 39) with **Orta Kapu** (the Middle Gate, separating the Old and the New Town) (Figure 40), with multiple side streets along which one- to two-storied houses used to stand. Walls of the houses are built of stones of varying size, with the use of clay or dirt solutions. Similarly to the Old Town houses, houses in the New Town were heated by *tandyr*s, or other types of primitive ovens (BHCP, 2013a).

Up to the present, no systematic archaeological excavations have been carried out in the New Town. Only minor sections of the living quarters adjoining the two defensive walls were excavated and studied, with the aim of gaining new information about the defensive system of the town, first in 1956-59, by the team led by Yevgeniy Veymarn (Veymarn, 1956; Veymarn, 1968), and later, in 1987-1988 by Gertsen and

Mogarichev (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 1993). Presently, the only two standing mansions of the New Town are the house of Avraam Firkovich and the so-called *Chalborii* ('grey wolf') – the town Keeper's mansion.

**Avraam Firkovich's Mansion** (Figure 41, Figure 42), constructed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, is comprised of a complex of buildings surrounding a small-sized courtyard. The residential house is a two-storied building with a gallery and traditional interior planning, identical to that of the rest of the houses of the New Town. Apart from this main building, the complex includes two auxiliary buildings (one adjoining the residential house and another one – facing the street with its northern facade) and a bath (located in the south-eastern corner of the courtyard). In 1965 the mansion was restored: the gallery of the main house and the bath were renovated; the floors in all the buildings were repaired and new roof tiles were laid (MCU, 2012).

Similarly to Avraam Firkovich's Mansion, **The Keeper's mansion** presents a typical example of the Crimean Tatar architectural style of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and is comprised of two rooms, separated by the corridor-kitchen with an oven. One of the rooms is equipped with a fireplace. Slatted windows overlook the street and the courtyard. The walls of the rooms are plastered and whitewashed, with wooden floors and flat ceilings (BHCP, 2013b). The inner courtyard is comprised of two levels interconnected with the help of wooden stairs, leading from the lower to the upper level. Located under the stairs is the utility cave-room with a door and a window. From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the mansion served as a guesthouse for visitors and, partly, as a storage house (*ibid.*). During touristic seasons this was where the keeper of Chufut Kale resided. In 2000 and 2008 the mansion, alongside the adjacent territory, were repaired: the old roof tiles, the windows and doors were replaced and the fence was strengthened (*ibid.*).

#### **8.3.2.4 The caverns**

Up to the present, the territory of Chufut Kale holds a large number of artificial caves. **The cavern complex on Cape Burunchaq** spreads along the eastern, southern and western slopes the cape. It includes 23 cave structures organized either individually, or in groups. Some of the caves are connected to the plateau by 3 to 6 stairs carved in the rock; some have small-sized open spaces in front of them intended

for the guards, who carried out observation of the strategically vital locations outside the town of Chufut Kale (BHCP, 2013k). Part of the rooms fulfilled an active defensive function in cases of military threat, safeguarding access to the Southern gate of the town through rock splits and minor paths; others were used by the town's inhabitants as places of rest, shelter from storms, as well as storage rooms for comestibles (ibid.). In Mogarichev's opinion (Mogarichev Y. , 1992), these cave rooms can be dated second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> centuries and thusly constitute one of the earliest artificial cave complexes of Chufut Kale. The caves were visually investigated by archaeologists Choref (1973), Karlov (Karlov & Belyi, 2008) and Mogarichev (1992) in various years, however no systematic excavations were ever carried out.

The complex of cave structures referred to as the **'cave shelter'** is located on the southern cliffs of Cape Burunchaq, inside a sizeable natural grotto. It consists of four caves that used to be an integral part of a large group of forty-two analogous cave rooms spread across six levels. In 2006, Bobrovskiy investigated one of them and reported that the floor of the room is not even, but has a number of cavities resembling the cavities that are often found in Byzantine churches, in which the altar stone was traditionally laid. According to Bobrovskiy, it is possible to trace at least three stages in the functioning of the cave: the room initially served as living quarters, was later re-used as a chapel with an altar and a praying niche in the south-eastern part of the cave; and finally, was converted into a utility room, or a stable, where cattle was kept (Bobrovskiy, 2006; BHCP, 2013j).

**The cavern complex in the vicinity of Kichik Kapu (Old Town's Southern Gate)**(Figure 43, Figure 44) is comprised of 35 caverns divided in two to three tiers, located on both sides of the gate, along the defensive wall. By their function, they can be divided into living quarters, utility rooms and rooms used for religious purposes. By their inner plan, the caverns are either comprised of a single room, or of two to three interconnected rooms. By their shape, the caverns are rectangular, semi-circular, oval, or irregular in form. In some cases, stairs carved in the rock lead to the caves' entrances (Mogarichev, 1992; BHCP, 2013g).

Researchers assume that this cavern complex was constructed as part of the Christian monastery that was set in the location in the medieval period and existed up until the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, an that the living quarters served as monks' cells

(Mogarichev Y. , 1992; BHCP, 2013g). These cells were relatively small in size, which helped them retain the warmth. Inside some of them, remains of stone benches intended either for sleep or for storing household items are visible, alongside the remains of kilns, carved in the floors, windows cut in one of the walls, and small wall openings intended for ventilation. The cells are located on the second and the third tiers of the complex. In the 1970s, minor archaeological investigations were carried out on the territory of the cave complex by Choref (Choref, 1973). In the second tier, he identified a cave with the remains of the apse and two tombs cut in the cave's floor. In Choref's opinion, in the time of functioning of the Christian monastery, this room housed a small chapel. After the monastery was abandoned in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the cave was converted into a utility room.

The third cavern complex, referred to as the **'Prison'**, is located above the southern precipice of the valley, 50 m to the east of the Middle defensive wall. It is comprised of two groups of rooms (Figure 45, Figure 46). The first group consists of four rooms that can be reached via a narrow corridor ending with a staircase. On the right-hand side from the corridor lies a relatively small narrow room, the northern wall of which has a cut-out that clearly looks like an embrasure. It is presumed by the researchers, such as Gertsen and Mogarichev, that the room used to serve as a battle dungeon safeguarding the road down the valley, which lead to the town. In 1983 the cave complex was investigated by a joint group of archaeologists from the Bakhchisaray Museum and Simferopol University, who dated its construction to the 15<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Mogarichev, 1992; Gertsen & Mogarichev, 1993; BHCP, 2013k).

The second group of the caves comprising this complex is situated to the east of the first group of caves. Archaeological material obtained in the course of the 1956-59 excavations testifies to the fact that both of these rooms were constructed at a later period than those of the first group and date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Veymarn, 1956; Veymarn, 1968; Mogarichev, 1992; Gertsen & Mogarichev, 1993; BHCP, 2013d).

### **8.3.2.5 Hydrological structures**

Water supply system of Chufut Kale presents one of the essential elements of the town's past life. Due to the town's isolated geographical position on top of a high plateau, construction and maintenance of the hydrological system capable to

adequately provide the inhabitants with fresh and technical water was one of the major tasks throughout the existence of Chufut Kale. In the course of the excavations conducted in 1958-59, the system of ceramic aqueducts was uncovered that ran in the gutter cut out in the rock at the depth of 0,4 m. Overall, 22 pipes made of burnt clay, connected with each other by means of limestone solution, were found (BHCP, 2013e). This system, in its totality, is comprised of the water-collecting basin on Cape Burunchaq, the cistern in the Old Town, and Kopka Kuyu well in the New Town, as well as two other elements that are located outside the walled town, namely: Tik Kuyu well and the water-collecting basin near Biyuk Kapu gate.

**The water-collecting basin near Biyuk Kapu (Eastern) gate** (Figure 47) is situated 20 meters away from the gate, on the so-called ‘market square’. The basin was formerly known as *suw-havuzi* (water basin), or *twar-swartlig’y* (watering place for cattle) and served for water collection for technical purposes, as well as the watering place for cattle, capable of holding up to 200 cubic meters of water. In order to avoid water leaking out, the bottom and walls of the basin were plastered with clay. Drainage ditches carried rain- and ice-water into the basin. In the southeastern section of the water catchment area, remains of a gutter with traces of ceramic pipes can be found (Polkanov & Shutov, 2008; Shutov & Polkanov, 2010; BHCP, 2013i).

**Kopka Kuyu (‘Bucket well’)** in the New Town is a vertical mine, 18 meters in depth and 1,4 meters in diameter. The upper section of the well is located atop the plateau, next to Firkovich’s mansion and is surrounded by ruins of the houses and wall remnants on all sides. The surface of the earth around the well is covered with dense vegetation. The lower section of the well, comprised of the natural grotto with the basins, is located at the bottom of the plateau and is connected to the upper part via an artificial mine carved through the rock. The well can be approached via the path, leading to the Minor and Eastern gates of Chufut Kale. Entrance to the well on the top of the plateau was hidden inside the tower, which is presumed to have been part of the town’s defensive system (BHCP, 2013c). Researches have not been successful in tracing the exact time of Kopka Kuyu’s construction, however, most of them concur that by the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the well was already out of function, and the tower above it was disassembled (Polkanov & Shutov, 2008; Shutov, 2010; BHCP, 2013c). The function of the well was to collect, filter and store water. Its walls bear traces of old *tamgas* depicting the elements of the Karaite coat of arms.

The local legend has it that once, when Chufut Kale was inhabited by Khazars, the town was besieged, and traitors among townsmen showed the enemies Kopka Kuyu, whence the water for the town came. The enemies filled the well with stones and ruined the walls of the grotto, and the water in it gradually evaporated. The dried-up well was renamed *Sokur Kuyu*, which means 'blind well'. From that time on, Chufut Kale's inhabitants had to transport water to the town from the outside and to store it in basins dug out for this purpose. According to this same legend, the well was also used to secretly enter and leave the town (Polkanova, Polkanova, & Zinchenko, 2008; ECC Kale, 2009).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Avraam Firkovich began clearing the well, but was not able to complete the task, due to technical and financial constraints (Firkovich, 1907). In 1917, the National Karaite Assembly gathered in Eupatoria and took the decision to restore the hydro-technical system of Chufut Kale, primarily, Kopka Kuyu well, and special funds were allocated for this purpose. However, after the Socialist Revolution of same year, the funds were nationalized, and all works at Kopka Kuyu were put to a halt. Currently, the well is only partially cleared of debris (BHCP, 2013c).

**Tik Kuyu ('siege') well** (Figure 48) was discovered in 1998 on the northern slope of Maryam-Dere, 150 meters to the west of the Small Gate Kichik Kapu, and identified as the probable 'hidden well', mentioned in the legend involving Djanike Khanym (see section 8.3.2.2). The well is comprised of the three distinct parts. Western end of the well is a vertical pit, 27 meters deep. Diameter at the mouth measures 1,8 meters. At the depth of 5 – 14,5 meters, the pit narrows down to 1,4 meters, but widens again to 2,2 meters at the depth of 27 meters. Here, the pit intersects with two other parts of the well: the gallery and the steep spiral staircase. The gallery stretches from east to west; its overall length is over 100 meters, width reaches 2,4 meters and height – 2,2 meters (BHCP, 2013h). In the eastern end of the gallery, a separate room with the tower can be found. The room is partially imbedded in the rock, and its upper part is laid out of well-hewn stone blocks. Such layout of room testifies to the fact that the tower was erected at the entrance to the well, so as to conceal the door to the hydrological structure. It is possible that the tower used to be part of the town's defensive system (ibid.). The spiral staircase leads 18 meters deep into the rock and into a small room, with a tray-like rock vessel carved in the wall, into which the water coming out of the water-bearing crack in the rock was collected (ibid.).

Chronologically, three stages of existence of the well can be traced. On the offset, the vertical pit was cut out, which accumulated water trickling out of the rock. Presumably, these works were carried out in the Byzantine period (6<sup>th</sup> AD), when the construction of the fortress began on top of the plateau (ibid.).

During the second stage, the gallery was cut out, which contained a vessel catching water emanating from the water-bearing crack. At the entrance to the gallery, the room with the tower was built. This stage is believed to date back to the Golden Horde period (second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century). The well's masonry bears recycled elements of former Byzantine walls, as well as of Christian tombstones (ibid.).

The third and the last period in the existence of the well saw the construction of the spiral staircase. It is believed that the reason behind this addition was that the water level in the well lowered, and the water no longer filled the vessel in the gallery (ibid.). The exact dating of this stage is unclear. However, it has been concluded that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the well fell out of use and was filled with earth and stones. The entrance tower was disassembled. At the beginning of the 2000s, the well was cleared, restored; the lighting was installed (ibid.). Currently, Tik Kuyu is a popular touristic attraction.

#### **8.3.2.6 The cemetery in the sacred Oak Grove of Balta Tiymez**

It is the largest and the oldest Karaite cemetery in the world that obtained its name, Balta Tiymez, which translates from Karaite as ‘the axe must not touch’, due to the presence in Mariam Dere valley of the sacred oaks. Mariam Dere itself is known locally as ‘the Jehoshaphat Valley’ – the name given to the locality on account of its topographical and symbolic similarity to the original Valley of Jehoshaphat in Israel, the site of Jehovah's apocalyptic judgment upon the nations (Joel 3.2)<sup>31</sup>. Akin to the original valley, Mariam Dere features the necropolis of outstanding cultural and historical significance. The Crimean Karaites maintain that the name of the valley was given to it by Avraaam Firkovich, who, upon seeing Mariam Dere, was amazed

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<sup>31</sup> “I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land”.



by its likeness to the original Jehoshaphat (Kizilov, 2003; Gertsen & Mogarichev, 1993).

The end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the cemetery, together with the oak grove, began to attract the attention of the travellers, who remarked on the beautiful scenery of the valley. H.D. Seymour, the English traveller who visited Crimea in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, writes:

All the higher part of the valley, beyond a magnificent group of oaks, has been used for ages as a burying-ground by the Jews, and is called the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The tombs, great number of which are cut in the white chalk, are ranged under fine trees, and along the sides of the paths. The effect of it is very striking, as the extent is enormous, and the whole place is carefully kept up. Some of the monuments go as far back as the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and the most ancient are also the simplest, and resemble long stone coffins. (Seymour, 1855, p. 47)

The cult of sacred trees was present in the history of many ethno-religious groups. Evoking unprecedented awe was the oak, which may be explained by its peculiar characteristics: impressive dimensions (up to 40 m tall and 25 m in circumference), magnificent crone, as well as longevity (up to 2.500 years). The cult was widespread among the Greeks, Romans, Celts, Huns, Slavs, as well as the Turkic peoples (Efetov, 2009). Special status of the oaks guaranteed their sanctity and their continuous use for ritual purposes. With the emergence and spread of Christianity, however, it was precisely this status of pagan sanctuaries that led to massive destruction of large bodies of oak groves worldwide.

The Crimean Karaites are one of the ethno-religious groups that managed to carry the beliefs of their Turkish ancestors well into modernity. Historically, the cult is linked with the worship of Tengri, the Turkic god of the light and the sky, to whom sacred oaks were consecrated (Glagolev, 2012; Bilyalova, 2012; Kropotov, 2008). Upon conversion of the group from paganism to Karaism, the cult of the oak underwent transformation from pagan worship tradition to worship of the Heavenly God, whereby the oak grove came to be regarded as an open-air cathedral. Christians' fight against the old cult is evidenced in Balta Tiymez by the sawn-off tops of the oaks (Efetov, 2009). In the Crimean Khanate period, Tatar administrators used to threaten the local Karaite community with the demolition of the grove, should they

disobey the decrees of the Khan, and the Karaites were forced to concede (Glagolev, 2012).

Sacred oaks were worshipped either collectively, or individually. The order of ceremonies was regulated by the cycles of the Karaite calendar, weather conditions, as well as by the social and political situation both within, and surrounding, the Crimean Karaite community. Historical records show that the ritual prayers “for sending of the rain” were carried out at Balta Tiymez well into the 19th century; even in the Soviet times, pilgrimages to the grove continued, in secret (Efetov, 2009; Glagolev, 2012). The oaks are believed to transmit strength, courage, and wisdom to believers, and help them find solutions in complicated situations. Apart from this, the sacred trees were trusted to help against infertility. Up to the present, the Karaites narrate stories of magical healings among childless couples and offer as much as concrete names of the children, conceived with the help mothers’ prayers to Balta Tiymez oaks. In particular cases, a selected representative of the community was allowed to address the oaks, seeking advice (ibid.).

According to Mikhail Sarach (1996), the cult of sacred oaks is inextricably linked to Karaites’ deep reverence of the ancestors. The Karaites believe that the oaks provide a connection between the earth and heaven, whereby the roots of the trees are connected to the souls of the ancestors. After death, the soul of the deceased is contained in the branches and leaves of the oaks for forty days; afterwards it heads straight into the sky and onto heaven, to remain there for good (Efetov, 2009).

Remarkable events in the life of the Crimean Karaite community, or particular families, were accompanied by pilgrimages to Balta Tiymez. Formerly, on the day of the wedding that took place in Chufut Kale, a groom would dismount his horse on the way to the town and pay his respect to the oaks, and then would resume his ride towards the bride’s house. Private visits to the grove could be paid at any time (Qirim, 2012).

The cult was never widely spoken about, even within the Karaite community itself. Knowledge referring to order of rituals to be carried out in the grove was passed from one generation of the family to the next in a private manner. Discussion of the cult in public, or invitation of non-Karaite visitors to the grove, was considered

inappropriate. Up to the present day, the Crimean Karaites remain very sensitive about the intrusion of the cemetery by tourists, or non-Karaite researchers. It is believed that uncovering, or displacing the old graves is a sacrilegious act (Qirim, 2012; Ormeli, 2013).

Balta Tiymez stretches across an elongated central valley along the north-west/south-east axis. Graves occupy the slopes of the valley, with a pedestrian path running for the whole length of the cemetery in its middle (Figure 50). The total area of the necropolis equals ca. 5 hectares. Presently, the whole territory is covered with young trees, 60 to 90 years of age, leaving the original oak grove barely visible. The still preserved oaks belong to the rock oak species (*Quercus petraea* Liebl.). Whether or not these species are native to the peninsula remains an open question. Some researchers (e.g., see Efetov, 2009) believe that the acorns were brought into Crimea by the first Karaite settlers. As of now, 12 living sacred oaks can be found on the territory of the necropolis, and 20 locations, where the oaks used to grow, can be identified. Approximate age of one of the remaining species was defined by Konstantin Efetov (Efetov, 2009) by way of extrapolation, by comparing annual growth rings of the branches with the radius of the main trunk. Calculations produced the approximate number between 300 and 460 years. These results correspond to earlier estimates, produced by means of radiocarbon analysis by Yuri Polkanov. In the latter case, the researcher estimated the age of the oaks at 300-600 years (Polkanov, 1995b).

Remains of exterior walls (Figure 51) line the perimeter of cemetery. On the southwestern side, the main entrance gate is located. Adjacent to it are the ruins of the former guard's lodge, where the guard, alongside his family, traditionally resided. The building also provided premises for the pilgrims. Land plot adjacent to the lodge was used by its dwellers as a kitchen garden. At present, only the foundations of the house are visible.

Unlike traditional Muslim, Jewish and Christian graves that are oriented along the east-west axis, the graves of Balta Tiymez are directed along the north-south axis. The predominant majority of the gravestones are made of carved limestone extracted from the quarry, which was situated in the immediate proximity. Some of the tombstones are made of marble, labradorite, granite and diorite imported from outside the peninsula. Tombstones vary in complexity of execution: simpler ones are one-tiered,

while more complex ones are comprised of several tiers – basement, main stone, top stone, etc. Based on their morphological features, the tombstones in Balta-Tiymez have been classified by the researchers (Bakshirov, 1927; Bilyalova, 2012; Polkanova A., 2008; BHCP, 2013l) in the following groups:

- *yeger tash* (a two-horned saddle-stone, also known as *beshik tash* – cradle-stone);
- *yevchik tash* (a sarcophagus-like house-stone);
- *sofra tash* (table-stone);
- *yoldzhi tash* (traveller's stone – a vertically placed stone with no actual burial underneath, marking a grave of a Karaite, who died abroad);
- dolmen-type tombstones (comprised of two stones);
- *yevchikoeger* (tombstones representing different combinations of the above).

*Yevchik tash* tombstones comprise 30% of the general number. Of them 20% are two-tiered, 50% - three-tiered, and the rest one-and-a-half -, two-and-a-half -, or four-tiered. Inscriptions are visible on 45% of *yevchik tash*, 5% are ornamented (Bilyalova, 2012).

*Yeger tash* comprise 35% of the tombstones. 55% of them are three-tiered, 35% - two-tiered, and 10% - one-tiered. Over 55% have epitaphs; 10% are ornamented. The saddle-like shape of *yeger tash* is explained by the old nomad tradition to place a saddle on top of a grave and to insert two poles on its ends, thus delineating the position of the grave in the steppe. The same tradition can still be observed among the Karaites of Lithuania, as well as among the Crimean Tatars (Polkanova, 2008). According to Bashkurov (Bakshirov, 1927), this shape was commonly used in Crimea in the late medieval period by Christians and Karaites alike.

*Sofra tash*, consisting of a flat stone plate, containing inscriptions and ornaments on its upper face, occur much less frequently than the first two types – only 1 in 115 tombstones at Balta Tiymez. On the other hand, they are more often made of costly stone material, other than limestone, as are the other ones (Polkanova, 2008).

*Yoldzhi tash* comprise 2% of the general number of tombstones (ibid.). Most of them pay symbolical tribute to outstanding Karaite personalities that died in exile, such as

Mark Tapsashar (hero of the Russo-Japanese War, famous for his participation in the battle of Port Arthur, who died in Japan in 1905, Mikhail Sarach (Crimean Karaite lawyer, entrepreneur, author, active supporter and patron of the Karaite culture and literature), Boris Kokenay (prominent researcher of the Karaite culture and folklore), Seraya Shapshal (Crimean Karaite philologist, orientalist, the Gakhan and leader of the Crimean and then the Polish and Lithuanian Karaite communities, grandfather of the (now former) head of the Crimean Karaite Association Vladimir Ormeli.

Dolmen-type tombstones can either act as separate monuments, or serve as basements for *sofra*, *yeger* and *yevchik tash* monuments, placed on top thereof. Polkanova (ibid.) suggests that *yeger tash* tombstones were erected on the graves of Karaite descendants of pagan nomadic tribes, while *yevchik tash* marked the burials of the descendants of the settled ones.

According to the estimations drawn by BHCP, approximately 45% of the tombstones are engraved with epitaphs, most of them written in ancient Hebrew, some others in the Karaite (in ancient Hebrew script) and Russian languages. Inscriptions that date back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were made in two languages, Russian and Hebrew (Bilyalova, 2012). Epitaphs include the name of the deceased, the name of her (or his) father and the date of death; in some cases, a short eulogy was added; more seldom – the place of living, occupation, nickname, or other personal details. These epitaphs are well-studied and provide valuable data with regards to the history, population geography, and occupations of the Crimean Karaites (BHCP, 2012; Bilyalova, 2012).

Ornaments on the tombstones represent a number of shapes: circles, one inside the other (solar sign; ancient symbol of the sun which also represented the source of life, light, abundance and vitality); three or five circles symbolizing the rainbow (symbol of completion and positive outcome in the Turkic tradition); a six-pointed star (symbol of beauty, love, harmony, peace, kindness, and symmetry); a polyhedron inscribed in a circle (a scheme signifying the unity of different spheres of being); a multi-leaf rosette, inscribed in a circle (solar sign, symbol of well-wishing, well-being and luck); as well as a small-sized flower, a star inscribed in a circle, and braids (Bilyalova, 2012). Gertsen and Mogarichev (Gertsen & Mogarichev, 1993) assert that polyhedrons, inscribed in

circles, point to the interconnection of the Karaite religious symbolism with the cabbalist cult traditions of the European Judaic communities.

There is no unity among the researchers as to the dating of the tombstones. Some attribute the oldest ones to as early as the first centuries A.D., while others claim that they are no older than the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In 1839, Avraam Firkovich (1787 – 1874) began his regular investigations at the cemetery, accompanied by the young Karaite scholar, named Shlomo Beym. A devout proponent of the theory that the Crimean Karaites are descendants of the ancient Israelites, Firkovich asserted that the Karaites separated themselves from the rest of Jewry long before the birth of Christ and arrived in Crimea with the Persian King Kambiz II in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Together, the researchers made copies of 58 tombstone inscriptions from Balta Tiymez and Mangup cemeteries, the oldest of which Firkovich dated 640 A.D. Original sector demarcation poles placed by Firkovich can still be identified along the central path of the necropolis.

In 1856, Firkovich offered his expansive collection of tombstone inscriptions, alongside 1500 manuscripts obtained during his travels, to the Russian Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg. In 1862, the library purchased the collection, and because the authenticity of some of the documents was deemed questionable, the library's special committee was created, which was called upon to define the collection's value. The majority of contemporary scholars, including German historians Isaac Marcus Jost and Heinrich Graetz, alongside the renowned Russian Orientalist and professor of St. Petersburg University Daniel Chwolson, relied on Firkovich's opinion and acknowledged his findings as trustworthy. Chwolson, upon scrupulous examination of the selected part of the epitaphs discovered by Firkovich, found all of them authentic (Fedorchuk, 2011; Shegoleva, 2011; Weinryb, 1972).

In 1872, Avraam Firkovich published the book titled „*Sefer Avne Zikkaron Livney Israel*“ (“The Book of Memorial Stones of Sons of Israel”), where he included the copies of 769 epitaphs, of them 564 from Balta Tiymez, with the oldest dated 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.

Firkovich's publications instigated intense polemic in Russia's academic circles. Shortly after Firkovich's death in 1874, Abram Harkavy, together with the German Semiologist Hermann Strack, was sent to Crimea on behalf of the Imperial Public

Library, with the view to analyze the manuscripts collected by Firkovich, and in particular the epitaphs from the Jehoshaphat Valley. Upon completion of their inquiry, Harkavy and Strack published a catalogue of the Biblical manuscripts from Firkovich's collection, concluding that large part of the manuscripts was falsified by Firkovich, so as to persuade the Imperial government that the Karaites had arrived to Crimea before the time of Jesus. The goal was to prove that, in contrast to the rest of Jewry, who all have had a share of responsibility for his crucifixion, the Karaites were innocent and should therefore receive civic rights equal to those of the Russians. Both Harkavy and Strack strongly suspected that Firkovich had falsified all the epitaphs bearing dates prior to 1240 AD. Firkovich allegedly falsified the epitaphs on many of the tombstones and added spurious passages into part of the old manuscripts in order to prove that Jews with Tatar names had lived in Crimea as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (see detailed analysis in Fedorchuk, 2007).

So strong was the evidence of forgeries in Avraam Firkovich's works that Daniel Chwolson embarked on another in-depth study of the epitaphs produced by Firkovich and was, in the end, forced to admit that Firkovich had indeed changed many of the dates and by doing so, transferred many inscriptions from the later to the much earlier periods (Weinryb, 1972). In his book *"Collection of Jewish Inscriptions"* published in 1884, Chwolson admitted that Firkovich had both motivation and capacity to fabricate epitaphs by distorting numbers stating the dates of birth and death (Kashovskaya, 2012).

In 1983, the researchers of the Leningrad Department of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of USSR, Yelena Mesherskaya and Alexandr Khostroyev, were sent to Crimea with the view of resuming the study of tombstone epitaphs in the Jehoshaphat Valley. Mesherskaya and Khostroyev restored the original division by sectors that had been demarcated by Firkovich, and based on the position of the tombstones, carried out the comparative analysis of the still existing ones with the descriptions drawn by Firkovich (and later, Chwolson). The researchers were able to re-discover 35 epitaphs, some of which proved to be copies that had been left by Firkovich and Chwolson as replacements for the originals. In their conclusions, Mesherskaya and Khostroyev voiced the assumption that should Firkovich's dating be correct, and should the necropolis indeed have been in use since the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., there must be remains of a village, or a small town in the immediate vicinity, dating to

the same period, from whence those buried came. However, no such remains have ever been found (BHCP, 2012).

In 2004-2005 a group of researchers from the Halycz Museum of Karaite History and Culture, led by Ivan Yurchenko, carried out a complete topographic and partial photographic survey of Balta Tiymez. Tombstone inscriptions were cleaned, photographed and recorded, the oldest of them were measured. In 2007, the interface for the electronic catalogue, based on the results of the survey, was developed. The catalogue includes the electronic map of the cemetery, which was split into sectors, similarly to Avraam Firkovich's approach. The comprehensive data base was produced for each of the tombstones under study, which contained original text of the epitaph, its translation, reference to Firkovich's catalogue (if relevant), name, nickname of the deceased, dates of life and death, eulogies, geographical names mentioned in the epitaph, measurements and photographs of the tombstone (Fedorchuk, 2011).

According to Artem Fedorchuk's report on the current situation at the necropolis (Fedorchuk, 2007), of the total 7.000 that have been studied, approximately 3.400 have epitaphs, many of which (particularly the ones dated 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries) are quite extensive. The oldest epitaph dates back to 1364 (the monument of Manush, the daughter of Shabbetai). In Fedorchuk's opinion, this is one of the three epitaphs that survived from the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries and were not 'corrected' by Firkovich. It appears in "Avne Zikkaron" under the genuine year, 1364. Surviving until the present day are 24 epitaphs from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and approximately 60 from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as well as 700 inscriptions from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (ibid.). The most recent burials on Balta Tiymez took place in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although regular burials had ceased at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the city of Chufut Kale was abandoned.

More recently, Nataliya Kashovskaya (Kashovskaya, 2012) presented the results of her study that sheds new light on the dispute regarding the dating of Balta Tiymez gravestones. Kashovskaya, who had formerly been part of the Mesherskaya and Khostroyev research group, follows the logic suggested by Mesherskaya and proposes to use the method of statistical calculation of epitaphs by date, in relation to their position by sectors. Based on the obtained data, Kashovskaya has produced the detailed matrix, demonstrating the number of gravestones from various historical



periods, in each of the 18 sectors. If one accepts Firkovich's data as genuine, she concludes, the distribution of epitaphs by periods, in relation to their number, is hardly explicable from the historical point of view. Thus, if one accepts as authentic Firkovich's records of the gravestones dated 1<sup>st</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., their total number does not exceed 30. Based on the simple demographical calculation, Kashovskaya concluded that a small community of three to four families must have left behind approximately 260 burials. In light of this, 30 burials left within as much as six centuries is the number inexplicable from the standpoint of historic-demographic reality. At the same time, based on Firkovich's catalogue, there has been a considerable increase in the number of burials in the 9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, which – again – hardly corresponds to the actual historical context, since archaeological materials and written sources from that period bear no evidence of substantial growth of population in Chufut Kale. In addition to these discrepancies, Kashovskaya notes that the distribution of burials dated 9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries around various sectors resembles a chronological mosaic, whereby they are scattered around the territory of the necropolis, rather than being concentrated in several distinct sectors. Some of them can be encountered amidst much later burials, dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This, Kashovskaya argues, once again points to the unreliability of Firkovich's records.

Due to political and social instability, excavation works at the Balta Tiymez necropolis came to a halt towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only to be resumed in the late 1970s. After the nationalization of Chufut Kale and the adjacent territory in the early Soviet period, Balta Tiymez was handed over to the Bakhchisaray Museum. For the time being, the family of hereditary guards of the necropolis, the Dubinskiys, continued – on informal grounds – to watch over the condition of the sacred site. This became impossible in the 1957-58, when the guard's lodge was torn down, alongside the exterior walls of the cemetery. Large part of tombstones made of expensive imported stone were removed and re-used for the construction of communist monuments around the peninsula. According to the estimates drawn by BCHP (BHCP, 2012), 95-97% of marble and labradorite tombstones have been lost. Yakov Dubinskiy, who performed the guard's function at the time, filed multiple complains to the Academy of Sciences of USSR. One of them read:

The Karaite cemetery is currently in grave danger of complete evisceration (...). I have dwelled in Chufut Kale for forty years, safeguarding its monuments in the time of the Civil

War, throughout Hitler's occupation, in the gravest and most difficult times. It pains me to see how now, in the peacetime, monuments of immense historical value are being ruined. (BHCP, 2012)

Even after the prohibition of burials issued by the state in 1958, the Crimean Karaites continued to secretly set up new *yoldzhi tash* graveless tombstones (e.g. one in 1966 and another one in 1981)(*ibid.*).

Nowadays, Balta Tiymez retains its importance in the life of the Crimean Karaite community. It is often visited by the relatives of the deceased Karaites (both in groups and individually). Visitors would come to seat under the sacred oaks in search of peace and strength to cope with the death of their family members. Some would take along with them a handful of earth and place it afterwards on the grave of the deceased.

Symbols linked with the oak cult are still widespread in the Crimean Karaite household. Thus, depictions of oak leaves and acorns are frequently found in embroidery, stamping on book covers, jewelry, as well as in chandelier design in kenasses (Efetov, 2009). The oak worship is directly related to the cult of the sun that had been widespread among the Karaites' ancestors in the pagan period. Thus, when making a wish in the sacred grove, the Karaites turn their faces to the sun, believing that God Tengri can only be addressed when standing with a view to the open sky. A symbolic figure of the sun with the beams is laid out around the oak, at which the prayer is said. Another peculiar link to the cult of the oaks is Karaites' tradition to manufacture baby cribs exclusively of oak wood (Sarach, 1996).

Pilgrims leave sticks and handfuls of earth brought from home at an oak's foot, and in exchange, take a handful of sacred earth from the grove back home with them. It is common to take earth along as an amulet during long-distance trips. Alternatively, it is placed on the graves of the ancestors who died outside Crimea (Qirim, 2012). The Karaites believe that their earthly fates are conditioned by their attitude towards the oaks. Those, who undertook a pilgrimage to pay respect to the trees at least once, and treated them with due awe, will be spared from trouble and injustice (*ibid.*).

### **8.3.3 The old town of Bakhchisaray with the Khan's Palace and Salachiq historical district, with Gazy Mansur cemetery**

#### **8.3.3.1 The Khan's Palace**

The town of Bakhchisaray, the administrative capital of the Crimean Khanate in 1532 - 1783, was founded on the location of the ruins of the two Greek colonies – Badation and Palakion, in the valley of Ashlama river, known among the Crimean Tatars as Churuk Su (literally, 'rotten water'), circa thirty kilometers to the southwest of Simferopol. Despite a somewhat uninspiring name, the valley of Churuk Su, with its lush greenery, presented a very favorable setting for the new capital, and the name of the town, Bakhchisaray, translates as the 'Garden palace'.

Throughout the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries the capital rose and expanded, growing around its focal point – the residence of the Crimean Khans. The appearance and the atmosphere of the town in its heyday and shortly after the abolition of the Khanate, while it still retained its former glory, may well be imagined, based on the texts of the many travellers who visited Bakhchisaray. Thus, a British traveller, Charles Henry Scott, who visited the town in the 1850s, provides the following description:

Bacthi-Serai (*sic*) has about 11 thousand inhabitants, of whom eight thousand are Tartars (*sic*), eleven hundred gypsies, nine hundred Greeks; five or six hundred Karaite Jews, who have very much diminished of years from emigration to other regions, the rest being made up of Armenians and Russians (...). The most striking feature [of the town] is the number of fountains sparkling in every direction; there being about a hundred, independent of those in the palace, of which fifty are in the streets, while the remainder are private. Groups of Tartars may be seen at these fountains, washing and purifying themselves at the hour of prayer, before entering the mosques (...). Many trades are carried on at Bacthi-Serai, each business having its own quarter: the dyers, who are celebrated, practice their calling on the banks of the river; and the polluted waters of the Djourouksou (*sic*) form a strong contrast to the crystal fountains which flow into it. There are also extensive tanneries, and the cutlery made here is much prized. (Scott, 1864, pp. 304-305)

The traveller continues with his impressions about the Khan's Palace:

We cross a bridge over the dark waters of the Djurouksou, and find ourselves the sole occupants of the immense quadrangle of the palace of the khans; and long rows of buildings, now higher, with light balconies and verandahs, painted in bright arabesques of red and blue, and shaded by their wider overhanging roofs. (...) Here, too, is the great octagonal kiosk, or tower, with its far-spreading caves, and here gushing fountains pour forth their limpid streams, while the atmosphere is redolent of flowers. This, then, was the last domicile of those Tartar chiefs whose world, some centuries ago, was sufficient to make the earth tremble. (Scott, 1864, p. 294)

The Khan's Palace of Bakhchisaray presents a vast complex of buildings. Since the time of its initial construction that was completed in the 1630s, it changed appearance multiple times, and it took three centuries for the palace to acquire its present structure (Figure 55). As a result, the palace presents a mixture of architectural styles, owing to the contributions by Italian, Iranian, Turkish, Ukrainian and Russian architects, and multiple additions inhomogeneous with the previous ones. Major buildings that have been preserved up to the present are located around the perimeter of the spacious inner courtyard that stretches along the northeast axis.

The construction of the **Main Building** of the Palace (Figure 56) started at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Its first mentioning in literary sources dates back to 1519 (MCU, 2012). The building stretches from north to south along the western side of the courtyard. Its northern facade overlooks the embankment of the river Churuk Su, while the southern facade opens into the Harem garden.

The Main Building, constructed upon a stone basement, has two stories and a small inner yard with a fountain. The walls of the first floor are made of stone, the walls of the second are built of bricks, supported by a wooden truss frame. All of the walls are plastered and whitewashed. A section of the wall in the second floor is adorned with arabesques. The floors are made of wood; the steep hipped roof is finished with clay tiles.

The interior of the Main Building is divided into two sections: the northern one, where living quarters are located, and the southern, public, one. The former is comprised of the following rooms:

**Khan's Chancellery** was initially an open terrace; however, in the course of repairs of 1784 the room was enclosed by wooden walls with stained glass windows. During the restoration of 1960-1963 the Chancellery was brought back to its original form (MCU, 2012).

The **Hall of the Divan and State Council** is entered through an ornamented arched door. This was the official room of the Palace, where state affairs were discussed. Its walls are plastered to imitate gray-colored granite. The ceiling is made of wood, painted with ornaments executed by the Russian artists in the course of the 1784-87 renovation works. The upper row of windows features insertions of stained glass. The floor is paved with marble. A narrow gallery, separated by the wooden lattice from the rest of the room, was constructed above the entrance, whence the Khan could secretly watch over the work of the Divan members. The interior of the hall underwent substantial alterations, particularly in the course of restoration works in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; however, a number of genuine elements dating back to the Khanate period have been preserved, including the aforementioned stained glass windows, the central red-and-black wooden segment of the ceiling, fragments of ornament imitating marble, as well as original ornaments on the western wall (Ostapenko, 2012a; MCU, 2012).

The **Summer Arbor** was constructed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Initially, the arches framing the room on three sides were open, however, in 1784-87, the openings were covered with stained glass. The arbor's ceiling features the intricate carved decoration, executed by the Russian artist Vassily Dorofyev. The chandelier was manufactured in St. Petersburg in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the center of the arbor stands a Turkish-made fountain; the walls are lined with spacious pillowed sofas. Repair works of the 1960s revealed the remains of intricate paintings on the sides of the ceiling, alongside landscape paintings above the entrance (MCU, 2012; Ostapenko, 2012c). The **Fountain Courtyard** is peculiar for its intricate inner structure, supported by a row of wooden columns; it features two fountains – the Golden Fountain (“*Mazgub*”, which translates as “gold”, or “gilded” from the Crimean Tatar language) (Figure 57) installed in 1733, and the legendary Fountain of Tears (Figure 58) designed in 1764 by an Iranian architect and immortalized in Alexander Pushkin's renowned poem “The Fountain of Bakhchisaray”. There is evidence that initially the Fountain of Tears adorned the wall of the Mausoleum of Dilyara Bikech, but was transplanted

into the Fountain Courtyard in the course of 1784-87 renovations (Ostapenko, 2012b; MCU, 2012). The original gilding of the Golden Fountain deteriorated in the course of time, but was partially restored in 1963 (MCU, 2012).

The **Minor Mosque** of the Palace adjoins the southern wall of the Fountain Courtyard. It is a single-domed, triple-naved building, rectangular in shape, elongated from east to west and covered by the tiled roof. The walls are plastered and painted, with the southern wall featuring the carved the *mihrab* (prayer) niche.

Located on the upper floor of the public part of the Main Building are the Coffee Room, the Hall of Embassies, and the Golden Cabinet (Ostapenko, 2012e; Ostapenko, 2012d).

The **Coffee Room** was used in Khans' time as a waiting room for foreign ambassadors and other honorable guests. The only remaining element of its original interior is the decoration of the upper row of windows; the rest of the design has been altered beyond recognition in the course of multiple renovations (MCU, 2012).

The **Hall of Embassies** is a spacious room with two niches, one of which accommodated the Khan's seat and the other – a place for the musicians, who were invited to play at official receptions. The ceiling made of carved wood was executed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the original had been lost (*ibid.*).

The **Golden Cabinet** is located above the Summer Arbor. The room is lit by twenty-four windows, distributed in two tiers (the upper one in stained glass). Original wall paintings dating back to the times of the Khanate are still preserved under the layers of paint that were applied at the later periods (MCU, 2012). Portions of walls separating the windows are decorated with alabaster images of trays and vases laden with fruit. The ceiling is made of carved wood, painted with floral ornaments, depicting pomegranate leaves and fruits. The chandelier was manufactured in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The room owes its name to abundant gilding, used in the interior décor.

The rooms comprising the living blocks of the Main Building feature carved wooden ceilings, doors decorated with paintings, as well as artisan fireplaces. Systematic restoration works have been carried out since 1960 by the architect Y. Lopushins'kaya (*ibid.*).

The **Harem** of the Khan's Palace was initially comprised of four buildings, however, three of them were demolished in the 1820s (MCU 2012). The remaining building is a one-storied fachwerk structure, sitting atop the tall basement, rectangular in shape. Window openings are situated in two tiers. Internally, the building consists of three rooms (named, conditionally, the 'buffet', the 'rest- and living-room', and 'bedroom'), an arbor, and a broad colonnaded gallery running along its eastern facade. In the "bedroom", original wardrobes, low sofas lining the walls, and a fireplace, have been preserved. Currently, the Harem houses the exhibition recreating the interior of the affluent Crimean Tatar household of the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries (MCU, 2012; Ostapenko, 2012d).

The **Retinue Building** with the Northern gate was constructed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1736 the original structure burned down in a fire and was re-built. The eastern wing housed the Khan's guards and a row of shops, facing the embankment of the river; the western wing was used for accommodation of the guests. During the renovation works carried out in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the facade was re-modeled and the tower above the gate was added; the shops were closed down and the entrance through the western wing was closed (MCU, 2012). In the 1920s, after the Khan's Palace was nationalized by the Soviet authorities, the building underwent substantial re-planning. Thus, the western wing was re-organized to accommodate the Palace museum; administrative rooms were placed in the eastern wing. The existing wall paintings decorating the northern facade of the Retinue Building originate from the same period (ibid.). In 1974-1980 the building was renovated, including the reinforcement of the dilapidated walls, replacement of the roof tiles, and of part of the floors. Interior walls of the rooms were re-plastered, and the exterior wall paintings of the northern and southern facades, as well as of the tower, were restored (ibid.)

**Khan's (Large) Mosque** (Figure 59) constructed in 1740 is a basilica-type structure with a narthex. Initially, the building was covered with cupolas that were later replaced by a hipped roof, which is still in place. In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the facade of the mosque was decorated with Arab calligraphic cartouches, containing quotes from the Quran and the mentioning of the name of Khan Krim Giray, during whose rule (1758 - 1764) the mosque was renovated, alongside other buildings of the palace complex (MCU, 2012; Ostapenko, 2012f). On its northern side, the mosque is flanked by two minarets with balconies, built of well-worked limestone. The balconies

are decorated with light geometrical ornaments. The interior of the mosque is comprised of a spacious hall, with a richly decorated balcony. Attached to the facade on the right-hand side is a separate room, where the Khans used to pray. The room is decorated with elaborate stained glass windows, glazed tiles and intricate wall and ceiling paintings.

The **Dyurbe of Dilyara Bikech** (Figure 60), erected in 1764, is an octagonal mausoleum; every side features four niches with semi-circular arches that were originally glazed. In 1962, the monument underwent restoration, in the course of which the interior walls were re-plastered. Windows and doors were blocked with stone, so as to enable better preservation of the dyurbe (MCU, 2012).

**Sary Gyuzel** (the “Yellow Beauty”) **Bathhouse** (Figure 61), located to the east of Khan’s Mosque, is one of the oldest surviving buildings of the palace, whose construction dates back to 1533. The bathhouse is executed in the traditional Turkish bath style; it is comprised of the anteroom, the changing rooms, and two separated compartments – one of men and one for women. The heating and plumbing ran under the floor of the bathhouse; the natural light came from the openings in the cupolas. In 1936-37 repair works were carried out on both the exterior and interior of the building; in 1960, preventive repairs were carried out (ibid.).

Apart from the aforementioned buildings, the Khan’s Palace complex also includes Khan’s Kitchen (18<sup>th</sup> century; most recent repairs done in 1974-1979), the cemetery, the stables (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries; most recent repairs done in 1962-65), the library (19<sup>th</sup> century), two further 17<sup>th</sup>-century mausoleums, and the wooden Falcon Tower (18<sup>th</sup> century, repeatedly repaired).

The palace overlooks the **embankment of Churuk Su river** (Figure 62, Figure 63) with the three arched stone bridges: the first one leading to Sara-Gyuzel’s Bathhouse, the second – to the Northern gate, and the third – to Khan’s Kitchen. In 1784-87 the embankment was paved with stone. It was later on repaired in 1822-27; in 1966 preventive works were carried out to avert the deterioration of the river banks (ibid.).

Apart from the multiple buildings, the complex of the Khan’s Palace is home to expansive gardens and parks laid out in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, which gave the



complex its name, “Bakhchisaray” – “the garden-palace”. Of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century gardens two can still be seen presently: the **Pool Garden**, located to the east of the Main Building; and the **Harem Garden** enclosed on the three sides by tall stone walls.

Of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century gardens two remain: the garden of the main courtyard and the one in front of the Hall of Embassies. Presently, all of the gardens are in need of elaborate planning, which would take into consideration their historical structure (MCU, 2012).

### **8.3.3.2 Salachiq**

Salachiq forms the eastern suburb of the town of Bakhchisaray and is located at the foot of Chufut Kale mountain (Figure 64). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Salachiq hosted Ashlama-Saray Khan’s Palace, of which only a small-sized stone portal, constructed in 1503, remains (it is currently part of the museum collection of the Khan’s Palace). As is the case with other works of the early Crimean Tatar architecture in Crimea, Salachiq presents a simplified version of the traditional Seljuk architecture encountered in Asia Minor (MCU, 2012).

According to the tradition prevalent in the Muslim world, adjacent to Ashlama-Saray was a complex of civil buildings, *külliye*, comprised of a mosque, a cemetery where the rulers were buried, a *medrese* (traditional Islamic school of higher learning), a *hamam* (public bath), a hospital, a public kitchen, a meeting hall, and a hostel, all of which were intended for various services for the community. Part of the aforementioned structures was uncovered in the course of archaeological excavations, conducted in 2005-2008. Presently, only two of the buildings of the former *külliye*, have been preserved: Zincirli Medrese (constructed in 1500) and the mausoleum of Khan Haji-Giray (constructed in 1501) (ibid.).

**Zincirli Medrese** (“Medrese of Chains”) currently hosts a museum devoted to the school’s history, where a range of artifacts, discovered in the course of archaeological works, and unique historical drawings and photos are exhibited. The Medrese presents a square stone structure with inner courtyard, on the three sides of which students’ private rooms and classrooms with lancet ceilings are located (Figure 65). The perimeter of the courtyard is surrounded by an arched gallery. The exterior of

the school is ascetic, devoid of elaborate decor. The main entrance to Zincirli Medrese is on the southern facade, with additional entrances on the northern one. The main entrance is decorated with a forged chain, *zincirli*, overhanging the door on the exterior, passing under which each visitor had to bend slightly forward, thus paying, in a figurative way, respect to the school. It is this peculiarity that lent the name to the Medrese. Embedded in the wall above the door is a small-sized plate revealing the date of construction of the school (ibid.).

The main southern facade is of rectangular shape, crowned with the horizontal cornice made of hewn limestone blocks. Floors of inner premises are paved with stone, currently in considerably deteriorated condition. The inner courtyard is paved with stone plates of varying size. Fragments of plastering have been preserved on the walls of the cells facing the yard.

Based on the archaeological investigation of 1961, a project was developed that foresaw a complete renovation of the Medrese and its conversion into a nursing home. In 1965-1966, a range of repairs and restorations were undertaken, including the replacement of the windows, doors and the roof, as well as reparation of wall masonry. Apart from this, groundwater extraction was carried out. In 1990, additional research was carried out, which resulted in the development of a new project of the Medrese's restoration and further use. However, neither of the two plans was ever fully realized, due to political and financial complications (MCU, 2012).

In 2003-2004, the archaeological research was carried out that uncovered large quantity of artifacts, dating to the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. They are now exhibited in the Medrese's museum. It was only in 2005 that further restoration works were enabled, in the framework of a large-scale project, initiated by the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TICA). In-depth research and preparation works were completed in 2008, however, no immediate action followed, due to the fact that the project took no consideration of the archaeological works conducted previously. The need for more on-site investigation arose, and finally, in 2011, a Turkish company employed by TICA carried out a range of restoration works. The bathhouse was re-built, complete with chimneys; inner courtyard received transparent glass roofing; the roof covering former students' rooms and classrooms was renewed.

Unfortunately, upon the completion of the aforementioned works, the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, BHCP and the Academic Research Institute of Monument Research concluded that some of Medrese's architectural elements were reconstructed on the basis on solely hypothetical historical evidence, mostly derived from the Ottoman analogues – which to a large extent lowered the degree of Zincirli Medrese's authenticity. This fact is clearly reflected in the text of the 2012 nomination dossier (MCU 2012), presented by the aforementioned organizations to the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. In 2007, the basement of another *hamam* was uncovered to the west of Zincirli Medrese and conserved by the TICA. The quality and adequacy of conservation has been put in doubt by the BHCP experts (*ibid.*). Other areas open for further investigation are the remains of the mosque and the ruins of the purported original Ashlama-Saray Khan's Palace.

Apart from the described archaeological monuments, Salachiq features the building, where the editorial office of Ismail Gasprinsky's newspaper *Terjiman* was located. In 1921, Gasprinsky's memorial house-museum was opened there. From 1932 and until the collapse of the Soviet Regime in 1991, the memorial museum remained closed. In the year 2000, 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ismail Gasprinsky's birth, it was restored and festively re-inaugurated.

**The Mausoleum (Dyurbe) of Khan Haji-Giray** (Figure 66) is an octagonal stone building, covered with a hemispherical tiled roof. The front portal features an arch-like opening, the inner walls of which are decorated with carved ornaments. The Dyurbe was erected in 1501; its composition and decorative elements are highly reminiscent of the Mausoleum of Djanike Khanym in Chufut Kale. The monument was executed in the traditions of Seljuk architecture, with its facade surrounded by the so-called “Seljuk chain” – a braided ornamental pattern, widespread throughout the former Seljuk Empire. Evidently, the uppermost part of the central portal has been lost, for the ornament symbolizing infinity lacks part of its upper elements. Of the interior, only a fragment of the chain in the central part of the ceiling, upon which the chandelier originally hung, has been preserved (Gayvoronskiy, 2006).

The Dyurbe underwent archaeological investigation in the years 2004-2005, in the course of which the crypt was discovered underneath the monument, to which an arch-shaped limestone entrance lead on the eastern side. Historical sources testify that

four first rulers of the Crimean Khanate were buried in this crypt, including Haji-Giray I (1466), Mengli-Giray I (1515), Gazi-Giray I (1524) and Sakhib-Giray I (1551) (ibid.). The investigation identified two construction periods: a) construction of the underground crypt where Haji-Giray was buried in 1466; and b) construction of the ground-level mausoleum, intended for Mengli-Giray above his father's grave. Both burials were arranged in a typical Golden Horde tradition, whereby consequent rulers were buried alongside the previous ones in the same crypt (MCU, 2012).

In 2005-2008, TICA developed a restoration project of the Dyurbe of Haji-Giray, and in 2011, a range of restoration works were carried out. Similarly to the cases of restoration of Zincirli Medrese and the baths, BHCP casts doubt with regards to the degree of authenticity and historical justification of the re-introduced elements (ibid.).

### **8.3.3.3 The cemetery of Gazy Mansur**

Completing the Crimean Tatar heritage cluster in the Bakhchisaray Valley is **Gazy Mansur** complex, located on the south-eastern outskirts of the town of Bakhchisaray, 0,2 kilometers to the south of the Southern Gate of Chufut Kale (Figure 67, Figure 68).

A highly revered Crimean Tatar *Aziz* (sanctuary), built upon the ruins of the *tekke* (a place for spiritual retreat) of the Dervishes, Gazy Mansur historically played a crucial role in the life of the early Muslim community that settled in the town of Chufut Kale.

One of the earliest mentioning of Gazy Mansur can be traced back to the writings of Evliya Celebi (Celebi, 1961). In 1666 – 1667, the traveller reports visiting the *tekke* and explains that it was constructed on the site of the tombs of the three Sufi saints: Gazy-Mansur-Sultan, Shah Halil and Shah Ramazan. Celebi, and talks about encountering of a 'magnificent mausoleum', built above Mansur's tomb. The exact dating of the tomb is unclear. The *tekke* itself is believed to have been constructed in 1434 (Bezchinskiy, 1905; Akchokrakly, 1928; Alyadinova & Ermullayev, 2012).

More recent sources link the time of construction of the mausoleum with the period of rule of Khan Mengli Giray, although it remains unclear, which of the two Mengli Gerays – Mengli Giray I (1467-1515), or Mengli Giray II (1724-1730, 1737-1739) is

referred to. The architectural complex is also reflected in topographical maps of the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century (MCU, 2012).

In its architectural plan, Gazy Mansur complex presents a rectangular area, at the center of which the ruins of the *tekke* are located. In the northeastern corner of the building remains of a limestone gravestone can be identified. Locations of the other two tombs are no longer traceable. Photographic sources from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century point out, however, that the three tombs lay side by side (*ibid.*).

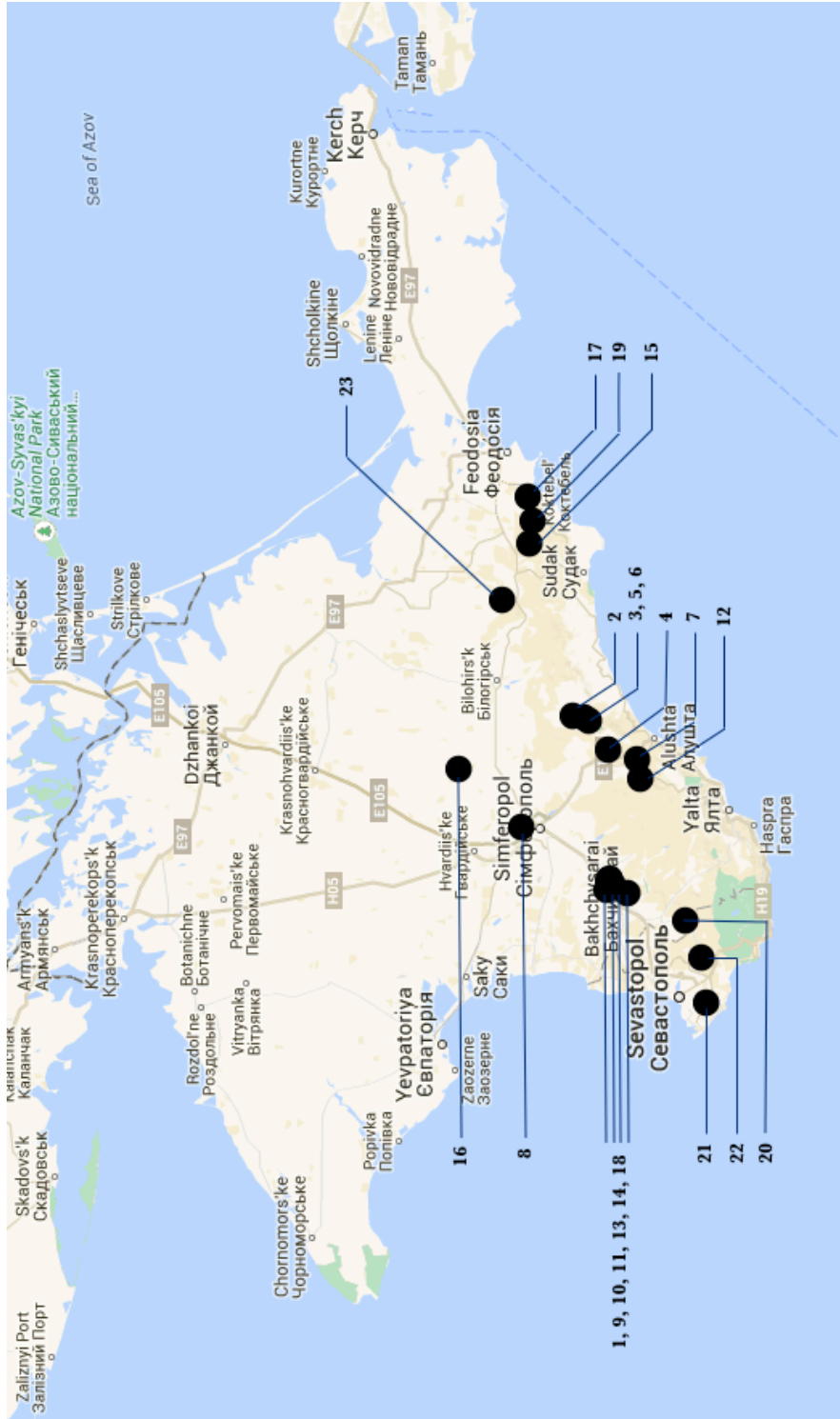
A stone-paved path connects the *tekke* with the keeper's house. Located on the left-hand side of the path is the holy well. In 2009 the well that had previously been completely filled with rubble, was cleaned, producing a fragment of a gravestone dating back to the Golden Horde period, and a copper finial (Alyadinova & Ermullayev, 2012). Presently, the well is over-built by a simple hexahedral stone structure covered by a semi-circular dome (Figure 69). In the central section of the southern facade there is a small wooden door leading to the inside of the well. The intention of the building is symbolic, for no water is any longer there.

On the territory of the cemetery, 35 stone gravestones have been identified, which can be conditionally divided into four types: (1) the earliest gravestones, single- or two-horned, resting on a stone place; (2) more recent trapeze-shaped stelae crowned by ornamented 'heads'; (3) rectangular stelae; and (4) composite gravestones in the shape of a stone box with cut-out slots, into which vertical stelae were inserted. The majority of the gravestones bear carved epitaphs. Alyadinova and Ermullayev date the earliest of the epitaphs 1428 AD, the latest – 1848 AD (Alyadinova & Ermullayev, 2012).

On the south-hand-side of Ay Yoly road, which runs along the north-western section of Gazy Mansur complex and further towards the Assumption Monastery, the old (and partially dilapidated) fountain can be found. The fountain is comprised of the stone wall, 6,1 meters long, framed by two pylons. In the central section of the wall is a water jet (Figure 70). Currently, the structure is non-functional. Conservation reports dated October 1926 – October 1927 contain evidence of restoration works at the site of the fountain carried out by the Bakhchisaray Museum-Palace, in the course of which the water pipes were repaired and partially replaced. By the Decision of

Crimean Regional Executive Committee No.300 from 20<sup>th</sup> of November 1990, the fountain was transferred to BHCP.

Presently, the fountain, together with its plumbing system, lie within the protection zones of both Chufut Kale and the Assumption Monastery. In 1993, a project was developed by the Ukrproyektrestavratsiya Research Institute that foresaw the clearing and organization of the Gazy Mansur's territory (MCU, 2012). Regrettably, it was never duly carried out.



1. Assumption Monastery, 2. Ay-Alexey (St. Alexey), 3. Ay-Andriy (St. Andrey), 4. Ay-Kostandi (St. Konstantin), 5. Ay-Vasil (St. Vasily), 6. Ay-Yan-Petri (St. Joan and Peter), 7. Ay-Yori (St. Georgy), 8. Azis-Su (Savopulo), 9. Balta Tümez, 10. Beshik Tau, 11. Chufut Kale, 12. Cosmas and Damian Monastery, 13. Gazy Mansur, 14. Kachi Kabon, 15. Kiziltash Monastery, 16. Kyrk Azis, 17. Mt. Syrataya, 18. Old town of Bakhchisaray, 19. Papas Tepe, 20. St. Feodor Studit, 21. Inkerman Monastery, 22. St. Ioann Postnyi, 23. Toplov Nunnery

Figure 13. Overview of the twenty-three locations pre-selected for further research (Based on google maps)

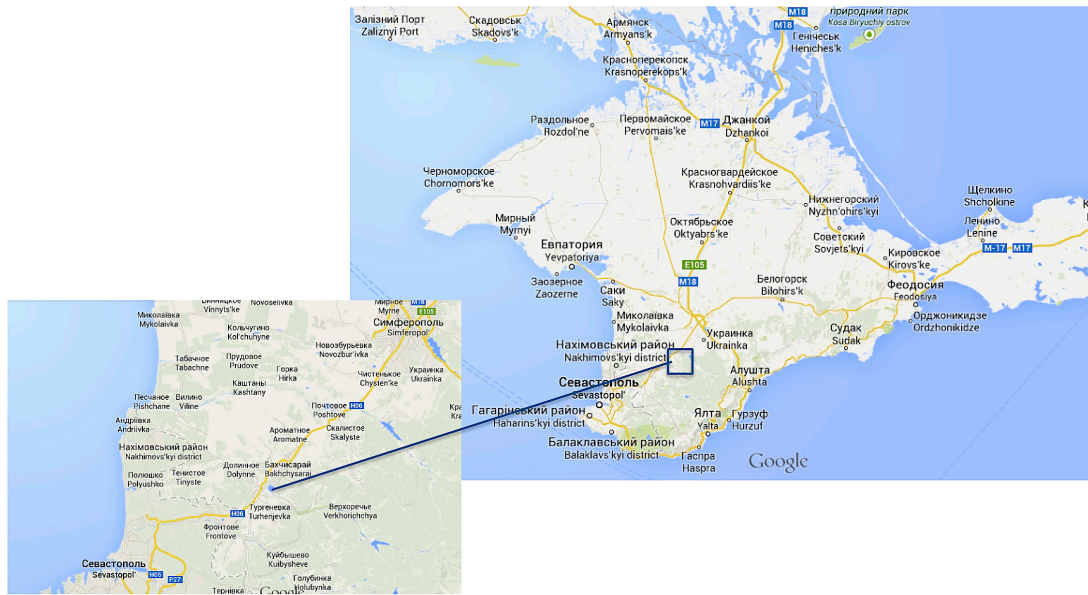
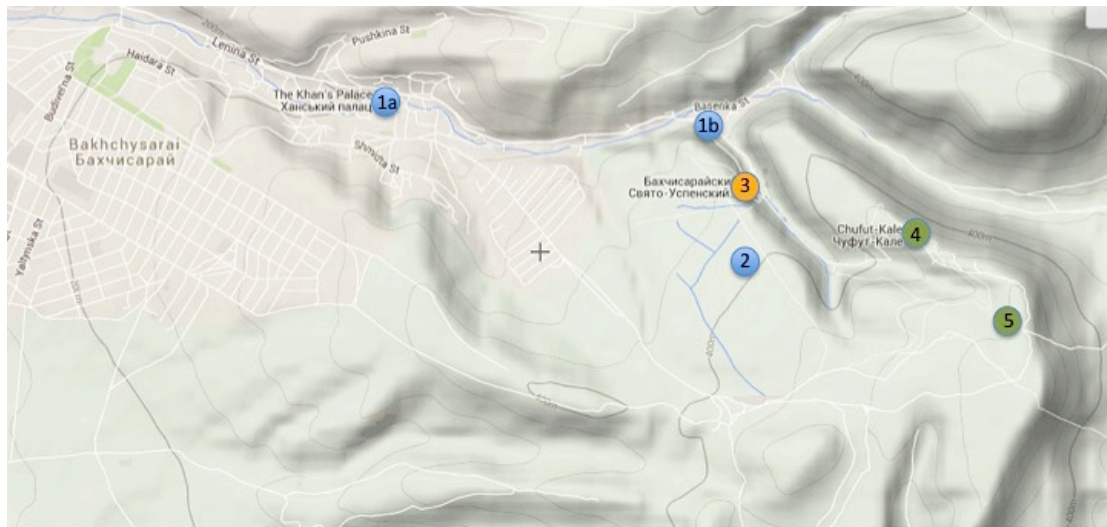


Figure 14. Bakhchisaray district on the map of Crimea (based on google maps)



- |  |  |                                   |
|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| Crimean Tatar cluster                                      | Christian Orthodox cluster                 | Crimean Karaite cluster           |
| 1, 1a. Khan Palace and Salachik<br>2. Gazy Mansur cemetery | 3. The complex of the Assumption Monastery | 4. Chufut-Kale<br>5. Balta Tiymez |

Figure 15. Map of the case studies (generated with mapbuilder)





*Figure 16. General view of the Mariam Dere gorge, with monastery buildings of the lower level (own photo)*



*Figure 17. General view of the Mariam Dere gorge, with the monastery buildings of the lower level and the wall running across the bottom of the gorge, delineating the monastery's territory (own photo)*



*Figure 18. The Assumption Monastery – Monastery square with Superior's house and belfry (in the background), fountain and staircase leading to the upper level of the monastery (own photo)*





*Figure 19. The Assumption Monastery – Fountain (own photo)*



*Figure 20. The Assumption Monastery – Holy water well (own photo)*





*Figure 21. The Assumption Monastery - Reliefs lining the stairs that lead to the upper level of the monastery (own photo)*



*Figure 22. The Assumption Monastery – Staircase with Archangels' passage (own photo)*



Figure 23. The Assumption Monastery - Archaengels' Passage (own photo)



Figure 24. The Assumption Monastery - Entrance to the confession rooms (own photo)



Figure 25. The Assumption Monastery – view from the upper level of the monastery to Mariam Dere (own photo)





*Figure 26. The Assumption Monastery – A flight of steps leading to the Church of Assumption of the Holy Mother of God (own photo)*



*Figure 27. The Assumption Monastery – Interior of the Church of Assumption of the Holy Mother of God (Source: <http://suntime.com.ua>)*



*Figure 28. The Assumption Monastery – Balcony with the fresco depicting the Holy Mother of God with the infant Christ (own photo)*



*Figure 29. Large Kenasse in Chufut Kale - Exterior (own photo)*





Figure 30. Chingiz Kale - Town plan (adapted from <http://cimeaz.ru>)



*Figure 31. Large Kenasse in Chufut Kale - Interior (the front section) (own photo)*



*Figure 32. Large Kenasse in Chufut Kale - Interior (the back section) (own photo)*



*Figure 33. Large Kenasse in Chufut Kale - Entrance (own photo)*





*Figure 34. Large Kenasse in Chufut Kale - gallery (own photo)*



*Figure 35. Large (left) and Small (right) Kenasse in Chufut Kale (own photo)*





*Figure 36. Dyrbe of Djanike Khanym in Chufut Kale (own photo)*



*Figure 37. Chufut Kale - Ruins of the mosque (Source: BHCP)*



*Figure 38. Chufut Kale - Ruins of the mosque, southern wall with the mihrab niche (own photo)*





*Figure 39. Chufut Kale - Biyuk-Kapu (Large Gate) (own photo)*



*Figure 40. Chufut Kale - Orta-Kapu (Middle Gate) (own photo)*





*Figure 41. Chufut Kale - Avraam Firkovich's mansion (own photo)*



*Figure 42. Chufut Kale - Avraam Firkovich's mansion (own photo)*





*Figure 43. Chufut Kale - Kichik Kapu (Southern Gate) (own photo)*



*Figure 44. Chufut Kale - Cavern complex in the vicinity of Kichik Kapu Gate (own photo)*





*Figure 45. Chufut Kale - Entrance to the "Prison caverns" (own photo)*



*Figure 46. Chufut Kale - Interior of the "Prison caverns" (own photo)*





*Figure 47. Chufut Kale - Water-collecting basin near Biyuk Kapu (Eastern Gate) (source: BHCP)*



*Figure 48. Chufut Kale - Entrance to Tik Kuyu (Siege Well) (Source: BHCP)*



*Figure 49. Karaites cemetery in Chufut Kale in 1824 - engraving by Karl von Kügelgen (Source: (Maksimuk, Polkanova, & Polkanova, 2011))*





*Figure 50. Balta Tıymeş - view along the central alley with entrance gate in the background (own photo)*



*Figure 51. Balta Tıymeş – Entrance gate with the remains of the exterior wall (own photo)*





Figure 52. Balta Tiymez - Sacred oak (Source: BHCP)



Figure 53. Balta Tiymez - displaced tombstones (own photo)

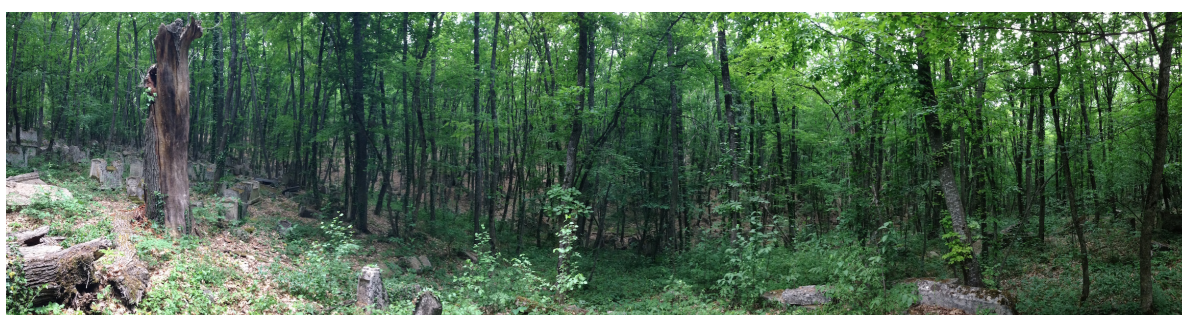
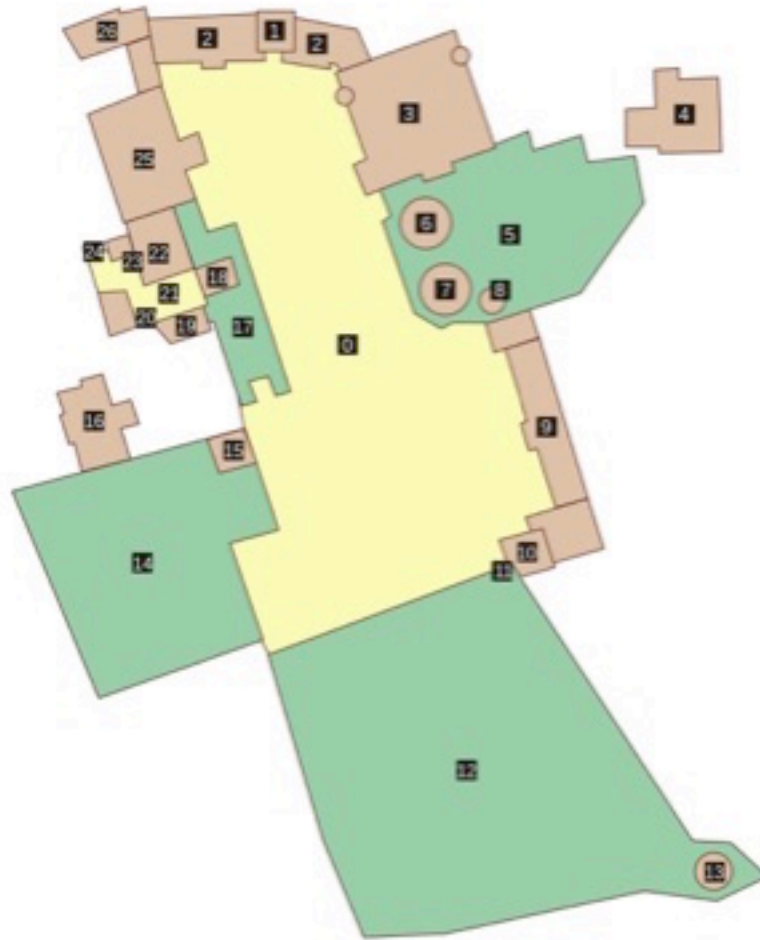


Figure 54. Balta Tiymez - general view of the necropolis (own photo)



- |    |                           |    |                                     |
|----|---------------------------|----|-------------------------------------|
| 0  | Central inner courtyard   | 14 | Persian Garden                      |
| 1  | Northern Gate             | 15 | Falcon Tower                        |
| 2  | Retinue Building          | 16 | Harem                               |
| 3  | Khan's Mosque (Large)     | 17 | Pool Garden                         |
| 4  | Sary-Gyuzel Bathhouse     | 18 | Summer Arbour                       |
| 5  | Khan Cemetery             | 19 | Khan's Mosque (Small)               |
| 6  | Northern Dyurbe           | 20 | Golden Fountain                     |
| 7  | Southern Dyurbe           | 21 | Fountain Garden                     |
| 8  | Mengli Giray III's Rotund | 22 | Hall of the Divan and State Council |
| 9  | Stables                   | 23 | Fountain of Tears                   |
| 10 | Library                   | 24 | Demir-Kapa Portal                   |
| 11 | Southern Gate             | 25 | Living quarters                     |
| 12 | Garden Terraces           | 26 | Khan's kitchen                      |
| 13 | Dyurbe of Dilyara Bikech  |    |                                     |

Figure 55. Plan of the Khan's Palace in Bakhchisaray (adapted from <http://wikimedia.org>)





*Figure 56. Khan's Palace - The Main Building (Source: BHCP)*



*Figure 57. Khan's Palace - Golden Fountain (own photo)*



*Figure 58. Khan's Palace - Fountain of Tears (own photo)*





*Figure 59. Khan's Palace - Large Mosque (Source: BHCP)*



*Figure 60. Khan's Palace - Dyurbe of Dilyara Bikech (Source: BHCP)*



*Figure 61. Khan's Palace - Sary-Gyuzel Bathhouse (Source: BHCP)*





*Figure 62. Bakhchisaray - Embankment of Churuk Su River with the Retinue Building and the bridge leading into the North Gate of the Khan's Palace (own photo)*



*Figure 63. Bakhchisaray - Embankment of Churuk Su river with the Retinue Building and Khan's Kitchen of the Palace (own photo)*





*Figure 64. Salachiq - General view, with Zincirli Medrese, ruins of the bathhouse and Dyrbe of Haji-Giray (Source: BHCP)*



*Figure 65. Salachiq - Zincirli Medrese (own photo)*





*Figure 66. Salachiq - Dyurbe of Khan Haji-Giray (Source: BHCP)*



*Figure 67. Gazy Mansur - Entrance gate (own photo)*





*Figure 68. Gazy Mansur - A ruined gravestone (own photo)*



*Figure 69. Gazy Mansur - Restored holy well (own photo)*





*Figure 70. Gazy Mansur - Ruins of the fountain (own photo)*

## **9 INDICATOR-BASED ASSESSMENT OF THE CASE STUDIES**

### **9.1 Stakeholders**

The indicator-based assessment of the case studies in the framework of current research targets two main groups of actors: the state (and its representative bodies) on the one side, and the organizations representing local religious groups on the other. In relation to the state, the objective is to establish how the religious revival of the post-Soviet period correlates with Ukraine's current policies towards the safeguarding of Crimea's sacred landscapes, namely, to what extent they are being protected under the existing legislation, and what aspects are given most attention in the process. In relation to the organizations representing local religious groups, the task is to investigate, to what degree the sacred locations under study remain relevant for various groups and to establish, how the knowledge about the local sacred sites and their importance is being spread both within these groups and beyond.

In other words, the aim of the present assessment is to analyze, and compare, two memoryscapes: the memoryscape of the state (expressed through the interests of the Preserve) and the memoryscape of the public organizations representing the interests of local religious groups. In the ideal case scenario, these two memoryscapes should intersect and complement each other in a balanced and sustainable way (see Figure 71).

In order to establish what aspects pertinent to the maintaining of the values and memories are given precedence by the Ukrainian state, the indicator was devised that aims at evaluating the scope of statutory protection of cultural heritage objects contained within the case studies. Acting as the representative of the state is Bakhchisaray Historical and Cultural Preserve (BHCP) in the domains of which the territories of all the three investigated case studies have been legally incorporated since its creation in 1990.

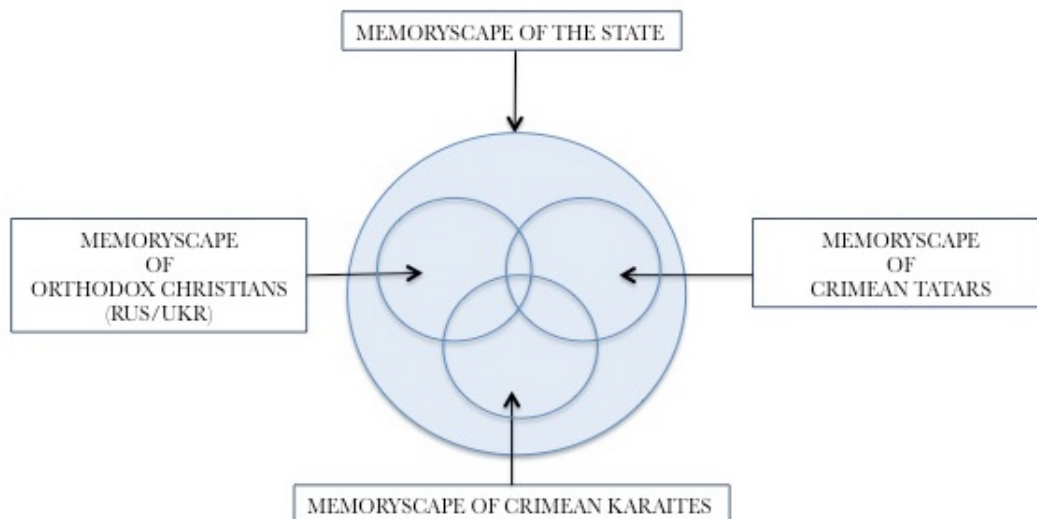


Figure 71. Intersecting memoryscapes - the ideal case scenario

BHCP is a state-governed institution, accountable to the Ministry of Culture of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea – the central organ of executive power in the field of protection of cultural heritage. Management of all properties within the Preserve is carried out by the Preserve’s administration, based on the *Statute of the Crimean republican institution ‘Bakhchisaray Historical and Cultural Preserve’*, ratified by the Ministry of Culture and Arts of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea on March 31<sup>st</sup> 2008. Presently, the Preserve employs 155 staffers and is financed from the specially established funds.

The main responsibilities related to the maintenance of cultural heritage monuments located within the domains of BHCP falls directly on the administration of the Preserve. Same concerns the regulation of cultural, educational, academic and research measures activities, as well as touristic activity around heritage contained within the territory of the Preserve. Thus, the administration of the Preserve is obliged to:

- (1) carry out the work with regards to identification, recording, classification of cultural heritage monuments and providing the necessary documentation with the view of their listing in the state register;

- (2) inform the responsible institutions about any damage, ruination, or threat thereof;
- (3) provide the supervision of continuous scientific and methodological work with relation to examination, conservation, rehabilitation, restoration, repair, adaptation and museification of cultural heritage objects;
- (4) take measures to prevent all manifestation of non-compliance with the Law regarding the Protection of Cultural Heritage and alleviate the consequences of such violations (Article 33-2).

The Architecture and Restoration Department of the Preserve carries out planning of projects and applied research works, aimed at preservation and restoration of historical urban landscape of Bakhchisaray, its cultural landscapes and traditional environment of the monuments, as well as monitoring of the realization of such projects. Apart from this, this department is responsible for the planning of restoration works and repairs, as well as construction and other kinds of works prescribed for specific monuments lying in the domains of BHCP (*ibid.*).

The process of day-to-day management, conservation, as well as periodic reporting is carried out in compliance with the *Law of Ukraine regarding the Protection of Cultural Heritage* (No. 1805-III, ratified June 8<sup>th</sup>, 2000, with consideration of changes adopted in the Law No. 2518-VI from September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2010).

The Preserve is comprised of the following structures: the Museum of History and Culture of the Crimean Tatars, Historical Department, Ethnographic Department, Museum of Archaeology of Bakhchisaray, Museum of Archaeology of South-Western Crimea, Department of Funds, Department of Art Restoration, Publishing Department, Alma Historical and Archaeological Complex, Department of Protection of Monuments of History and Culture, Architecture and Restoration Department, Excursion (Tourism) Department, Ismail Gasprinskiy's Memorial Museum, Museum of Art, Department of Marketing and Advertising, and Maintenance Department. Of the named structures, two departments that are directly responsible for the immovable cultural heritage assets within the domains of the Preserve are the Department of Protection of Monuments of History and Culture, and Architecture and Restoration Department. The scope of tasks of these departments is defined by the statute of BHCP. Thus, the Department of Protection of Monuments of History and Culture is

responsible for preparing of the materials in relation to the newly identified objects of cultural heritage with the view of their inclusion in the State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects. In relation to the already identified heritage assets, the Department is in charge of developing data bases on all objects of cultural heritage of BHCP, taking into account such aspects as recording, research, changes and mode of use; preparation of information material, as well as scientific reports upon request of the administration of the Preserve, as well as other governmental and non-governmental cultural organizations; and monitoring of the condition of cultural heritage objects of BHCP and modes of their exploitation, in cooperation with academicians and representatives of law enforcement organizations (BHCP 2012).

Selected as regional organizations representing the interests of the Crimean Karaites and the Crimean Tatars in the peninsula are the Association of the Karaites of Crimea (AKC) and the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Crimea (SAMC) respectively.

The all-Ukrainian association of the Karaites of Crimea (AKC), *Kyrymkaraylar*, is the largest national-cultural association of the Karaites in Ukraine, which unites under its roof a network of regional organizations, six of which are located in Crimea:

- **Bakhchisaray** National-Cultural Society;
- Dnepropetrovsk National-Cultural Society *Karay*;
- **Eupatoria** National-Cultural Society *Kardashlar*;
- Melitopol' National-Cultural Society;
- Nikolayev National-Cultural Society *Murat*;
- Odessa Town Society *Bazlyk*;
- **Sevastopol** Association *Fidan*;
- **Simferopol** National-Cultural Society *Chokrak*;
- **Feodosia** National-Cultural Society *Mehebbetlik*;
- **Yalta** National-Cultural Society *Umyut*;
- Kharkov National-Cultural Society *Karay*.

AKC is a non-profit organization, whose main aim is the preservation and development of the Crimean Karaite ethnicity. The Association has appointed the Academic Council, which is responsible for scientific publications and other types of

research in relation to the Crimean Karaite material and immaterial culture. Members of AKC regularly participate in domestic and international conferences, workshops, exhibitions and other events and supervise the celebration of national and religious Karaite holidays. The ethno-cultural center *Kale*, established by AKC, actively contributes to the preservation of the two Karaite major sanctuaries, Chufut Kale and Balta Tiymez. The Association collaborates closely with a range of international Karaite funds and organizations, as well as with the Karaite communities in Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and the United States.

The Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Crimea (SAMC) is a nonprofit organization, which represents the interests of the peninsula's Muslim population, predominantly comprised of the Crimean Tatars. Remaining non-political in its convictions, SAMC aspires to unite the Crimean Tatar people through the study of Islam. The Administration actively contributes in the protection of the Crimean Tatar cultural heritage, both material and immaterial. It coordinates the activity of local mosques, organizes and coordinates cultural events, and engages in religious education at schools. The organizational structure of SAMC includes eight departments: the administrative department, the department for religious education, the information and publishing department, the department for construction and land issues, the department for coordination of the activity of religious communities, the department for religious events, the foreign relations department, and the financial department. All of them work jointly under the supervision of SAMC's *Mufti*, who is elected by the decision of Crimean Tatars' highest council, *Kurultay*.

The interests of the Orthodox Christians in relation to the protection of the Assumption Monastery in Bakhchisaray are represented by the Simferopol and Crimean Diocese of Moscow Patriarchate (SCD) – one of the three patriarchate's administrations in Crimea, which oversees 11 monasteries and two churches in the districts of Alushta, Bakhchisaray, Belogorsk, Eupatoria, Kerch, Saki, Simferopol, Sudak, Feodosia and Sevastopol. The administration of the diocese comprised of a number of departments, including departments for culture, education and pilgrimages, the department for youth, and the department for social services. Apart from this, SCD runs its own higher educational institution, the Theological Seminary (*Tavrisheskaya Dukhovnaya Seminariya*) in Simferopol.

The developed set of indicators evaluates the scope of the statutory protection of the selected sacred landscapes from the side of the Ukrainian state. Further, it analyses the extent to which different actors (through cultural, academic and educational activities) contribute to the dissemination of knowledge with regards to the history, significance and relevance of Crimea's sacred heritage. The framework of themes in relation to different stakeholders is presented in Table 5.

## **9.4 Indicator-based assessment**

### **9.4.1 Theme 1: Statutory protection of heritage assets**

#### **Indicator 1a: Number of cultural heritage objects of national significance**

*Full name of the indicator: Number of heritage objects that are presently included in the State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bakhchisaray as objects of national significance*

Total number of heritage objects recognized as objects of national significance that are located on the territory of BHCP – 28. Of them: Total number of heritage assets on the territory of the Assumption Monastery: 3 (see Table 6); Chufut Kale (see Table 7); Bakhchisaray (see Table 8).

Cultural heritage assets contained within the three case studies were recognized as monuments by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic that dates back to 1965. There have been no revisions or amendments to the resolution; the legislative base of independent Ukraine recognizes it as valid.

The procedure of inclusion of cultural heritage objects of national significance into the State Register was carried out in accordance with the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “*On the approval procedure for determining the categories of monuments to be entered as objects of cultural heritage into the State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine*” (No. 1760, from December 27<sup>th</sup> 2001) (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2011) and the Decree of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine “*On the approval of the procedure of registration*

*of objects of cultural heritage*” (No.158, from March 11<sup>th</sup> 2013) (MCU, 2013), both of which are based on the *Law of Ukraine regarding the Protection of Cultural Heritage* (No. 1805-III, ratified June 8<sup>th</sup> 2000, with consideration of changes adopted in the Law No. 2518-VI from September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2010) (Supreme Council of Ukraine, 2000).

In compliance with Art. 10 of the aforementioned Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (No. 1760, from December 27<sup>th</sup> 2001), the object of cultural heritage of national significance must comply with one or more of the following criteria:

- (1) to have exercised considerable influence on the development of culture, architecture, urban planning, and art of [Ukraine];
- (2) to be directly connected with historical events, beliefs, life and activity of prominent people;
- (3) to represent a masterpiece of creative genius, be landmark works of outstanding architects or other artists;
- (4) to be works of a disappeared civilization, or artistic style.

They must also satisfy the criterion of authenticity, by which it is understood that the monument must to a considerable degree retain its original shape and material-technical structure, historical layers, as well as its role in the environment (ibid.)

The *Law of Ukraine regarding the Protection of Cultural Heritage* regulates the legal, organizational, social and economic relations in the field of protection of cultural heritage with the view of its preservation, the use of the objects of cultural heritage in social life, and the protection of traditional heritage environment in the interest of the present and future generations. The protection of the cultural heritage objects constitutes one of priority tasks of the authorities both on the state and regional levels. Cultural heritage object is hereby defined as an “outstanding place, a structure (work), complex (ensemble), their integral parts, as well as related movable objects and territories; natural, natural-anthropogenic, or anthropogenic objects created by man, (...) which have communicated, to the present time, the value from the archaeological, aesthetic, ethnological, historic, architectural, artisan, scientific or artistic viewpoint, and have retained their authenticity” (Article 1).



Cultural heritage is defined as “a totality of cultural heritage objects inherited by humanity from the past generations” (Article 1).

Cultural heritage monument is defined as a “cultural heritage object, which is listed in the State Register of the Immovable Monuments of Ukraine” (Article 1).

The protection of cultural heritage is defined as “the system of legal, organizational, financial, material, technical, urban planning, informational and other measures aimed at recording (identification, academic investigation, classification, state registration), prevention of destruction or damage, provision of protection, preservation, maintenance, appropriate use, conservation, restoration, repair, rehabilitation, adaptation and museification of cultural heritage objects” (Article 1).

The Law defines the rights and responsibilities of the state, regional and local authorities with regards to the protection of cultural heritage (Articles 3 – 6), elaborates on the regulations concerning the creation of scientific-methodological councils and consultation council in the matters of protection of cultural heritage (Article 7); the involvement of heritage professionals, as well as citizens, as ‘civil inspectors’, in the process of heritage protection (Article 8); and confirms the right of unconditional access to the cultural heritage objects of the mentioned professionals and inspectors (Article 9). It also stresses the importance of participation of civil organizations, as well as academic, educational and cultural institutions in the process of heritage protection (Article 11), regulates touristic activities (Article 12), defines the particularities of property rights with regards to listed cultural heritage monuments, stressing that all archaeological monuments and related movable objects remain exclusively in the property of the Ukrainian state, as well as lands surrounding them, which constitute the buffer protection zones (Article 17). Non- archaeological cultural heritage monuments can, in principle, be privatized, or transferred into the property of individual owners, or organizations, provided that all the appropriate documentation, including the so-called ‘protection contract’, upon signing which the owner takes upon himself the responsibility to maintain the said monument in adequate condition and use it exclusively with defined purposes. Specific categories of monuments that can be privatized are approved by the Supreme Council of Ukraine (Article 18).

The territories of the three sacred landscapes in question are included in the list of protected areas, the status of which is regulated by Article 33 (Historic and cultural preserves and protected areas) of the Law. Being listed as protected areas, all three investigated sacred landscapes fall under specific regulations in terms of archaeological and other sorts of excavations on their territory, whereby these can only be carried out with the permission of the cultural heritage protection authorities. Obtaining such permission is only possible upon special approval of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, through the independent Qualification Council comprised of academics representing academic and educational institutions and civil organizations (Article 35).

Financing of the measures regarding protection of cultural heritage is realized through general funds, as well as the special items, of the State Budget of Ukraine, the Budget of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and local funds (Article 38).

Movable objects of cultural heritage, such as archaeological artifacts, produced in the course of excavations, comprise the museum collections of the BHP and are protected by the Ukrainian state in compliance with the *Law of Ukraine regarding Museums and Museology* (No. 250/95-BP, ratified June 19<sup>th</sup>, 1995), as well as by the *Law of Ukraine regarding the Protection of Archaeological Heritage* (No. 1626-IV, ratified March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2004).

Museum collections of the BHP are regarded as part of the State Museum Fund of Ukraine and enjoy the highest degree of state protection, in accordance with the norms of the *Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine regarding the Ratification of the Statute of the Museum Fund of Ukraine* (No. 1147, July 20, 2000).

Apart from this, the Departmental Act has been developed by the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, concerning the optimization of the organizational plan of the territory of BHP, including exact definition of the borders and modes of use and protection of the monuments located on the territory of the Preserve (No. 814, from July 31, 2012). The plan foresees the introduction of necessary changes in the urban planning documentation of the town of Bakhchisaray. It is currently awaiting finalization and approval by the regional authorities.

Conservation and restoration works on the territory of the Preserve are regulated according to the norms of the 2004 State norms of construction with regards to reconstruction, repair and restoration of objects of non-industrial function, precisely, the restoration, conservation and repair works at the monuments of cultural heritage (DBN B.3.2-1-2004).

In order to successfully carry out the prescribed tasks related to the protection of cultural heritage contained within the territory of BHCP, the administration of the Preserve has established two advisory boards, each responsible for defined aspects of protection – the Academic Advisory Board and the Research and Methodological Advisory Board. The Academic Advisory Board is responsible for facilitating academic, exhibition and publishing activities of BHCP, including the organization of conferences and the publication of edited volumes devoted to the cultural heritage assets of the Preserve, catalogues of museum collections and tourist guidebooks. It maintains close connections with the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, as well as with a range of higher education institutions, seeking their expertise when necessary. The Academic Advisory Board is comprised of the Director General of BHCP, the Deputy of Director General, the Keeper of the Funds, the Chief Architect, as well as leading researchers employed with the Preserve, and the representatives of the mentioned educational institutions, should their professional contribution be considered valuable by the Director General.

The Research and Methodological Advisory Board is comprised of the Director General of BHCP, the Deputy of Director General for Academic Research, the Keeper of the Funds, the heads of all departments, and leading researchers of the Preserve. It deals with day-to-day issues regarding periodic reporting, content of information disseminated by museum and tour guides of the Preserve, themes of temporary exhibitions, planning of publishing activities of the Preserve (acceptance and reviewing texts of edited volumes and conference proceedings), participation of BHCP employees in conferences and other events, cooperation projects between BHCP and other scientific and educational institutions in Ukraine and worldwide.

The Research and Methodological Advisory Board functions based on the decisions of the Academic Advisory Board and acts in compliance with the priorities set by the latter. Apart from the above-mentioned State regulations, the status of protection of

cultural heritage assets of the BHCP is regulated by the *1995 European Convention regarding the Protection of Archaeological Heritage*, officially ratified by Ukraine in February 2004.

### **Indicator 1b: Number of cultural heritage objects of local significance**

*Full name of the indicator: Number of heritage objects that are presently included in the State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bakhchisaray as objects of local significance*

Total number of heritage objects recognized as objects of local significance that are located on the territory of BHCP - 21. Of them, on the Territory of the Assumption Monastery – none; on the territory of Chufut Kale and the Karaite cemetery – 16 (see Table 9); on the territory of the Old Town of Bakhchisaray – 5 (see Table 10).

The procedure of inclusion of cultural heritage objects of local significance into the State Register is carried out in accordance with the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “*On the approval procedure for determining the categories of monuments to be entered as objects of cultural heritage into the State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine*” (No. 1760, from December 27<sup>th</sup> 2001) (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2011) and the Decree of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine “*On the Approval of the procedure of registration of objects of cultural heritage*” (No.158, from March 11<sup>th</sup> 2013) (MCU, 2013), both of which are based on the 2000 *Law of Ukraine on Protection of Cultural Heritage* (Supreme Council of Ukraine, 2000).

In compliance with Art. 11 of the aforementioned Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (No. 1760, from December 27<sup>th</sup> 2001), the object of cultural heritage of local significance, apart from satisfying the criterion of authenticity, must comply with one or more of the following criteria:

- (1) to have exercised considerable influence on the development of culture, architecture, urban planning, and art of a definite locality, or region;
- (2) to be directly connected with historical events, life and activity of prominent people of a definite locality, or region;

- (3) to represent a masterpiece of creative genius, be landmark work of outstanding architects or other artists;
- (4) to be cultural heritage of a national minority, or regional ethnic group.

Cultural heritage objects included in the USSR Register as local cultural heritage by the Resolutions of the Crimean Regional Executive Committee No. 595, from September 6th 1969, No. 284, from May 22nd 1979, No. 16 from January 15th 1980, and No. 48 from February 20th 1990, that were re-evaluated according to the 2001 Law of Ukraine on the Protection of Cultural Heritage and confirmed as complying to the said criteria, were transferred from the USSR to the newly established Ukrainian register unchanged.

### **Indicator 1c: Newly identified heritage objects**

*Full name of the indicator: Number of newly identified heritage objects that are suggested for inclusion in the State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bakhchisaray as objects of national significance*

Total number of heritage objects suggested for inclusion into the State Register as objects of national significance that are located on the territory of BHCP - 119. Of them, on the Territory of the Assumption Monastery – 117; on the territory of Chufut Kale and the Karaite cemetery – none; on the territory of the Old town of Bakhchisaray – 2 (see Table 11).

Preparation of the documentation necessary for the identification of previously unstudied cultural heritage objects with the view of their inclusion in the State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects is carried out by the Department of the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture of BHCP. The documentation is further to be approved by the regional cultural heritage authorities, and by MCU. The process of identification and application for inscription to the State Register is defined in Section II of the Decree of MCU of Ukraine “*On the “Approval of the procedure of registration of objects of cultural heritage”*” (No.158, from March 11<sup>th</sup> 2013) and includes the following stages: on-site observation, historical, archival and library research; definition of the object to be protected; identification of the degree of preservation of the object and its authentic function; current use; preparation of photo-portfolio, and

finally compilation of a brief historical dossier, a technical condition report, and a register-card for the object, the detailed formats of which are presented as attachments to the same Resolution (MCU, 2013).

With regards to the Assumption Monastery, MCU suggests adding to the State Register of a vast array of caverns, whose initial construction dates back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. Most of them were continuously transformed and re-used. Of them, 74 are former living quarters and utility rooms that are no longer in use; 20 are currently used as monastery's living quarters; 9 are used as utility rooms; 10 bear remains of Christian symbols and are presumed to have housed early Christian cave churches (including presently functioning church of Apostle Mark, as well as Konstantin and Elena's church that is being restored), and 4 contain burials.

9.2.2 Theme 2: Cultural and academic events related to local cultural heritage and religion

#### **9.4.2 Theme 2: Cultural and academic events related to cultural heritage objects and religion**

##### **Indicator 2a: Permanent exhibitions organized by BHCP**

*Full name of indicator: Scope of permanent exhibitions organized by BHCP*

Total number of permanent exhibitions: 11. See Table 12.

As it can be observed from the table above, in total, the Preserve offers eleven permanent expositions that are housed on its premises. One of the expositions addresses the ancient period of the peninsula's history. It displays a variety of artifacts from late-Scythian burials of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD, uncovered in Bakhchisaray region in the course of excavations conducted in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> – first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. The purpose of the exhibition is to demonstrate the poly-ethnic nature of the late-Scythian culture, which combined Scythian, Sarmatian, Greek, Thracian and Celtic elements. Displayed showpieces include reconstruction of a woman's traditional costume from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, as well as jewelry (earrings, necklaces, finger-rings, pendants and brooches) and an array of practical items that

late-Scythian women used in the household (pyxides for cosmetics, trinkets or jewelry, wooden combs, bronze needles and pin cushions, amulets, and ceramic vessels). A special place in the exhibition is occupied by the collection of silver coins, uncovered in the course of 1971 excavations, including 199 Roman ‘antonians’ from 211-251 AD. The exhibition also includes various bronze and silver costume details from the 6<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD and unique terracotta figurines from the 1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.

Two of the permanent exhibitions are housed in the building of Zincirli Medrese in Salachiq: one displays a unique collection of dinnerware from southwestern Crimea of the 1<sup>st</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, including ceramic, glass and earthenware items produced both in Crimea and beyond (Egypt, Asia Minor, Persia, Syria, Palestine and the Byzantine Empire); the other addresses the history of Zincirli Medrese itself and dwells on the everyday lives of its students. Zincirli Medrese was a boarding school, whose scope of subjects included Arab Philology, Grammar, Logic, Philosophy, Muslim Law, Rhetoric, Mathematics, Calligraphy and Astronomy. The school was public and free of charge, with the students leading an ascetic lifestyle, which is well-illustrated by the restored interior of one of the students’ rooms. Being not only an educational, but also a spiritual center, the Medrese was in possession of a rich library. The exhibition displays some of the preserved hand-written and printed books, as well as the textbooks from the library’s collection. It also exhibits some of the personal items owned by prominent students of Zincirli Medrese. The content of the exhibition is of high relevance to the theme of the Crimean Tatar cultural and spiritual heritage, in particular that of Bakhchisaray district, and the fact that it is housed in the most prominent of Crimea’s centers of Islamic education adds up largely to the impression.

Apart from the above-mentioned exhibition devoted to the history of Zincirli Medrese, the Preserve has yet another permanent exposition devoted to Islam, which displays the hand-written Quran, together with Hadiths and Tafsirs from the 16<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The exposition is held in the building of Khan’s Mosque and presents a mere fraction of the rich collection of Islamic manuscripts that are currently in the possession of BHCP. This collection began to be formed in the 1920s and includes unique items that originated from the Khan’s Library and the library of Zincirli Medrese. Part of the manuscripts was retrieved from the Crimean mosques, after they had been closed down by the Soviet administration, and some of the items were purchased from the local Crimean Tatar families, including some that dwelt in the

town of Bakhchisaray. The exhibition presents considerable interest in terms of the art of Arab calligraphy and traditional book printing and binding techniques. With much consideration, it sheds light onto the Islamic written heritage of the Crimean peninsula and beyond.

The third exhibition dealing with the traditional Crimean Tatar culture is the one devoted to modern local arts and crafts of the Tatars. It displays contemporary works of the Crimean masters, such as items of pottery, jewelry and traditional Crimean Tatar ornamental art, employing a rare and presently almost disappearing filigree technique known as *ajoure*, which consists in drilling holes in objects made of sheet metal. The collection testifies to the living tradition of arts and handicrafts, which the Crimean Tatars succeeded in safeguarding throughout the long history, including almost fifty years of exile, and which they managed to pass to the present generation.

The last of the permanent exhibitions of the Preserve addressing the Crimean Tatar heritage is the one devoted to the life and works of the outstanding Crimean Tatar educationist and reformist Ismail Gasprinsky. Held in the house-museum of the activist in Salachiq, it displays Gasprinsky's manuscripts (some of them unpublished) and personal items.

Of interest from the standpoint of traditional arts and crafts is the exhibition focusing on the jewelry of the Greeks and the Crimean Tatars of the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among the exhibits are traditional women's jewelry pieces, which, apart from mere decoration, played a crucial part in the religious and magical rituals of both of the ethnic groups, as well as testified to the age and status of the bearers. Most of the Crimean Tatar items are executed in metal, in particular gold (preferred material in the mountainous and seashore parts of the peninsula) and silver (more widespread in the steppe Crimea). Many of the exhibits are adorned with semi-precious stones (turquoise, carnelian, coral, amber and mother of pearl), as well as their glass imitations. The Greek jewelry segment of the collection is comprised of silver accessory, such as curly clasps, finger rings, openwork pendants and hair-pins produced with the employment of a rare *skan'* technique – a sophisticated filigree technique that originated the 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> - centuries AD Rus.



One of the permanent exhibitions of the Preserve is devoted to the subject of the Crimean War of 1853-1856 in visual art and crafts. It displays paintings, banners, flags, medals, etc. (produced both in the wartime and afterwards), alongside some of the Orthodox Christian memorabilia. Another warfare-related exposition presents a collection of prominent examples of Eastern, West-European and Russian weaponry of the 16th – 19th centuries.

Of particular interest from the viewpoint of urban planning and architecture are the two permanent exhibitions of BHCP: one presenting Bakhchisaray in the 19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> centuries photographs; and the other showing the town and its inhabitants at the turn of the two epochs, namely in the period between 1916 and the 1920s. Both of the exhibitions reveal remarkable detail with regards to Bakhchisaray's urban structure, architectural style and transformations thereof from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

### **Indicator 2b: Temporary exhibitions organized by BHCP**

*Full name of indicator: Scope of temporary exhibitions organized by BHCP (January – December 2013)*

Total number of exhibitions: 15. See Table 13.

Recent temporary exhibitions of BHCP reflect current interests of the Preserve's researchers and therefore serve as a valuable criterion for defining the trends and tendencies in terms of the Preserve's approaches towards cultural heritage assets contained within its domains. As it can be observed from Table 13, the themes of the exhibitions may be attributed to five different subjects: (1) exhibitions displaying Crimean landscape painting and photography; with a special section (2) children's' landscape paintings; (3) Christianity and Christian heritage of the peninsula; (4) traditional arts and crafts of the Crimean Tatars; and (5) thematic posters. In total, in the course of the year 2013, BHCP organized 15 temporary exhibitions, covering the scope of all five subjects with a different degree of attention.

The subject of Crimean landscape painting and photography appears to be the favorite of the organizers. In 2013, seven exhibitions were held, which displayed the

works of both contemporary and 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup>-centuries artists, devoted to the Crimean landscapes, seascapes, as well as to the architecture and nature of Bakhchisaray region. The exhibition of children's paintings covered three subjects "The Palace of the Crimean Khans", "My family" and "The Nature of Bakhchisaray".

The theme of Christianity in landscape art was covered in the exhibition entitled "The road to the temple", where eighteen pastels were presented, including genre paintings of religious content and romantic seascapes.

The theme of Crimean Tatar heritage was covered in five temporary exhibitions: Crimean Tatar jewelry of the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, modern applied and fine arts of the Crimean Tatars, and the exhibition by masters of *ebru* (traditional Islamic and Turkish painting art, also known as 'paper marbling', which can be described as painting on water and transferring this painting onto paper – the effect which is achieved by adding to the water of gum and thus yielding a thick liquid, which, when combined with paint, helps to create patterns on paper that are similar to the smooth surface of marble).

Finally, one of the exhibition displayed popular thematic prints of the World War I period by Russian avant-garde artists, including Kazimir Malevich, Dmitriy Moor, Ilya Mashkov and others. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, popular print acted as one of the major means of spreading, among the wide public, of the information with regards to current political and cultural events taking place in the country, as well as an effective weapon of state propaganda. Differing in their content from satirical to 'heroic' to open propaganda, the prints reflect, in a concise and often humorous way, on the events of World War I.

### **Indicator 2c: Cultural and academic events organized by BHCP**

*Full name of indicator: Scope of cultural and academic events organized by BHCP (January – December 2013)*

Total number of events: 7. See Table 14.

As it can be observed, two of the seven events organized by BHCP dealt with issues pertinent to the Crimean Tatar culture issues, namely, annual readings devoted to Ismail Gasprinsky, which shed light on the recent research related to his life and activity; as well as the meeting with a representative of the Crimean Tatar Women's league and was aimed at informing the public about the league's tasks and activities.

BHCP also acted as the organizer of the visit to Bakhchisaray of the representatives of the Crimean Tatar diasporas from Romania and Turkey, which – jointly with the Crimean Tatar's Women's League and the Crimean Tatar youth organization *Arslan* held the discussion “Deportation in the eyes of the participants”, where the guests shared their impressions and feelings about their life in exile.

A series of lectures and excursions devoted to the history of Bakhchisaray region and its heritage landmarks was held, which was intended for 8-10<sup>th</sup>-grade school children (12-15 years of age) and included a vast array of lectures, carried out jointly by the team of BHCP's representatives from all of the preserve's departments. The young participants partook in a series of tours around Bakhchisaray's cultural heritage sites, were guided through BHCP's permanent exhibitions and heard lectures on archaeology and architecture of the region. Another event targeting school-aged children, was the course of lectures, devoted to the life and activity of the prominent Crimean Tatar journalist and public figure, Shefika Gasprinskaya (1886-1975), founder and head of the Crimean Tatar Women's Union in Istanbul, daughter of Ismail Gasprinsky.

Two further academic events were carried out that aimed at knowledge exchange among historians and archaeologists with regards to the newest findings on the archaeology and ethnography of the Turkic peoples of Crimea, from the Golden Horde period until present days, as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup> annual academic conference on the problems of archaeology in the ancient and Medieval Taurica.

Apart from the above-mentioned, in 2013, BHCP, jointly with the Spiritual Administration of the Karaites of Ukraine, partook in the organization of the two religious celebrations: Pentecost<sup>32</sup> and Succoth<sup>33</sup>, both of which took place in Chufut

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<sup>32</sup> 50 days from the day the first fruits of the barley harvest was waved before the Lord. Presumably, it was on this day that God visited His people after their exodus from Egypt and through Moses, brought the Law down from Mount Sinai (Endtimepilgrim 2013).

Kale and involved festive services in the Large Kenasse. The celebration of Succoth was accompanied by the cultural program for celebration participants, comprised of a tour around the town of Chufut Kale and a visit to the Karaite cemetery Balta Tiymez.

## **Indicator 2d: Cultural and academic events organized by AKC**

*Full name of indicator: Scope of cultural and academic events organized by the Association of the Karaites of Crimea (January – December 2013)*

Total number of events: 6. See Table 15.

The scope of cultural and academic events initiated and coordinated by *Kyrymkaraylar* in the year 2013 included a range of initiatives on the local scale, including the annual reporting meeting of the Association and a joint meeting of the Karaite communities under the Association's wing, including the representatives of the Karaite communities of Melitopol and Simferopol, and representatives of the Karaite organization *Cholpan*. The meeting was timed to the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Melitopol's liberation from fascist occupation. Apart from this, *Kyrymkaraylar* acted as the organizer of the festive event, devoted to the celebration of the two religious holidays – *Yil Byshi* (the Karaite New Year) and *Tambyl Khydzhy* (Easter).

Other locally held events included a visit to Crimea of the Karaite pilgrims from Paris and St. Petersburg, which included a tour of Chufut Kale and Balta Tiymez, as well as a meeting of the guests with the family of the Karaite elder in Simferopol, a festive presentation of *Kyrymkaraylar's* new academic publications, and organization of the exhibition of photographs by a contemporary Crimean Karaite artist in Simferopol.

Internationally, the representatives of *Kyrymkaraylar* partook in the 12<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) - UN's central

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<sup>33</sup> also known the Feast of Booths, or the Feast of Tabernacles – a seven-day harvest holiday celebrated on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Tishrei. Sukkoth originates in the times of ancient Israel when Jews erected huts near the edges of their fields during the harvest season. One of these dwellings was called a "sukkah", and "sukkot" is the plural form. These huts provided shade and allowed workers to maximize the amount of time they spent in the fields and harvest their food more quickly. At the more general level, the holiday commemorates the sheltering of the children of Israel in the wilderness (Oxford Dictionary 2013, About Judaism 2013).

coordinating body for matters relating to the concerns and rights of the world's indigenous peoples. The Crimean Karaite delegates expressed their community's concern with the fact that Karaite sacred sites in Crimea – Chufut Kale and Balta Tiymez – are presently in the legal ownership of the state, and for this reason, the influence of the community on the questions, related to management of the mentioned sites, is extremely limited. The delegates noted that being famous tourist attractions, these sites generate considerable monetary income for BHCP, however, none of these resources are directed on the needs of the Karaite community, who are the legal custodians of these heritage sites. They remarked also that although the territories of both Chufut Kale and Balta Tiymez figure as integral part of the World Heritage nomination “The historical surroundings of Crimean Khans’ capital in Bakhchysarai”, which at the moment of the delegates’ appeal was still in the final stage of preparation, no consultations had been carried out with the members of *Kyrymkaraylar*, nor with other local Karaite societies with regards to the nomination. The Karaites were not involved in the process of compilation of the nomination dossier, nor were they acquainted with its content, which remained exclusively defined by BHCP and MCU<sup>34</sup>.

### **Indicator 2e: Cultural and academic events organized by SAMC**

*Full name of indicator: Scope of cultural and academic events organized by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea (January – December 2013)*

Total number of events: 28. See Table 16.

Altogether, 28 cultural and academic events took place in the year 2013, which were organized by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea (either independently, or in cooperation with other public, cultural and academic bodies of Crimea, involved in the popularization of the Crimean Tatar cultural agenda). Of them, six directly addressed the theme of the Crimean Tatar cultural heritage, including the international conference on Crimean Tatar history, ethnology and toponymy; the exhibition, eloquently titled “Our priceless heritage”, devoted to the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Crimean Tatar Museum of Arts, which showcased rare

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<sup>34</sup> For more information, see the article on the official website of *Kyrymkaraylar* from June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013 (<http://karai.crimea.ua/2013/06/>).

examples of Crimean Tatar handicrafts from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, some of them exhibited for the first time; the festival of the Crimean Tatar and Turkic culture in Gezlev, incorporating a fine arts and traditional craft exhibition; the exposition devoted to the history of the Crimean Tatar science, historiography and literature of the 13<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, exhibiting unique materials related to the works of two hundred Crimean Tatar academicians, theologians, historians and men of letters in *Larishes* (the museum of Crimean Tatar history in Bakhchisaray); the exhibition of contemporary Crimean Tatar applied arts in Gasprinsky museum; and the exposition devoted to the revival of the Crimean Tatar traditional wedding rites.

Three events dealt with Islam and its role in the past and present of the Crimean peninsula, including the contest on knowledge of Islam “History of the Islam world and Islam in Crimea”, organized jointly by Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea, the Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Sport of ARC, non-governmental organization “True Way”, and *Abraid* (all-Ukrainian Association of Muslim Social Organizations); the contest of Quran readers, carried out jointly by the Spiritual Administration and the Presidency of Religious Affairs of Turkey; and the festival “Islam and Art”, focusing on Muslim-Turkish art traditions.

Five events took place that were devoted to the Crimean Tatar modern prose and poetry, including presentations of new books, a meeting of the Crimean Tatar poetry club, and the inauguration of the new Crimean Tatar book shop in Simferopol. In a festive manner, the Crimean Tatar community marked the re-opening of the newly restored Orta Djami in Bakhchisaray – a monument of the 18<sup>th</sup> – century architecture that remained closed for over ninety-five years.

Other events included, among others, the Crimean Theatre festival and the festival of Amateur Crimean Tatar film (organized with the support of the Crimean Tatar Youth Centre and regional television); the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference on genocide of the Crimean Tatar people in Simferopol; the competition of modern *Tamga* art; and three academic events, addressing the issue of deportation and repatriation of the Crimean Tatars, and remembrance of personal experience in exile.

## **Indicator 2f: Cultural and academic events organized by SCD**

*Full name of indicator: Scope of cultural and academic events organized by the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese (January – December 2013)*

Total number of events: multiple events, organized by administrations of individual monasteries of the Diocese, as well as annual events aimed at dissemination of information about Crimea's Orthodox Christian heritage, organized by the Diocese's Central Department of Youth Affairs.

Organization of regular excursions and group pilgrimages and arrangement of official visits by Orthodox authority representatives generally lies within the scope of responsibilities of the administrations of individual monasteries of the Simferopol and Crimean Diocese. In the case of the Assumption Monastery, the monastery disseminates the information regarding the possibilities for group and individual visits through website, "The Crimean Lavra" (<http://lavra.crimea.ua>). There, the viewers are given exhaustive information (available both in Russian and in English) with regards to the history of the monastery and the legends surrounding its appearance, the calendar of events and festivities, as well as detailed information for prospective pilgrims. The page explains the rules of behavior, appropriate when inside the monastery, the daily routine of the monastery, in which pilgrims may partake, and accommodation details (accommodation on the territory of the monastery is only allowed with the special permission of the monastery's Superior). For those, who are considering monkhood, the statute of the monastery is offered in full detail. In another section, a photo gallery is to be found, containing the photos of the Assumption Monastery, its churches and icons, as well as photo-reports from the past pilgrimages made by monastery's brethren.

Most of the cultural events and academic events having relation to the dissemination of information about Crimean Orthodox heritage, or Orthodoxy in general, are taken care of by the Diocese's Central Department of Youth Affairs. The department is actively engaged in the development and coordination of a range of cultural and educational events for university students, as well as the broader public. They include the annual summer camps that are organized by the Diocese, since the year 2002, with the aim of bringing together the young generation of Crimeans, as well as

interested guests from outside the peninsula, mostly aged under 30-35. Participant numbers vary from one year to another. As an average, between 50 and 100 people apply and get accepted for participation (source: Vyacheslav Kharchenko, Head of the Department of Youth Affairs of SCD, personal communication, May 16, 2013).

Program of the camp includes group-work (groups of 8-10 people), focusing on selected themes in the context of Orthodox studies. Participants attend religious services in the monasteries of the Diocese and present the results of their discussions in the form of theatrical performances. General issues are usually discussed in the local context, whereby participants are enabled to experience Orthodox heritage sites from within. The aim is to enhance participants' knowledge of Orthodoxy and to simultaneously demonstrate, on the example of Crimea's Orthodox holy sites, that sacred heritage should not be perceived solely as an open-air museum, but rather as place a to live with, and to live in. Networking between the participants outside the camp is an important long-term goal set by the organizers (ibid.).

As a rule, the camps are stationed at one of the holy sites of the peninsula, where participants camp in the open and undertake daily trips to other sacred sites in the vicinity. Being rich with sacred heritage, Bakhchisaray Valley proved to be a highly suitable camping base, in particular Mangup and Eski Kermen areas. The Assumption Monastery itself was never used as a base, however, it was visited by camp participants numerous times (ibid.).

Interestingly enough, Kharchenko (ibid.) notes that not all camp participants are Orthodox Christians: part of them are not baptized, others are Catholics, often coming from outside Ukraine. Thus, in 2005, the annual summer camp was organized jointly by Diocese and the French *L'Ecole de la Vie*, in which a group of French participants (none of whom were Orthodox) explored Crimean holy Orthodox sites. Their interest lay in participating in the everyday life of Crimean monasteries and, through this, better understanding the Orthodox culture.



### **9.4.3 Theme 3: Cultural heritage- and religion-related publications**

#### **Indicator 3a: Academic publications by BHCP**

*Full name of indicator: Scope of academic publications by BHCP (2011-2013)*

Total number of publications: 27. See Table 17.

Within the years 2011, 2012 and 2013 the researchers of BHCP authored and published twenty-eight academic works on a range of topics, varying from research on Crimea in the antiquity and medieval period, to history of Bakhchisaray in photographs, the Crimean Tatar history, heritage and outstanding personalities, and cultural traditions of the Crimean Karaites.

The most popular theme of the publications proves to be the antique and medieval history of the peninsula, with as many as ten publications seeing light in the past three years. Two of them were devoted to the cultural and economic connections between Chersoneses and Aegean Greece in the 5<sup>th</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. Two other works deal with the study of the armory of the Crimean nomads of the 11<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. One article focuses on the nomad elements in the late-Byzantine urban culture of southwestern Crimea. Four further publications discuss the latest archaeological findings on Mangup and on the slopes of Il'ka mountain in the southwest of the peninsula. Lastly, there is a publication that dwells on the artistic peculiarities of the archaeological artifacts donated to BHCP library by the Ethnographic Museum of Vienna in the framework of the cultural heritage assets restitution program in 2009.

The topic of the Crimean Tatar history and outstanding personalities is addressed in eight different articles, including a study on Russian-Tatar political relationships in the 15<sup>th</sup> century; research on the classification of documents on the history of the Crimean Khanate from the collection of BHCP; land issues in the context of Crimean Tatar emigration from the peninsula in the 18<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries; research on the activities of the Crimean Tatar women-political activists at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; and the in-depth research on the destiny of the collections of the First Tatar Museum, which was established in 1917 and closed down in 1944.

One of the articles analyzes the content of *Terjiman* newspaper that was established and published by Ismail Gasprinsky at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Three articles were published in relation to the Crimean Tatar heritage, including an overview of the history of handicraft centers in Crimea; a study on traditional Crimean Tatar embroidery; as well as a curious article on the place of traditional arts and crafts of the Crimean Tatars in travellers' reports of the 17<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Two further articles address current findings related to the heritage of the Crimean Tatars: one of them presents new research data on the architecture of Zincirli Medrese and the Dyurbe of Haji Giray in Salachiq; the other is devoted to the latest findings in Eski-Yurt (a suburb of Bakhchisaray).

Two articles were published that were devoted to the traditional culture and handicrafts of the Crimean Karaites: the first one discusses the collection of objects of Crimean Karaite culture and everyday life contained in the funds of BHCP; the other presents a highly interesting research on the imaginations of female beauty and fashion among the Karaites, based on the notes and quotes from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Finally, one of the published articles deals with the topic of depiction of Bakhchisaray in historical photos.

### **Indicator 3b: Academic publications by AKC**

*Full name of indicator: Scope of academic publications by the Association of the Karaites of Crimea (2011-2013)*

Total number of publications: 10. See Table 18.

Within the years 2011-2013, ten academic publications, prepared by *Kyrymkaraylar*, saw light, which cover various topics, related to the cultural activities and history of the Crimean Karaite community in Crimea in general, and in Chufut Kale in particular.

Thus, the book was published that presents an elaborate and unique research on the anthroponyms of the Crimean Karaites, including the information on the famous

bearers of Karaite family names, parallels to the anthroponyms of other ethnicities, and the use of Karaite anthroponyms in folklore.

The history and culture of the Crimean Karaites in Chufut Kale is covered in three publications: the catalogue of Karaite heritage items in the collections of BHCP (photographs, religious attributes, paintings and other graphic materials); the article in the proceedings of the conference devoted to current problems of geology and evaluation of the deposits of solid minerals, discussing new findings related to the study of the historical hydro-geological system of Chufut Kale; and the article in the proceedings of the conference marking to the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Karaite community of Melitopol', dwelling on the cultural and spiritual aspects of the life of the Crimean Karaites, including historical analysis and assessment of the present situation. Another publication presents a full bibliography of articles published in the newspaper "Kyrymkaraylar" from the foundation of the newspaper in 1997 until present.

Apart from the above-mentioned, the Association published three books of poetry by the contemporary Crimean Karaite litterateur Konstantin Efetov, and two biographies of the prominent Karaites: Semyon Duvan, the outstanding public figure and major of Eupatoria in 1906-1910 and 1915-1917, and Seraya Shapshal, spiritual leader, academician and renowned orientalist.

### **Indicator 3c: Academic publications by SAMC**

*Full name of indicator: Scope of academic publications by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea (2011-2013)*

In total, the Spiritual Administration published 5 academic works within the years 2011-2013. Of them 2 were published in the Russian and 3 in the Crimean Tatar language.

All five publications are devoted to the dissemination of the ideas and philosophy of Islam. The content includes comprehensive explanation of the basics of Islamic faith, answers to a variety of questions, frequently asked by the believers, texts of prayers,

explanation of major rituals, as well as considerations with regards to different current trends and sects.

One of the publications specifically addresses the young audience, namely children aged two to five. In a simple and comprehensive way, often with the help of colorful illustrations, it educates the children about the main positions of Islamic faith and explains the importance of prayers. The book is a Crimean Tatar translation from the Turkish original.

**Indicator 3d: Academic publications by the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese**

*Full name of indicator: Scope of academic publications by the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese (2011-2013)*

No publications have been identified.

**9.4.4 Theme 4: Cultural heritage and religious education in the school curriculum**

**Indicator 4a: School courses initiated by SCD**

*Full name of indicator: School courses related to cultural heritage and religion initiated by the Simferopol and Crimean Diocese*

The major educational tool, initiated and introduced by SCD on the regional level with the view of disseminating the ideas of Orthodoxy and Orthodox heritage among the young generation of Crimeans, is the methodological set entitled “Basics of the Orthodox Culture of Crimea”, which serves as the basis for the respective optional course, taught in the secondary schools of the peninsula. The set was prepared and compiled by the Society of Orthodox Teachers (SOT) of Crimea in 2004 and was duly approved by the Academic Council of the Crimean Republican Institute of Postgraduate Pedagogical Education. It is edited jointly by Taisiya Titova, member of

SOT and head of the Department of Education of the Simferopol and Crimean Diocese and Archpriest Alexandr Yakushechkin, secretary of the Diocese. Other contributors include Diocese's leading specialists in the field of education.

The set (Titova & Yakushechkin, 2004) presents a compilation of themes, part of them offering the schoolchildren general information about the basics of Orthodoxy, others elaborating on the role and manifestations of Orthodoxy in Crimea. In total, it is comprised of sixteen chapters:

- (1) Orthodox worldview with regards to the place of man in the living world (Christian anthropology, explanation of the relation between the religious and the scientific worldviews, pre-eminence of spiritual values over material ones, man's responsibilities);
- (2) society and Church (the role of Church in social life, aims of the Church vis-a-vis those of the state);
- (3) the Bible and its Christian understanding (methods of interpretation of the Bible, explanation of the life of Christ and the Apostles, concept of the Great Flood, the Babylonian tower, the stories of Caine and Abel, and the life of Abraham);
- (4) roots of the Christian faith in Crimea (life of the first Christians and St. Clement of Rome, foundation of the oldest cave monasteries of Crimea, including St. Clement Inkerman monastery, the Assumption Monastery and St. George's monastery in Balaklava);
- (5) Chersoneses and the Baptism of Kievan Rus (the role of Chersoneses in the dissemination of Christianity, St. Prince Vladimir and his role in the Baptism of Kievan Rus);
- (6) impact of Orthodoxy on the cultural developments in Ukraine and Russia (history of dissemination of Orthodoxy in Ukraine and Crimea in the context of cultural development, Orthodox fine arts and music);
- (7) spiritual and ethical aspirations of the post-Soviet era;
- (8) Orthodox Church in Crimea – current situation;
- (9) Orthodox churches in Crimea, their history (including the general explanation of what a cathedral is, alongside its traditional structure);

- (10) Orthodox monasteries of Crimea (the Cosmas and Damian's monastery, St. Stephan of Surozh Kiziltash Monastery, Toplov St. Paraskeva's nunnery and St. George's nunnery in Katerlez);
- (11) Orthodox iconography (explanation of iconostasis, and of the most revered Crimean icons);
- (12) Christian festivities and their typology (twelve great feasts, traditions of Orthodox festivities in Crimea);
- (13) Orthodox ethics (spirituality, grace, liberty, conscience, self-perfection, labor, asceticism, God's Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount and the Nine Beatitudes of Jesus Christ)
- (14) At the height of the spirit (tales of the Crimean saints: Apostle St. Andrew the First Called, St. Paraskeva, St. Stephan of Surozh, St. Righteous Warrior Feodor Ushakov, St. Luca, and the new martyrs of Crimea);
- (15) Sacraments of the Orthodox Church (baptism, unction, Eucharist, the sacrament of penance, marriage, the sacrament of Extreme Unction, priesthood);
- (16) Orthodox culture of the family and family relationships (wedlock, family virtues, children's upbringing).

Apart from systematic work on the implementation of the study course "Basics of the Orthodox Culture of Crimea" in Crimea's secondary schools, the Department of Education of SCD carries out regular consultation with the local secondary school teachers, as well as the teachers of Sunday schools and other SOT members, in the framework of the educational project "Revival of the spiritual values of the family", prepared in cooperation with the Department of Education of the city of Simferopol, a range of local public organizations, and local mass media (SCD, 2013).

In December 2012, the Department of Education of SCD signed a cooperation treaty with the Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Sport of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, concerning the measures towards the enhanced spiritual and moral education of the young Crimeans, which include:

- (a) development of research topics for local studies of Orthodoxy in Crimea (holy places, Crimean saints, legends, icons, etc.);

- (b) organization of the republican conference “Orthodoxy in Crimea: history, traditions, modernity”;
- (c) organization of the annual literary contest under the title “A Grain of truth” among secondary-school students (in 2013 the 6<sup>th</sup> of such contests was held);
- (d) organization of the drawing competitions “Beauty of God’s world” and “My family”, intended for Crimea’s secondary and Sunday schools, as well as regional creative studios for school children and youth.

The Department of Education acts as the organizer of methodological seminars for Orthodox Sunday school teachers and offers regular round tables, conferences and lectures for the parents interested in the involvement of their school-aged children in the Orthodoxy-related optional courses, and acquaints local ecclesiastics with the basics of educational science (ibid.).

Apart from this, the Diocese, in collaboration with the Ministry of Science, Youth and Sport of ARK, acts as the initiator and organizer of the annual literary and art competition among the young experts of Orthodox culture and Christian ethics from Ukraine, Russia and Belarus. Each year, the competition is broadcasted by the Crimean regional television.

**Indicator 4b: School courses initiated by AKC**

*Full name of indicator: School courses related to cultural heritage and religion initiated by the Association of the Karaites of Crimea*

No school courses have been identified.

**Indicator 4c: School course initiated by SAMC**

*Full name of indicator: School courses related to cultural heritage and religion initiated by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea*

Number of school courses devoted the Crimean Tatar religion and heritage in the school curriculum: 0. Number of school courses to be implemented in the future: 1.

In September 2013, the textbook „Islam in the history and culture of Crimea“ was presented by SAMC. The textbook was developed in the framework of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine’s project “Optimization of intercultural communication and ethno-confessional relations in the civil society of Crimea”. It was compiled by SAMC jointly with the leading researchers of the Taurida National V.I. Vernadsky University, and the Crimean Industrial-Pedagogical University.

The textbook is intended for secondary school teachers, as a guide for the prospective course, aimed at in-depth education of regular secondary school children about history and culture of the Crimean Tatars. The textbook is comprised of 3 main blocks: (1) history of Islam in general and history of Islam in Crimea; (2) theology, what is Islam, what its philosophy is based upon; (3) the place of Islam in the culture of the Crimean Tatars and its expression in arts. As of present, the course awaits implementation.



Table 5. Indicator framework

NAME OF INDICATOR	FOCAL ISSUE ADDRESSED	OBJECTIVE	DATA SOURCES
<b>Theme 1:</b> <b>Statutory protection of heritage objects</b>			
<b>Indicator 1a: Number of heritage objects that are presently included in the State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bakhchisaray as objects of national significance</b>	Legal status of heritage objects	To identify the number of heritage objects that currently enjoy the legal status of protected objects of national significance	State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bakhchisaray as objects of national significance
<b>Indicator 1b: Number of heritage objects that are presently included in the State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bakhchisaray as objects of local significance</b>	Legal status of heritage objects	To identify the number of heritage objects that currently enjoy the legal status of protected objects of local significance	State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bakhchisaray as objects of local significance

<p><b>Indicator 1c: Number of newly identified heritage objects that are suggested for inclusion in the State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bahchisaray as objects of national significance</b></p>	<p>Legal status of heritage objects</p>	<p>To identify the number of newly identified heritage objects that are suggested as objects of national significance</p>	<p>Provisional Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects on the Territory of the State Historic and Cultural Preserve in the town of Bahchisaray suggested for the inclusion to the State Register</p>
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**Theme 2:  
Cultural and academic events related to cultural heritage objects and religion**

<p><b>Indicator 2a: Scope of permanent exhibitions organized by BHCP (Jan – Dec 2013)</b></p>	<p>Events aiming at dissemination of information and awareness-raising</p>	<p>To identify the number and themes of permanent exhibitions of BHCP and their relation to cultural heritage of different local ethno-religious groups</p>	<p>Official website of BHCP (<a href="http://bikz.org">http://bikz.org</a>)</p>
<p><b>Indicator 2b: Scope of temporary exhibitions organized by BHCP (Jan – Dec 2013)</b></p>	<p>Events aiming at dissemination of information and awareness-raising</p>	<p>To identify the number and themes of the temporary exhibitions, organized by BHCP in 2013, and their relation to cultural heritage of different local ethno-religious groups</p>	<p>Official website of BHCP (<a href="http://bikz.org">http://bikz.org</a>)</p>
<p><b>Indicator 2c: Scope of cultural and academic events organized by BHCP (Jan – Dec 2013)</b></p>	<p>Events aiming at dissemination of information and awareness-raising</p>	<p>To identify the number and themes of cultural and academic events, organized by the BHCP in 2013, and their relation to cultural heritage of different local ethno-religious groups</p>	<p>Official website of BHCP (<a href="http://bikz.org">http://bikz.org</a>)</p>

<p><b>Indicator 2d: Scope of cultural and academic events organized by the Association of the Karaites of Crimea (Jan – Dec 2013)</b></p>	<p>Dissemination of information and awareness-raising-related events</p>	<p>To identify the number and themes of cultural and academic events organized by the Association of the Karaites of Crimea in 2013 and their relation to local sacred heritage</p>	<p>Official website of the Association of the Karaites of Crimea (<a href="http://karai.crimea.ua/">http://karai.crimea.ua/</a>)</p> <p>Official website of Kale Ethno-Cultural Centre (<a href="http://kale.at.ua">http://kale.at.ua</a>)</p> <p>Archive of Kyyrymkaraylar newspaper, issues Jan-Dec 2013</p>
<p><b>Indicator 2e: Scope of cultural and academic events organized by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea (Jan – Dec 2013)</b></p>	<p>Dissemination of information and awareness-raising-related events</p>	<p>To identify the number and themes of recent cultural and academic events organized by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea in 2013 and their relation to local sacred heritage</p>	<p>Official website of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea (<a href="http://qirimmufluyat.org.ua/">http://qirimmufluyat.org.ua/</a>)</p> <p>Archive of the Crimean Tatar newspaper “Avdet”, issues Jan-Dec 2013</p>
<p><b>Indicator 2f: Scope of cultural and academic events organized by Simferopol and Crimea Diocese (Jan – Dec 2013)</b></p>	<p>Dissemination of information and awareness-raising-related events</p>	<p>To identify the number and themes of recent cultural and academic events organized by Simferopol and Crimea Diocese in 2013 and their relation to local cultural heritage</p>	<p>Official website of the Assumption Monastery (<a href="http://lavra.crimea.ua/">http://lavra.crimea.ua/</a>)</p> <p>Official website of Simferopol and Crimea Diocese (<a href="http://crimea.orthodoxy.su/">http://crimea.orthodoxy.su/</a>)</p>

**Theme 3: Cultural heritage- and religion-related publications**

<p><b>Indicator 3a: Scope of academic publications by BHCP (2011-2013)</b></p>	<p>Dissemination of cultural heritage and religion-related information through academic publications</p>	<p>To identify the number and themes of academic publications by the BHCP and their relation to local cultural heritage</p>	<p>BHCP Library</p> <p>Official website of the BHCP (<a href="http://bikz.org">http://bikz.org</a>)</p>
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<p><b>Indicator 3b: Scope of academic publications by the Association of the Crimean Karaites (2011-2013)</b></p>	<p>Dissemination of cultural heritage and religion-related information through academic publications</p>	<p>To identify the number and themes of academic publications by the Association of the Karaites of Crimea and their relation to local cultural heritage</p>	<p>Official website of the Association of the Karaites of Crimea (<a href="http://karai.crimea.ua/">http://karai.crimea.ua/</a>)</p> <p>Official website of Ethno-Cultural Centre “Kale” (<a href="http://kale.at.ua">http://kale.at.ua</a>)</p> <p>Archive of Kyyrymkaraylar newspaper, issues Jan-Oct 2013</p>
<p><b>Indicator 3c: Scope of academic publications by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea (2011-2013)</b></p>	<p>Dissemination of cultural heritage and religion-related information through academic publications</p>	<p>To identify the number and themes of academic publications by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea and their relation to local cultural heritage</p>	<p>Official website of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea (<a href="http://qirimnufiyat.org.ua/">http://qirimnufiyat.org.ua/</a>)</p> <p>Archive of the Crimean Tatar newspaper “Avdet”, issues Jan-Dec 2013</p>
<p><b>Indicator 3d: Scope of academic publications by the Simferopol and of Crimea Diocese (2011-2013)</b></p>	<p>Dissemination of cultural heritage and religion-related information through academic publications</p>	<p>To identify the number and themes of academic publications by the Simferopol and of Crimea Diocese and their relation to local cultural heritage</p>	<p>Official website of the Assumption Monastery (<a href="http://lavra.crimea.ua/">http://lavra.crimea.ua/</a>)</p> <p>Official website of the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese (<a href="http://crimea.orthodoxy.su/">http://crimea.orthodoxy.su/</a>)</p>

**Theme 4:**  
**Cultural heritage and religious education in the school curriculum heritage**

<p><b>Indicator 4a: School courses related to cultural heritage and religion initiated by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea</b></p>	<p>Inclusiveness of cultural heritage and religion-related themes in the school curriculum</p>	<p>To identify the number and content of school courses prepared and implemented by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea</p>	<p>Official website of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea (<a href="http://qirimmunitiyat.org.ua/">http://qirimmunitiyat.org.ua/</a>)</p>
<p><b>Indicator 4b: School courses related to cultural heritage and religion initiated by the Association of Karaites of Crimea</b></p>	<p>Inclusiveness of cultural heritage and religion-related themes in the school curriculum</p>	<p>To identify the number and content of school courses prepared and implemented by the Association of the Karaites of Crimea</p>	<p>Official website of the Association of the Karaites of Crimea (<a href="http://karai.crimea.ua/">http://karai.crimea.ua/</a>)</p> <p>Official website of Ethno-Cultural Centre “Kale” (<a href="http://kale.at.ua">http://kale.at.ua</a>)</p>
<p><b>Indicator 4c: School courses related to cultural heritage and religion initiated by the Simferopol and Crimean Diocese</b></p>	<p>Inclusiveness of cultural heritage and religion-related themes in the school curriculum</p>	<p>To identify the number and content of school courses prepared and implemented by Simferopol and of Crimean Diocese</p>	<p>Official website of the Assumption Monastery (<a href="http://lavra.crimea.ua/">http://lavra.crimea.ua/</a>)</p> <p>Official website of the Simferopol and Crimean Diocese (<a href="http://crimea.orthodoxy.su/">http://crimea.orthodoxy.su/</a>)</p>

Table 6. *The Assumption Monastery: total number of heritage assets listed as objects of national significance.*

<b>NO.</b>	<b>NAME OF HERITAGE ASSET</b>	<b>DATE OF CONSTRUCTION</b>	<b>ADDRESS</b>	<b>CATEGORY</b>	<b>RELEVANT LEGAL DECISION</b>
1	The Church of Holy Assumption	15 <sup>th</sup> century	Mariam-Dere Gorge	Architectural monument	Resolution of the Council of Ministers of USSR from 24.08.1965, No. 970 / Protection Nr. 01006-H
2	Belfry	18 <sup>th</sup> century	saa <sup>35</sup>	saa	saa
3	Superior's House	18 <sup>th</sup> century	saa	saa	saa

Table 7. *Chufut Kale and the Karaite Cemetery Balta Tiymez in the Jehoshaphat Valley: total number of heritage assets listed as objects of national significance*

<b>NO.</b>	<b>NAME OF HERITAGE ASSET</b>	<b>DATE OF CONSTRUCTION</b>	<b>ADDRESS</b>	<b>CATEGORY</b>	<b>RELEVANT LEGAL DECISION</b>
1	Walls of Chufut Kale fortress with the gate and tower	5 <sup>th</sup> – 6 <sup>th</sup> centuries	South-eastern suburb of Salachiq	Architectural monument	Resolution of the Council of Ministers of USSR from 24.08.1965, No. 970 / Protection Nr. 290
2	Eastern wall with Eastern (Large) Gate, Biyuk Kapu	13 <sup>th</sup> – 14 <sup>th</sup> centuries	saa	saa	saa
3	Southern wall of the fortress with the Small Gate, Kichik Kapu	13 <sup>th</sup> – 14 <sup>th</sup> centuries	saa	saa	saa
4	Dyurbe (mausoleum) of Djanike Khanym	1437	saa	saa	saa
5	Large Kenasse	17 <sup>th</sup> century (possibly constructed on the site of the ruined 14 <sup>th</sup> - century building)	saa	saa	saa

<sup>35</sup> Same as above

6	Small Kenasse	17 <sup>th</sup> century	saa	saa	saa
7	Residential house (Firkovich's house)	18 <sup>th</sup> century	saa	saa	saa

*Table 8. The Old Town of Bakhchisaray with the Khan's Palace and Salachiq; total number of heritage assets listed as objects of national significance*

<b>NO.</b>	<b>NAME OF HERITAGE ASSET</b>	<b>DATE OF CONSTRUCTION</b>	<b>ADDRESS</b>	<b>CATEGORY</b>	<b>RELEVANT LEGAL DECISION</b>
<b>Khan's Palace</b>					
1	Main Building	16 <sup>th</sup> – 18 <sup>th</sup> centuries	Rechnaya Str. 133 Bakhchisaray	Architectural monument	Resolution of the Council of Ministers of USSR from 24.08.1965, No. 970 / Protection Nr. 285
2	Harem	18 <sup>th</sup> century	saa	saa	saa
3	Retinue Building	16 <sup>th</sup> – 18 <sup>th</sup> centuries	saa	saa	saa
4	Khan's Kitchen	16 <sup>th</sup> – 18 <sup>th</sup> centuries	saa	saa	saa
5	Khan's Stables	16 <sup>th</sup> – 18 <sup>th</sup> centuries	saa	saa	saa
6	Library Building	19 <sup>th</sup> century	saa	saa	saa
7	Falcon Tower	18 <sup>th</sup> century	saa	saa	saa
8	Khan's (Large) Mosque	1740-1743	saa	saa	saa
9	Dyurbe of Dilyara Bikech	1764	saa	saa	saa
10	Sary Gyuzel Bathhouse	1533	saa	saa	saa
11	Northern Dyurbe	16 <sup>th</sup> century	saa	saa	saa
12	Southern Dyurbe	17 <sup>th</sup> century	saa	saa	saa
13	Tombstone rotunda	18 <sup>th</sup> century	saa	saa	saa
14	Embankment of Churuk Su River with three bridges	16 <sup>th</sup> century	saa	saa	saa

15	Palace gardens and parks	16th- 18th centuries	saa	saa	saa
16	Catherine's mile <sup>36</sup>	1787	saa	saa	saa

### Salachiq

17	Dyurbe (mausoleum) of Khan Haji-Giray	1501	Basenko Str. 27 Bakhchisaray	Architectural monument	Resolution of the Council of Ministers of USSR from 24.08.1965, No. 970 / Protection Nr. 287
18	Zincirli Medrese	1500	saa	saa	Resolution of the Council of Ministers of USSR from 24.08.1965, No. 970 / Protection Nr. 288

*Table 9. Chufut Kale and the Karaite Cemetery Balta Tıymez in the Jehoshaphat Valley: total number of assets listed as objects of local significance*

NO.	NAME OF HERITAGE ASSET	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	ADDRESS	CATEGORY	RELEVANT LEGAL DECISION
1	Terrestrial remains of the defense structures, Cape Burunchaq	ns <sup>37</sup>	South-eastern suburb of Salachiq	Architectural monument / archaeological monument	Resolution of the Crimean Regional Executive Committee from 05.09.1969, No. 595; from 22.05.1979, No. 284; from 15.01.1980, No. 16; from 20.02.1990, No. 48

<sup>36</sup> A historic road-post, delineating the route of Empress Catherine II's Crimean tour of 1787. The posts were constructed by the order of Prince Grigory Potemkin on the distance of ten versts (1,06 km) from each other, marking the Empress's planned way through the peninsula.

<sup>37</sup> not specified by MCU



2	Caverns , Cape Burunchaq	ns	saa	saa	saa
3	Water-collection basin, Cape Burunchaq	ns	saa	saa	saa
4	Ruins of the protective wall on the edge of Cape Burunchaq	ns	saa	saa	saa
5	Ruins of the wall separating Cape Burunchaq from the Old Town	ns	saa	saa	saa
6	Ruins of the defensive structures on the edge of the gorge in the Old Town	ns	saa	saa	saa
7	Ruins of the Palace, Old Town	ns	saa	saa	saa
8	Ruins of residential quarters, Old Town	ns	saa	saa	saa
9	Ruins of the mosque, Old Town	ns	saa	saa	saa
10	Caverns in the vicinity of the South Gate	ns	saa	saa	saa
11	Caverns of defensive and utility function, Old Town	ns	saa	saa	saa
12	Water-collecting basin Biyuk-Kapu	ns	saa	saa	saa
13	Karaite cemetery in the Jehoshaphat valley	ns	saa	saa	saa
14	Caverns on the southern slope of Mariam-Dere	ns	saa	saa	saa
15	Rock shelter in the southern precipice of Cape Burunchaq	ns	saa	saa	saa
16	Middle defensive wall with Orta-Kapu gate and the system of ditches	ns	saa	saa	saa

Table 10. The Old Town of Bakhchisaray with the Khan's Palace and Salachiq: total number of heritage assets listed as objects of local significance

NO.	NAME OF HERITAGE ASSET	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	ADDRESS	CATEGORY	RELEVANT LEGAL DECISION
1	Red Army soldiers' burial (bed of honor)	1918	Rechnaya Str. 133 Bakhchisaray	Historical monument	Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Crimean Regional Council of Workers' Deputies from 05.09.1969, No. 595
2	Underground workers' burial (bed of honor)	1944, 1957	saa	saa	saa
3	Soviet warriors' burial (bed of honor)	1944, 1957	saa	saa	saa
4	Grave of K. Visovin	1944	saa	saa	saa
5	Grave of A. Sviderskiy	1944	saa	saa	saa

Table 11. The Old Town of Bakhchisaray with the Khan's Palace and Salachiq - total number of heritage assets suggested for inclusion into the State Register of Monuments and Cultural Heritage Objects

NO	NAME OF ASSET	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	ADDRESS	CATEGORY	RELEVANT LEGAL DECISION
1	Ismail Gasprinsky's House Museum	Beginning of 19 <sup>th</sup> century	Basenko Str. 57, Bakhchisaray	ns	none
2	Salachiq Mosque	saa	saa	ns	none

Table 12. Number of permanent exhibitions organized by BHCP

TITLE	COMMENTS
Weaponry from the funds of BHCP	Examples of Eastern, West-European and Russian weaponry of the 16 <sup>th</sup> – 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries.
Jewelry of the peoples of Crimea	The exhibition displays Crimean Tatars and Greek jewelry of the 18 <sup>th</sup> – 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries.
Hand-written Quran, Hadiths and Tafirs of the 16 <sup>th</sup> – 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries	The exhibition includes a unique collection of authentic hand-written documents from the funds of the Preserve,

	formerly from Khans' library and the library of Zincirli Medrese.
Treasures of South-Eastern Crimea, 1 <sup>st</sup> millennium AD	The exhibition presents a collection of late-Scythian artifacts, uncovered in the course of archaeological excavations (1950s – 2000s) of settlements and burials of the barbarian population of Crimea.
Bakhchisaray in the 19 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup> centuries photographs	The exhibition displays photographs of town's architecture.
Ismail Gasprinsky's parlor	The exhibition is located in actual House Museum of the Crimean Tatar writer, as well as culture and education activist Ismail Gasprinsky. It displays unique manuscripts by the author, as well as some of his personal items (clothing and accessory).
Brief overview of the history of Zincirli Medrese	Located in the building of Zincirli Medrese, the exhibition focuses on everyday life and education of Medrese's students.
Dinnerware of South-Eastern Crimea, 1 <sup>st</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup> centuries AD	Located in the building of Zincirli Medrese, the exhibition displays a number of unique artifacts, uncovered in the course of excavations of the ancient settlements of the peninsula.
Bakhchisaray at the turn of two epochs: photography in the period between 1916 and the 1920s	The exhibition reflects the events that took place in the town during the last year prior to the October Revolution, and the transformations that it underwent in the following decade, with particular attention to the Crimean Tatar culture and architecture.
Modern arts and crafts of the Crimean Tatars	The exhibition displays the works of prominent masters from Crimea and others parts of Ukraine that employ traditional techniques and thusly contribute to the revival of the old arts and crafts, such as ornaments, tapestry, pottery, jewelry and wood carving.
The Crimean War of 1853-1856 in visual art and crafts of the 19 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup> centuries	The exhibition displays paintings (both created during the war and as a tribute in the later period), as well as medals, banners, Orthodox religious attributes and other memorabilia of the wartime.
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>

Table 13. Scope of temporary exhibitions organized by BHCP (Jan - Dec 2013)

<b>THEME</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>
Crimean landscapes in paintings and photographs	7
Christianity and Christian heritage of Crimea	1
Children's paintings devoted to Crimean landscape and people	1
Traditional arts and crafts of the Crimean Tatars	5
Thematic posters	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>

Table 14. Scope of academic events organized by BHCP (Jan - Dec 2013)

<b>THEME</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>
Crimean Tatar culture	2
Deportation of the Crimean Tatars	1
History, archaeology and ethnography of the Turkic peoples of Crimea	1
Archaeology of the ancient and Medieval Crimea	1
Cultural events intended for school children	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>

Table 15. Cultural and academic events organized by the Association of the Karaites of Crimea (Jan - Dec 2013)

<b>THEME</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>
Joint meetings of Karaite communities of Crimea	1
Religious festivals and celebrations	1
Presentations of new publications	1
Photographic exhibitions	1
Annual reporting on the work of the Association of the Karaites of Crimea	1
Participation of the members of the Association of the Karaites of Crimea in the international events	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>

*Table 16. Number of cultural and academic events organized by the Spiritual Administration the Muslims of Crimea (Jan - Dec 2013)*

<b>THEME</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>
Islam in Crimea: seminars, conferences, academic contests	3
Crimean Tatar cultural heritage: seminars, conferences, academic contests, presentations of new findings	6
Crimean Tatar traditions: performances, festivals and celebrations	3
Fine arts exhibitions by Crimean Tatar painters	4
Crimean Tatar language	1
Crimean Tatar theater	1
Crimean Tatar poetry and prose: presentations of new books, readings, meetings of poetic clubs	5
Festival of the Crimean Tatar cinema	1
Remembering deportation: meetings, discussions, seminars, conferences	3
Opening of new mosques, cultural centers	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>

*Table 17. Number of academic publications of BHCP (2011 - 2013)*

<b>THEME</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>
Crimea in the antiquity and medieval period	10
Bakhchisaray in historical photographs	1
Crimean Tatar history and outstanding personalities	8
Traditional handicrafts of the Crimean Tatars	3
Current research on the Crimean Tatar cultural heritage	2
The Crimean Tatar press: reviews of articles in printed media	1
Traditional culture and handicrafts of the Crimean Karaites	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>

*Table 18. Number of academic publications of the Association of the Karaites of Crimea (2011 - 2013)*

<b>THEME</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>
Karaite anthroponomy	1
Crimean Karaites in Chufut Kale – history and culture	3
Hydrological system of Chufut Kale	1
Poetry and prose	3
Prominent Crimean Karaite personalities	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>

### **9.3 Discussion of findings**

As stressed in the «Concept of the plan for organization of the territory of the State Historical and Cultural Preserve in Bakhchisaray» (MCU, 2011), which was proposed by the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, jointly with the Scientific Institute of Monument Protection Research in 2011 and approved by the aforementioned Ministry in summer 2012, successful realization of adequate protection of cultural heritage assets under the jurisdiction of BHCP is a complicated task. The Preserve presents an expansive, multi-functional area, highly challenging in terms of management.

BHCP as such is chiefly a research institution that remains excluded from the management of its own territory. Thus, the Preserve does not have direct access to documentation related to urban planning issues in the town of Bakhchisaray, nor documentation dealing with the town's financing and prospective development projects. BHCP does not coordinate these projects, including those initiated by the town administration within the immediate domains of the Preserve.

MCU (MCU, 2011) links the existing situation with the absence of the General plan for the development of BHCP, which would include a range of documents, aimed at optimized preservation and use of the Preserve's heritage and its traditional environment. Neither exact territorial limits, nor modes of use of the territory of the Preserve have been strictly defined so far. This results in uncontrolled construction of the areas immediately adjacent to the cultural monuments of the Preserve, uncoordinated archaeological activities on some of its historical monuments (such as Balta Tiymez and Gazy Mansur cemeteries) and generally deprives the administration of the Preserve of the possibility to reach a mutually satisfying agreement with the town and regional administration.

According to the same document, the most urgent task of the Preserve currently lies in the preservation of the integrity of Khans' Palace complex, whereby, according to the evaluation by MCU, the majority of the buildings of the complex are in the need of restoration and urgent repairing. Due to dissatisfactory technical condition and

uncompleted restoration works on part of heritage assets, the latter are presently closed and not accessible for visitors.

MCU divides all heritage monuments of the palace complex in three groups, depending on the degree of their integrity and authenticity. The first group is comprised of the well-preserved monuments, which nevertheless demand repair and restoration works in the nearest future. These include the Large Mosque, the Small Mosque, Dyurbe of Dilyara Bikech, Southern and Eastern Dyurbes, the Retinue Building, the Library Building, the Stables and the Tombstone rotunda (ibid.).

The second group is comprised of the monuments, which have undergone transformations within the past two centuries, some of whose architectural elements should be brought back to their original style and shape. The group includes the Falcon Tower, the Embankment of Churuk Su River with three bridges, Khan's Kitchen, Southern Gate, the Main Building of the palace, and Harem (ibid.).

The third group is comprised of the monuments subjected to substantial degradation, as well as the destroyed ones. Included in this group are gardens and parks of the complex: the Pool Garden, the Harem Garden, and the Garden of the Courtyard of Embassy. For the restoration of this group of monuments, additional research is necessary with the aim of identifying their former authentic features and evaluating the possibilities of restoring their original style and design (ibid.).

Unregulated construction activities in the old town of Bakhchisaray, in the direct vicinity of the palace destroy the visual integrity of the landscape. This particularly concerns several newly built hotels and restaurants, both the architectural style and height of which are incompatible with the original fabric of the town. According to the information provided by MCU, more of such projects are currently in the works and await official approval from the side of the town administration.

Apart from the problems related to the state of conservation of the monuments of the Khan's Palace, two other negative factors demanding urgent intervention can be identified:



1. Unregulated trade along the banks of Churuk Su, in the immediate proximity to the main entrance to the palace, which has been turned into a 'shopping mile' by local traders of souvenirs and other 'Crimean Tatar' memorabilia, the authenticity and quality of which is questionable. Apart from distorting the essence of the Crimean Tatar national culture by selling items of arguable relevance to the history and traditions of the Crimean Tatar people, unregulated and erratically constructed market stands, located directly along the road leading to the palace, create traffic jams and jeopardize the safety of the pedestrians.
2. Lack of comprehensive interpretative materials in the form of information stands and signposts around the territory of the palace, which impairs the perception of the architectural complex for the visitors, who do not possess background knowledge with regards to the history of the site and the sacred meaning of the cultural landscape surrounding it.

In view of the mentioned problems and constraints, it is imperative that the effective scheme for the coordination and management of the Preserve and all cultural heritage monuments on its territory is developed, including the detailed plan for the future urban development of Bakhchisaray and enhanced legal base, guaranteeing BHCP unhindered realization of day-to-day management, conservation and restoration measures both within its core and buffer zones, which have to be clearly defined.

The territory of the historical district of Salachiq, located in the direct vicinity of the Khan's Palace, does not possess the status of the national monument in its totality, with only two of its monuments - Dyurbe of Khan Haji-Giray and Zincirli Medrese being recognized as architectural heritage of national significance. Other archaeological remains, such as those of the bath-house, the mosque and the location of the purported Ashlama-Saray Khan's Palace remain legally unprotected, which opens the possibilities for private restoration companies to carry out restoration works with little respect to the original fabric and design of the remains. Even the quality of restoration of the Medrese itself is subject to doubts from the side of BHCP archaeologists, whose participation in the restoration works and influence on the outcome thereof had been very limited (see section 8.3.3.2 of the present thesis).

The condition of some of the little-investigated portions of the archaeological site of the Salachiq were evaluated by the MCU and BHCP as critical. They demand further in-depth research that must be carried out under close supervision of the Preserve.

In the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the territory surrounding the site of Salachiq was densely built with modern public as well as private housing, thus making some of the additional areas of potential archaeological interest inaccessible for investigation. Aggravating the situation is the presence on and around the site of vendor stands, shops and catering for tourists, many of them unauthorized.

The legal situation in relation to the status of the Assumption Monastery is not safe from controversial issues. The protected monuments of the Assumption Monastery complex are comprised of the following structures: the settlement of Mariampol, the Church of Assumption with the belfry, and the Superior's house. While larger part of the monastery's territory remains municipally owned, the Church of Assumption and the territory of the Mariampol settlement were transferred into the property of the Assumption Monastery of the Simferopol and Crimean Diocese of the Ukrainian Orthodox church, Moscow Patriarchate.

With the purpose of protection of the Assumption Monastery, as well as of the other monasteries and churches around the peninsula, the Diocese appointed the Commission for the Revival of Monasteries. In 2010 the Diocese appealed to the Republican Committee for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, requesting the granting of official patronage over the churches and monasteries, in compliance with Article 11 of the Law of Ukraine regarding the Protection of Cultural Heritage, with the view of partial rehabilitation of the dilapidated cave churches and bringing them into the adequate condition for receiving pilgrims (SCD, 2012). A range of restoration projects was established, the ultimate aim of which would be renewal of religious services (*ibid.*).

Another issue that proves to be the apple of discord in relation to the holistic concept of protection of sacred heritage assets within the domains of the BHCP is the prolonged land dispute between the administration of the Assumption Monastery and the Crimean Tatar community of Bakhchisaray. The roots of the conflict go back to

the year 2001, when the Assumption Monastery obtained the Land Act (No. II-KM 002916), granting it permission to utilize the area of 46 acres adjoining the territory of the monastery complex, which resulted in the strongly marked dissatisfaction among the local Crimean Tatar community.

The development of the situation is described in every minute detail on the Monastery's official website. An extensive article under the title "The problems of the peaceful living together" looks into the roots of the conflict, starting off with the stance that regrettably, the return of the deported Tatars to the peninsula has brought with it "hostility and stress", instead of the "expected peaceful co-existence" (Crimean Lavra, 2007a). Claiming that the Tatar *Mejlis* is an illegal organization, the authors of the text blame it for pushing the Tatars "towards strife and discord" (ibid.). Explaining that the territory of the Assumption Monastery lies at the intersection of tourist hiking trails, which makes it an extremely profitable location for setting up trading stands, the authors accuse *Mejlis* activists of attempting, continuously, to seize monastery lands, citing that in 2001, 300 of them broke into the Assumption Monastery, demanding to transfer them the land of the lower level of the monastery, and a special unit of police had to be summoned to pacify them (ibid.). As an proof of the point that the Crimean Tatar community's claims for the Monastery's lands are unjustified, the authors quote the document from the State Archive of the ARC, containing a receipt of a mullah, signed with his own hand, in which he confirms returning the land (the exact dating of the receipt is not provided):

(...) occupied from the past by an ancestor of mine ... and which used to belong to the Uspensky [Assumption] monastery from ancient times, ... by my voluntary agreement, ... having received for all the buildings made by me 400 silver rubles in the future, neither I nor any of my heirs will have absolutely any claims to the place, as to the ownership of Uspensky rock and the Assumption Church, and everything that is on it. And all kinds of disputes and harassment should therefore be ignored by the judiciary and government sites and persons. (Crimean Lavra, 2007a)

Another article in the same section of the website, "The political situation of the Monastery of the Dormition (Assumption) in Bakhchisaray" (Crimean Lavra, 2007b), elaborates further on the matter. The text states that on May 4<sup>th</sup> 2001, the monastery was granted the right to use "indefinitely" an area of 46 acres, as stipulated by the

aforementioned State Act II-KM N°002916. However, in 2005, the monastery's Superior, together with the brethren, were invited to the open administrative assembly of the Bakhchisaray district, where they were addressed by the representatives of the Crimean Tatar community, requesting them to return 12 acres of the monastery's land, in return of a substantial sum of money, so as to build a new road around the monastery. The Superior rejected the offer, arguing that:

(...) the rule of the Holy Apostles ... says that the bishop should look after the ecclesiastical goods and answer for their proper administration; he is not their owner and therefore cannot either give up or sell what belongs to God. (Crimean Lavra, 2007b)

As well as appealing to Article 25 of the Ukrainian Law of June 8, 2000, which stipulates in matters concerning the protection of cultural heritage that:

(...) both legal and physical parties are bound to insure the integrity of the monuments occupying the land they farm. (ibid)

In December 2006, another conflict arose, when the Assumption Monastery obtained official authorization from the Executive Committee of the City Council of Bakhchisaray to carry out construction works in Mariam Dere valley, which presupposed the erection of the enclosure wall along the river bank of the Churuk Su river. Shortly before the works were scheduled to begin, head of the Administration of the city of Bakhchisaray (and a member of Mejlis) expressed his doubts as to the expedience of construction of the 130-meter protective wall on the north-eastern slope of the Mariam Dere valley, re-iterating the concerns of the Crimean Tatar community that had been voiced before, namely that the erection of the enclosure wall would cut off the passage through Mariam Dere valley to Gazy Mansur cemetery (ibid.). The latter concern was shared by the Karaite community, for whom the walling of the valley meant obstruction of the lower road, leading from Bakhchisaray to the town of Chufut Kale and Balta Tiymez (Polkanova T. , 2008).

The same year, yet another territorial conflict arose between the Assumption Monastery and BHCP. The representative of the President in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea declared that the State Act II-KM N°002916, transferring the right to use the territory to the monastery was falsified, and that the sole document,

which remains in power, is the state act from 1960, granting the right of ownership of the land, upon which the monastery complex stands, to the Museum of Bakhchisaray Preserve (predecessor of BHCP), presenting a copy of the aforementioned act. In response, the administration of the Assumption Monastery claimed that the act of 1960 is non-existent, and that the presented copy was a forgery (Crimean Lavra, 2007b). In addition to this, the representatives of the monastery accused the administration of Bakhchisaray of “manipulating public opinion” and disseminating the false rumor among the Crimean Tatar community that the Assumption Monastery was planning to forbid Muslims access to Zincirli Medrese and Gazy Mansur cemetery (ibid.).

Presently, the monastery carries out active construction at the bottom of Mariam Derge gorge, which is not agreed upon with the administration of the Preserve (Director of BHCP, private communication, May 2013). A range of modern-styled brick buildings took the place of the old road leading to the Southern and Eastern gates of Chufut Kale. As of late, the monastery erected the wall running across the gorge, making the pilgrimage along the traditional lower route impossible. There is only one functioning road by way of which the visitors can reach both Chufut Kale and the two old cemeteries in the Jehoshaphat Valley – the upper road that directly trespasses the territory of the Assumption Monastery, to much dissatisfaction both among the Karaites and among the Crimean Tatar pilgrims.

Apart from obstructing the passage to the Crimean Tatar and Karaite holy sites, the newly constructed buildings of the monastery complex clearly disagree with the surrounding landscape and the rest of the monastic complex. According to the information obtained through personal communication with the researchers of BHCP in May 2013, negotiations are being currently carried out between the administration of the Monastery, the administration of the Preserve and the representatives of the Crimean Tatar and Karaite communities; the agreement satisfactory for all stakeholders is yet to be reached.

With regards to the protection of the cultural heritage assets of the town of Chufut Kale, similar issues arise as in the cases of other historical and archaeological sites lying on the territory of BHCP, namely: unsystematic excavations, which shed light on

the history of only part of the building of the town, while leaving others beyond of the scope of research. According to BHCP (MCU, BHCP, 2013), within the period from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and until the onset of the 1990s, ten hectares of the town's fabric (ruins of stone mansions) were uncovered, partially restored and conserved. However, due to the absence of the comprehensive excavation plan, the well-investigated sections of the town are set apart from each other and scattered across the site. Only the exposed parts of the remains of the central and southwestern sections of the town quarters and the fortified constructions of the Eastern and Middle defensive walls present territorially connected clusters.

Another imperative issue to be dealt with by BHCP administration is lack of security in some of the most vulnerable parts the Preserve, such as the two cemeteries in the Jehoshaphat Valley. Thus, the territory of the Karaite cemetery and the sacred oak grove is littered; multiple traces of fires are visible. The existing situation is the result of absence of adequate protection of the cemetery's area. No guards (permanent or part-time) have been appointed by BHP that would access into the sacred grove. The activity of random, unobserved visitors is beyond control of the Preserve (Vladimir Ormeli, Head of the Association of the Karaite of Crimea *Kyrymkaraylar*, personal communication, May 2013). Theft of tombstones thrives, in particular of the small-sized stones, marking children's graves, which are relatively easy to carry away. Martyn (2008) confirms encountering groups of illegal treasure-hunters, equipped with spades and mine detectors, plundering the cemetery in search of jewelry, gold and silver coins that human remains could be adjourned with. Knowing specifically that the tradition of dressing the dead in costly ceremonial clothing was abandoned in the course of history, the diggers targeted the oldest graves that could possibly produce lucre (ibid.).

Apart from this, progressively spreading young forest caused dislocation and ruination of tombstones. It also created an unfavorable environment for the old oaks. As of now, only ten of them survive.

Another matter of particular concern among the Crimean Karaites is the ruined guards' lodge at Balta Tiymez. Historically, sustaining the appropriate condition of the building was a communal responsibility. However, at the present time, members

of the Crimean Karaite community is neither consulted, nor allowed to participate in the process of management of their own sacred heritage (Ormeli, 2013). According to the same source, the Association of the Karaites of Crimea more than once volunteered to appoint the guards, who would patrol the cemetery around the clock, at all seasons of the year, free of charge, however, the administration of the Preserve rejected the offer. On the positive side, it must be noted that in 2008-09, the arch of the entrance gate and part of the exterior wall were restored by BHCP; the foundations of the guards' house were cleaned (BHCP, 2012).

Back in the year 2005, the Crimean Karaite community issued the “Appeal to the heads of public administrations and organizations in connection with the situation at the ancestral cemetery of Balta Tiymez”. In 2006, the International Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) expressed its concern with regards to the case, stating in paragraph 18 of the Conclusions and recommendations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Ukraine, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/UKR/CO/18 (2006):

The Committee notes with concern that cultural and religious sites, including cemeteries, of minorities such as the Crimean Tatars, the Karaites and the Roma, are reportedly often not registered or protected and that only very limited funds are allocated to the preservation of the cultural heritage of minorities by the State party (art. 5 (e) (vi)). The Committee recommends that the State party take special measures for the protection and preservation of the cultural heritage of minorities such as the Crimean Tatars, the Karaites and the Roma. (CERD, 2006)

Some of the issues described above are partially reflected in the newly developed management plan that was submitted by the MCU jointly with BHCP as part of the World Heritage Nomination (MCU, BHCP, 2013). It is hoped that independently of the success of the nomination, the mentioned problems will be taken in due consideration by the MCU, BHCP and Bakhchisaray town administration.

In the context of interrelationships between the Crimean Karaite community and the administration of BHCP it deems necessary to mention in this section not only the cultural events that took place, but also the one that did not. Since 1997, the Association of the Karaites of Crimea and the Ethno-Cultural Centre *Kale* acted as the organizers of the annual cultural summer camp, which traditionally took place in

Chufut Kale. The event gained considerable popularity over the years and presented a rare opportunity for bringing together ethnic Karaites from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and beyond. The program of the camp included lectures and seminars acquainting the participants with the culture of the Crimean Karaites, their religion and traditional arts and crafts; guided tours to other Crimean cultural heritage sites, both having relation to the Crimean Karaite history and beyond; as well as clearing the territories of the town and the old cemetery of rubble (Zinchenko-Kefeli, 2011).

The annual event was supported by the State Committee on the International Relations and the Affairs of the Deported Citizens of ARC, and by the Committee for the Affairs of the Youth and Family of ARC (ibid.). At the same time, the program of the summer camp was never officially agreed with the administration of BHCP, and no contract has been signed between the Association of the Karaites of Crimea and BHCP with regards to the camp's schedule, nor concerning the responsibilities of the two organizations as to the safety and security of the participants (Ormeli, 2013).

In the summer of 2012, the administration of BHCP banned the annual summer camp, demanding that it be transferred from the territory of the inner town to Cape Burunchaq, claiming that mass gatherings on the territory of the state-protected archaeological site threaten its condition, particularly taking into consideration the absence of the necessary accompanying permissions from the state Sanitary Inspection Service, Health Department and Fire Safety Department<sup>38</sup>.

It was concluded by the administration of the Preserve that the activities of the Association of the Karaites of Crimea contradict the Law of Ukraine on the Protection of Cultural Heritage, specifically Art. 24, which stipulates that “the use of [cultural heritage] monuments should be realized according to usage modes, determined by cultural heritage protection bodies, in a way that requires the least possible changes and additions of the monument and secures the preservation of its authenticity, spatial composition, as well as the elements of equipment, arrangement, decoration etc.” (Supreme Council of Ukraine, 2000)

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<sup>38</sup> For more on this, see multiple articles in the issues of *Kırımkaraylar* dated April-September 2012.



Objections from the side of the Association, arguing that stationing the camp in the open space on Cape Burunchaq, beyond the limits of the town, is not viable, due to the impossibility of the arrangement of proper accommodation for the participants, did not meet any reaction from the side of BHP. As a result, the Karaite cultural summer camp planned for August 2012 was cancelled<sup>39</sup>.

The situation repeated itself the following year, in connection to which, on April 28<sup>th</sup> 2013, the Association of the Karaites of Crimea issued the official appeal to the President of Ukraine, stating that despite numerous requests and explications from the side of the Association, the administration of BHP intentionally obstructs free access of the Crimean Karaite community to the two major sacred heritage sites of the peninsula – the town of Chufut Kale and the Karaite cemetery - and denies the Karaites the right to carry out, at their own cultural heritage sites, traditional communal meetings and other practices, to which they are entitled in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007). It was noted that the actions of BHP directly violate a range of articles of the Declaration, most notably Article 11:

Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature. (Paragraph 1)

And that the States:

... shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs. (Paragraph 2)

As well as Article 12:

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<sup>39</sup> For more detail, see the issues of *Kırımkaýlar* newspaper No.8(96) from July 2012 and No. 5(93) from May 2012.

Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains. (Paragraph 1)

And the states, therefore:

... shall seek to enable the access and/or repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains in their possession through fair, transparent and effective mechanisms developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned. (Paragraph 2)

As it was noted in the appeal, the actions of BHCP also contradict Article 18 of the same Declaration, which states that:

Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters, which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision-making institutions.

Article 25, according to which:

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard.

And Article 26, stipulating that:

Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired. (Paragraph 1)

In light of the above-mentioned, the Association of the Karaites of Crimea requested the President of Ukraine to take measures towards declaring Chufut Kale and the Karaite Cemetery Balta Tiymez the “national shrines of the Crimean Karaite people“ and transferring ownership rights of the sites to the Crimean Karaite community (ECC Kale, 2013a).

In July 2013, the Association was informed that their appeal was duly re-directed from the President's office to the Council of Ministers of ARC for further consideration (ECC Kale, 2013b). As of now (January 2014) the Council is yet to inform the Association about its final decision on the matter.

The analysis of the scope of cultural academic events organized by different stakeholders in the protection of the sacred heritage sites studied in the framework of current thesis allows to identify a number of distinct trends, as well as some of the deficiencies, of the existing approach. We shall, in turn, look at the scope of the events, organized by BHCP, the Association of the Karaites of Crimea *Kyrymkaraylar*, the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea, and the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese.

With regards to the themes of BHCP's permanent exhibitions, it can be concluded from the indicator-based assessment that the range of covered subjects is very varied and adequately reflects all major stages in the Crimean history. Beginning with the expositions of the late-Scythian artifacts of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD, through dinnerware of the 1<sup>st</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, the exhibition of 16<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> – centuries weaponry, the Crimean Tatar and Greek jewelry of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, to the display of the memorabilia of the Crimean War of 1853-1856, the photography of Bakhchisaray of the 1910s-20s, and modern arts and crafts of the Crimean Tatars – the Preserve succeeds in comprehensively and coherently presenting to the public the local, as well as regional cultural heritage. Two of the collections specifically address the Crimean Tatar heritage, with the focus on Salachiq and one of the most prominent Crimean Tatar personalities, whose life and activity was inextricably connected with this historical district, Ismail Gasprinsky.

All this said, it has to be pointed out that one perspective of the Crimean history is practically absent from the themes of the Preserve's expositions – that of the Crimean Karaite history and culture. Considering that the town of Chufut Kale is one of the Preserve's most visited (needless to say, revenue-generating) sites, and indeed, one of its most significant memoryscapes, such obvious omission seems to be devoid of logic. The scope of the temporary exhibitions of the Preserve compensates little for the

deficit. Of the overall of fourteen exhibitions organized by BHCP in the year 2013, not a single one addresses the Karaite culture, history, or existing heritage.

Three of the seven cultural and academic events organized by the Preserve in 2013, in one way or another, addressed the Crimean Tatar issues, while another half dealt with the cultural heritage of Bakhchisaray region at large. None of the events specifically addressed the Karaite theme, and only one of all the aforementioned exhibitions and events addressed the topic of Orthodoxy in Crimea.

On the one hand, the focus of BHCP on the Crimean Tatar-related issues is understandable, considering that the core of the Preserve is the Khan's Palace, the major Crimean Tatar historical and sacred site. It is strongly recommended, however, that the institution pays more attention to the topics pertinent to the local Crimean Karaite as well as Orthodox Christian heritage – at least the ones situated on its own territory.

The topic of particular academic interest for BHCP researchers, based on the scope of the Preserve's academic publications in the years 2011-2013, appears to be the antique and medieval periods in the history of Crimea, with the themes ranging from Chersoneses and its links to Aegean Greece in the 5<sup>th</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, to the late Byzantine period and the Crimean nomads of the 11<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. This interest is in direct correlation with the Preserve's wide scope of archaeological research on the subject, undertaken in the past fifty years and a considerable number of academic employees involved with the topic. The Crimean Tatar history comes second on the list of priorities, involving the study of the documents dating back to the times of the Crimean Khanate, research on the political movements among the Crimean Tatar community in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (in particular, the Crimean Tatar women's movement), and journalism, alongside the discussion of the newest findings related to the historical monuments of Salachiq.

The Crimean Karaite topic is addressed via publication on the content of the collection of Karaite artifacts in the funds of BHCP, as well as by a highly interesting research on the Karaite perception of beauty. Both of the publications are quite specific in their topic, and there is hope that in the future, the interest of BHCP

researchers in the various aspects of the cultural life of this small community will persist.

Judging by the themes of the events organized by *Kyrymkaraylar* in the year 2013, the priorities of the Association were shared between the organization and conducting of the traditional religious celebrations, support of new publications devoted to the Crimean Karaite history, and culture-related research, encouraging creativity among the community's members (be it literary genre, or the art of photography), and establishing links to the Karaite diasporas in other countries, such as Russia, Lithuania and France. The Association's concerns with the lack of attention and cooperation from the side of the regional cultural authorities is clearly expressed in its activity on the international level, in particular, the participation of the Crimean Karaite community's representatives in the work of the UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues.

The academic publications of *Kyrymkaraylar* testify to the Association's primary interest in the history of Chufut Kale and its residents. The study of the Crimean Karaite toponyms, the newest findings in relation to Chufut Kale's unique hydrological system, and the compilation of the bibliography of *Kyrymkaraylar* newspaper – all these are the topics that, on the one hand, target very specific audience, but on the other, clearly express Crimean Karaites' aspirations for being recognized as a small, but vibrant, one of a kind, ethnicity whose history and heritage do matter.

The Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea is clearly successful in its active cooperation with other Ukrainian Muslim organizations and associations (such as the "True Way" and *Al-Raid*), the Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Sport of ARK, as well as with the Presidency of Religious Affairs of Turkey, which resulted in the realization of a string of cultural and academic events promoting Islam and explaining its role in Crimea's past and present.

The theme of the deportation and the collective memory thereof remains one of the most addressed among the Crimean Tatar community. The memory of exile and return therefrom occupies the prominent place both in the minds and in the creative legacy of the past and present generations, touched by the event.

The publications of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea, on the other hand, focus rather on the theoretical premises of Islam and its current trends than on the findings of recent academic research on the history and heritage of the Crimean Tatars. This focus can be explained by the fact that the Administration is, first and foremost, responsible for the religious education among the Crimean Tatar community, and this function is directly reflected in the works published under its supervision.

Of the cultural and academic events organized by the Simferopol and Crimea, the annual summer camps prove to be particularly instrumental not only for the reinforcing and deepening the Christian Orthodox ideals among the religious youth, but also for spreading the Orthodox philosophy and values among the non-believers. Combining the idea of the traditional summer camp experience that involves active collaboration and exchange of ideas between the young participants, encouraging creativity and contributing to long-term networking, the annual camp succeeds in fulfilling the task that is not easy to achieve – spreading religious ideals in a very engaging and unobtrusive form and motivating further thinking on the subject.

The success of the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese's Department of Education with regards to the development and implementation of the school course "Basics of the Orthodox Culture of Crimea" can be evaluated as exemplary. However, one must not forget that being minorities among the Orthodox Christian population of the peninsula, neither the Crimean Tatar, nor the Crimean Karaite communities are in the same position as is the Slavic majority, in terms of the possibilities of disseminating of religious and cultural ideals in the sphere of state education. Considering that the total number of the Crimean Karaites of all ages comprises no more than 800 individuals – realistically, it is barely possible that the Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Sport of ARK would find it worthwhile to incorporate a course on Karaism and the Karaite culture into the regular school curriculum.

The situation is not much different for the Crimean Tatar children. With the total of only thirty-eight schools with the Crimean Tatar language of education functioning around the peninsula, the possibility of implementation of the school course covering the topic of Islam and its role in the history and culture of Crimea is fraught with

difficulties. The fact that despite this, the textbook for such a course has been developed by the Spiritual Administration, and that the endeavor was actively supported by the Ministry of Education and Science, clearly points to further possibilities for cooperation between the state and the local ethnic minorities with the view of enhanced representation of their ethno-cultural and religious traditions in the educational system.

## 10 CONCLUSIONS

Current research had in front of it a very complex task, which was to explore the sacred in the landscape, and the ways humans make sense of it. In order to understand the sacred landscape and its role in the modern-day Crimea, we first of all needed to establish the connection between religion, society, and space, and to apply this knowledge to the distinct historic, cultural and political context.

The title of this the present research contains the term “shared heritage”, and in this word combination lies the essence of how, in the author’s opinion, the studied sacred landscapes of Crimea should be approached. Much has been written in the pages of the thesis about the peninsula’s turbulent history, marked by rises and falls of the peoples and states, who made it home in the different time periods. The reason that such attention was paid to the historical background is that without having in mind the development and transformation of the chosen sacred sites through time, under various cultural and religious influences, it proves difficult to assess their significance and relevance for the present. The ultimate point in this case was supplying proof to the fact that rather than been ‘owned’ by a certain group or groups, these landscapes are the living witnesses of the cultural, religious, social and political processes and exchanges specific to the Crimean context, and are thusly the *shared* treasure of all inhabitants of the peninsula.

Being a multi-cultural and a multi-religious melting pot, Crimea presents for its inhabitants the possibility to appreciate and enjoy in a shared manner the unique treasures that the peninsula is so rich with. Rebirth in the 1990s of the religious and cultural life that had been repressed for over seventy years of the Soviet rule (see Chapter 4 of the current thesis) gave a powerful impetus to the revival of Crimea’s sacred landscapes and enabled the different ethno-religious groups residing in the peninsula to forge the bond with the places held holy by their ancestors.

In the process of the return to Crimea of the previously deported citizens and their communal re-consolidation in the peninsula, religion played a central role by acting as a source of common identity. It helped the ethnic communities reinforce a shared set of values and provided the basis for communal activities.



Within of span of twenty years following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, as many as 1362 religious organizations were registered in Crimea (as compared to mere 37 as of 1989), which serve fifty different denominations. Of them, 74% are comprised by religious organizations representing the peninsula's two leading confessions – Orthodox Christianity and Sunni Islam, the former professed chiefly among Crimea's Slavic populations (most prominently Ukrainians and Russians) and the latter, by the Crimean Tatars (CIA, 2009).

The transitional political period in the 1990s was laden with social and economical instability in Ukraine as a whole, and in Crimea in particular. The waves of repatriates, most notably, the Crimean Tatars, which began to arrive in the peninsula from 1989 onwards and conditioned the establishment in Crimea of a strong Muslim community, were met with concern by the Slavic majority, who had apprehensions about possible implications of such a drastic demographic change. The repatriates, on their part, felt insecure as to their position in the newly re-gained homeland, in particular from the legal standpoint (see discussion on the Ukrainian Citizenship Law and its implications for the returnees (Mal'gin, 2000), which, in turn, resulted in obstacles in other spheres, including access to social services, employment and housing. Satisfactory resolution of many or these issues is still pending.

Apart from the above mentioned, Izmirli's study (2008) supplies evidence to the Crimean Tatar repatriates' concerns with the 'negative labeling' from the side of the Christian, Russian-speaking population of the peninsula. Many of Izmirli's interviewees mentioned that they were discriminated both in everyday life and at work on the premises of their ethnicity, although the same study revealed no actual sympathies towards Islamic extremism observable among the interviewed (*ibid.*).

Major grievances of the repatriated Crimean Tatars thusly relate to a number of crucial legal, social, economic and political factors, including the absence of legal measures towards compensating the losses caused by eviction and deportation from Crimea, unsatisfactory living conditions upon return, low employment level, and pronounced discrimination on the ethnic basis.

At the same time, analysis of the results of public opinion polls on religion in Crimea carried out by Razumkov Centre (Razumkov Centre, 2011) that were discussed in chapter 4 of the present thesis reveal that the overwhelming majority of the Crimean Tatars do not nurture negative feelings towards Orthodox Christian adherents as a whole and once again point to the fact that the existing ethno-confessional conflicts, which arise between the Slavic population of the peninsula on the one side, and the Crimean Tatars on the other, result much rather from a constellation of secular socio-economic factors than by religious intolerance as such. This tendency is also confirmed by the results of the poll among the Russians and Ukrainians of Crimea regarding their attitude towards Islam, whereby a half of both Russian and Ukrainian respondents stated their indifference, and only less than ten percent of respondents from both groups assessed their attitudes towards Islam as negative (ibid.).

Overall, the analysis of the results of the above-mentioned polls speaks in favor of possibilities for peaceful co-existence of Muslim and Christian segments of the Crimean population.<sup>40</sup>

As discussed in detail in section 4.1, on the onset of the 1990s the UOCM (Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate) engaged in the restoration of the former glory of the 'Crimean Athos', for the purpose of which many of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century religious books and pamphlets were republished, stressing the continuity of Crimea's Christian history, and supported publication of new research. Since 1992, thirteen monasteries have been restored and reopened. The Taurida Seminary in Simferopol was founded, alongside a string of Orthodox kindergartens and Sunday schools. UOC has also been very active in the promotion of the Crimean Orthodox Christian sanctuaries as pilgrimage destinations. As of 2012, the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese of UOCM offered over fifty pilgrimage routes (SCD, 2012).

The rise of Sunni Islam in Crimea in the post-Soviet period was equally steady, with the peninsula's Islamic organizations being overseen by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea. As of 2012, the Administration supervised ninety-six

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<sup>40</sup> Regrettably, such small ethno-religious communities as the Crimean Karaites were excluded from the survey (or, at least, no respondents identified themselves as such), and it is therefore not possible to assess their opinions in a similar manner.

mosques and three medreses. The Crimean Tatar community's plenipotentiary executive body, the *Mejlis* has, over the years, established a strong relationship with foreign religio-political organizations (in particularly with those from Turkey and the Arab countries), which are closely involved in a variety of local restoration and construction projects.

The repatriation of the Crimean Karaites has, even despite the small size of their community of no more than 800 individuals, been instrumental for the revival of the traditional Crimean Karaite culture. The Association of the Karaites of Crimea *Kyrymkaraylar* is the leading public body, representing the peninsula's Karaite community. In the decades following Ukrainian independence, it has been highly active on both local and international scene, promoting the interests and rights of the Karaites and struggling for a more active participation of the community in the process of day-to-day protection of the local Crimean Karaite historical and religious sites.

Sacred landscapes play a particularly important role in the lives of the communities that have been, at certain historical periods, displaced, and thusly separated from their traditional environment. Being torn away from one's homeland is a trauma, and the urge to return there and re-establish the links with the past becomes the main unifying force for the members of the displaced religious groups in exile. Moreover, return to the homeland becomes an act necessary for restoring historical justice and regaining of the group's pride. As the materials of Lynn Uehling's book "*Beyond Memory: Crimean Tatars' Deportation and Return (Anthropology, History, and Critical Imagination)*" (Uehling, 2004), and Brian Glynn Williams' "*The Crimean Tatars. Crimean Tatarsness alive*" (Williams, 2001) eloquently demonstrate, in the Crimean context, the repatriates' eagerness to regain the 'ancestral home' even in the face of hardships and deprivations that the process may incur, was truly remarkable. The reason for this determination could have been that returning to their fathers' land implied more than restoring historic justice – it also meant returning to the abode of the community's cultural and religious memory.

The notion of landscape as a memoryscape becomes central in this context, since it is the landscape that records, as well as reflects, the events in history. It is against the

backdrop of a religious memoryscape that the worldviews and spiritual values of a given religious group are being sustained through time. It is also in and around these sacred locations that traditional religious activities, which are instrumental for the maintenance of social coherence among the group members, are carried out. The sites commonly held sacred unite the people as much as common memories transmitted from one generation to the other do.

The idea that a landscape is written in a multifaceted and symbolic language that can be interpreted in different ways by different observers clearly stresses the pre-eminence of individual experience. At the same time, it also hints at the opposite – namely, that once we are able to immerse into the other's perspective and see a certain place through their eyes, we become able to *share* this precious experience and to appreciate what lies before our eyes the way they do.

To the viewer who is engaged with the landscape, memories linked to a given place and the tangible features thereof are inseparable to the degree that the memory and the place actually become *one and the same*. Inside the memoryscape, the past and the present are the links of the unbroken chain, and at the core of the matter, to the one who perceives himself as part of this chain, there exists no division between what *was* and what *is*. One may say, in Hervieu-Léger's terms (Hervieu-Léger, 2000), that if religion is a chain of memory – then the sacred landscape is the material background, against which this chain is kept together.

The approach towards the selected case studied was based on the understanding of cultural heritage suggested by Laurajane Smith (Smith 2006) not as a static site, or a purely material object, but rather a cultural process, whereby cultural heritage sites themselves act as cultural tools, by which this process is facilitated. Being something that is shared through the act of collective remembering, cultural heritage – sacred heritage included – evolves together with its cultural and religious context and plays a crucial part of the shaping of the cultural and religious identity (Albert 2013).

Sacred landscapes selected as case studies for the purposes of the research reflect the cultural heritage originating in the different periods in Crimean history. Being remarkable and rare combinations of natural and man-made elements, these sites are

unique examples of sacred cultural landscapes that have been formed under the impact of Crimea's turbulent past. Importantly, all of them have managed to retain their significance and relevance for the groups that hold them sacred until the present day. The sacredness of these selected locations is multi-faceted and is derived from more than one sources of religious significance.

Thus, the Assumption Monastery is both a theocentric sacred place, marked by continuous presence of the divine and the supernatural, and a location, where a hierophany (miraculous revelation of the icon of the Holy Mother of God) took place. Having being one of the key centers of the 'Crimean Athos' in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the monastery at the same time presents a prominent historical sacred space.

The town of Chufut-Kale that for many centuries acted as the core administrative, religious and cultural center of the Crimean Karaite community, is both an authoritative sacred space and the location of the most cherished Karaite temples (the two kenasses), which are unique both on the local and on the global scale.

The sacred oak grove with the old Karaite cemetery in the vicinity of the town of Chufut-Kale is simultaneously a theocentric and a hierenergetic site, due to the Crimean Karaites' belief that through the ancient oaks one can connect to the superhuman power, god Tengri, and at the same time, establish the connection with the souls of the deceased buried thereunder.

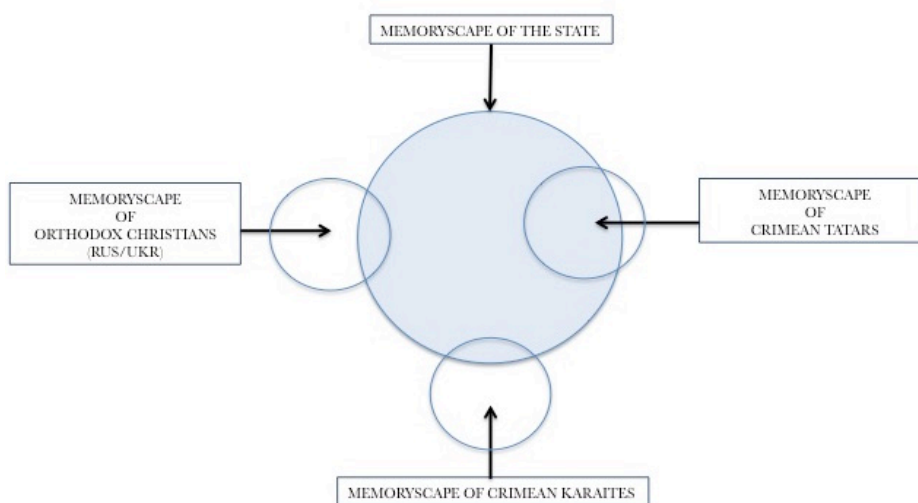
Finally, Bakhchisaray with the historical district of Salachiq is likewise both an authoritative sacred space (the capital of the Crimean Khanate) and a historical sacred site, where outstanding Crimean Tatar rulers and other prominent figures found their final rest.

Apart from peculiar functions and sources of importance relevant to each of the case studies individually, all of the studied locations present outstanding examples of living ritual sacred spaces, embodying a homeland for modern-day Crimeans. They enable the seamless continuation of the chain of memory and help in keeping the communities alive. As Crimea experienced its religious revival following the

dissolution of the USSR, the chain of memory was established anew in the evolving socio-cultural context.

The indicator-based assessment of the case studies aimed at their evaluation from two perspectives: firstly, it assessed the statutory protection of the sacred sites themselves, as material objects; secondly, it assessed the extent, to which different actors contribute to the activities (cultural and academic events, publications and integration of religion- and religious heritage-related courses into the school curriculum), aimed at promoting the knowledge about the history, significance and relevance of Crimea's sacred heritage. The aim was to establish, to what degree the memoryscapes of the state on the one side, and of the local organizations representing the interests of different religious groups on the other side, reflect and complement each other, in the way demonstrated by Figure 71.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the assessment results can be summarized as follows: the memoryscapes of the state and of the other actors do not correspond to the ideal model. Instead, the existing situation can be illustrated by Figure 72, which shows that the memoryscapes of the different stakeholders intersect only to a very limited degree.



*Figure 72. Memoryscapes of different stakeholders - reality*

Apart from revealing distinct trends with regards to the themes assessed, the obtained data also allowed to single out some of the critical issues that need special attention in each case.

The analysis of the scope of cultural and academic events organized by BHCP, the Association of the Karaites of Crimea *Kyrymkaraylar*, the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea, and the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese, has revealed pronounced trends in the activity of the mentioned organizations. It was concluded that the themes of exhibitions and cultural and academic events prepared by BHCP are diverse and comprehensively cover various aspects of the Crimean history. The topics range from antique artifacts to dinnerware, weaponry, jewelry, fine art, memorabilia of the Crimean War, historic photographs, life and activity of outstanding personalities, as well as modern arts and crafts. Notably overlooked remains the Crimean Karaite history, religion and culture, which, considering that Chufut Kale is one of the Preserve's top attractions and that the Karaites have played a crucial part in the region's past, is a regrettable omission. It is advised therefore that BHCP, in close collaboration with the members of the local Crimean Karaite community, organizes on its premises the exhibition (either permanent or temporary) that would shed light on the life of the Crimean Karaite community in Chufut Kale. Equally appreciable would be an exhibition informing the visitors of the Preserve about Balta Tiymez cemetery and the sacred oak grove.

Cultural and educational events, organized by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea in the year 2013, covered a wide range of topics, including the role and history of Islam in Crimea, Crimean Tatar cultural heritage (particularly, that of Bakhchisaray), performing arts, language, poetry, prose and cinema. The theme of deportation and return continues to play a prominent role in the life of the Crimean Tatar community. The memory of exile is being kept alive through marking special remembrance days; it occupies a significant place in the creative legacy of the past and modern-day Crimean Tatar artists and writers.

The Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Crimea cooperates extensively with other Ukrainian Muslim organizations, as well as with the Presidency of Religious Affairs of Turkey. The latter actively partakes in organization and sponsorship of cultural and academic events promoting Islam and explaining its role in Crimea's history and modernity.

The academic and cultural events that were carried out on the initiative of the Association of the Karaites of Crimea *Kyrymkaraylar* in the year 2013 covered such themes as traditional religious celebrations, promotion of the new publications, devoted the Crimean Karate history, and support of further cultural-heritage-related research. Similarly to the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Crimea, *Kyrymkaraylar* collaborates closely with the representatives of the Crimean Karaite diasporas (notably, in Russia, Lithuania and France) and participates actively in the international events, such as the meetings of the UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues.

The Crimean Karaites are remarkably active both on the national and the international level in their struggle to be accepted as a native Crimean ethos, whose religion, culture and history should not be overshadowed by peninsula's more numerous ethno-religious groups. As elaborated in section 9.3 of the present thesis, back in the year 2005 the Crimean Karaite community issued the appeal to the heads of public administrations and organizations in connection with the situation at the ancestral cemetery of Balta Tiymez. In 2006, the International Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), expressed its concern with the condition of Crimea's cultural and religious sites of the minorities, such as the Crimean Karaites and the Crimean Tatars, including cemeteries, and recommended that Ukraine take special measures for their protection and preservation. As of present, no such measures have been taken. It is necessary, therefore, that both MCU and the administration of BHCP pay closer attention to the issues pertinent to the safeguarding of the sacred sites of mentioned minorities, in close consultation with the latter.

The Crimean Karaite community's stand against BHCP with regards to the annual cultural summer camp in Chufut Kale is yet another crucial topic. Depriving community the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs is a direct violation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) (see discussion in section 9.3). It is beyond doubt, therefore, that the administration of the Preserve, jointly with the representatives of the Association of the Karaites of Crimea and the Ethno-Cultural Centre *Kale*), need to develop a sustainable and mutually satisfying concept for the annual camp, which would on the



one hand allow the organizers of the annual camp to reach the set objectives of the event; and on the other hand, would satisfy BHCP's demands with regards to planning, security, and sanitary norms. Supporting documentation needs to be worked out and duly agreed with the state Sanitary Inspection Service, Health Department and Fire Safety Department.

Events organized by the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese in the same time period reflect the Diocese's interest towards educating the young generation of Crimeans about the basics and ideals of the Christian Orthodox faith and encouraging better networking between the young believers from different parts of the peninsula and beyond.

With regards to the scope of academic publications of BHCP in the years 2011-2013 it can be concluded that of particular interest for the Preserve's researchers are the antique and the medieval periods in the Crimean history. The Crimean Tatar history comes second, with themes varying from the study of the cultural and political life in the times of the Crimean Khanate, to political Crimean Tatar movements of the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century, to artifacts newly discovered in the course of archaeological excavations in the historical district of Salachiq. At the same time, only two works were published by the Preserve within the past two years, which addresses the Crimean Karaite theme. Both of them address highly specific topics (one – the content of the collection of the Karaite artifacts in the funds of BHCP, the other – the research on the Karaite perception of beauty). It is highly recommendable that the Preserve's publications inform the public more extensively on the religious and cultural life of the Karaite community in Chufut Kale, Eupatoria and other Karaite centers of the peninsula, in cooperation with the Crimean Karaite academics.

The publications of *Kyrymkaraylar* that saw light in the past two years focused on the study of Chufut Kale's hydrological system and research on the Crimean Karaite toponyms. Other publications included poetry and prose by contemporary Crimean Karaite authors.

Judging by the scope of publications of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea from the same period, the focus lies on the theoretical aspects of Islam and

current religious trends that are observable in the peninsula. As expected, religious education remains the main task of the Administration, foreshadowing the secular dimension of the Crimean Tatar history.

The success on the part of the Simferopol and Crimea Diocese's with regards to disseminating the ideals of Orthodoxy among the young generation is evidenced by the success of the implementation, in a number of Crimean secondary schools, of the course "Basics of the Orthodox culture of Crimea", which informs the school children on the themes, such as explanation of biblical texts, history of Orthodox Christianity in Crimea and spread thereof to other regions of Ukraine and Russia, Orthodox iconography, festivities and their types, sacraments of the Orthodox Church, Crimea's holy Orthodox sites, as well as Orthodox ethics and culture of the family.

It is hoped that the program "Islam in the history and culture of Crimea", comprised of three blocks (history of Islam in general and in Crimea in particular, theology, and the role of Islam in the culture of the Crimean Tatars) that was prepared by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Crimea, jointly with the researchers of the Taurida National V.I. Vernadsky University, and the Crimean Industrial-Pedagogical University, will be incorporated in the curriculum of selected secondary schools of the peninsula with equal success.

In the case of the Crimean Karaites, considering the minor size of the community, it is quite improbable that a similar course, teaching Crimean children about the role of Karaism in the history of the peninsula, and the life and culture of the Crimean Karaite community, is plausible on the state school level. It is highly recommendable, nevertheless, that the Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Sport of the ARK encourages and facilitates the implementation of small-group courses for the Karaite children, should the Karaite community express the wish for them to be organized.

All this said, we can clearly conclude that while different stakeholders pursue a common interest in safeguarding the sacred landscapes of Bakhchisaray region, their approaches and objectives do not necessarily coincide, and memories that are cherished by the organizations representing the local religious groups are sometimes deemphasized by the state. Thus, although BHCP invests considerable effort into

promoting the knowledge about Crimea’s ethnically and culturally diverse history and pays much attention to presenting to the public the manifestations of the material culture of various ethnic groups, it at the same time displays lack of attention towards Chufut Kale – one of the major attractions of the Preserve – and its history. Very few events are organized that inform the public about the Karaite religion and culture. Furthermore, while the memoryscape promoted by the Preserve through its academic and cultural activities emphasizes the prominent role of Islam in Crimea and nurtures the Crimean Tatars’ national pride by acknowledging the cultural and political significance of the Crimean Khanate in the peninsula’s history, it at the same time downplays the role of the 1994 deportation and subsequent repatriation of the 1990s-2000s.

The memoryscape of SAMC, on the contrary, rotates majorly around the reminiscences about the deportation, personal experience in exile, and celebration of the happy return of the Crimean Tatars to their motherland. The same concerns the memoryscape created by AKC: here, Chufut Kale is presented as the Crimean Karaites’ capital, their beloved home, which had been lost during the deportation and subsequently regained in the last two decades.

BHCP	SAMS	AKC	SCD
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Stresses Crimea’s ethnically and culturally diverse history.</li> <li>o Pays much attention to manifestations of material culture of various ethnic groups.</li> <li>o Emphasizes the prominent role of Islam in the region.</li> <li>o Nurtures Crimean Tatars’ national pride by acknowledging historical significance of the Crimean Khanate.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Emphasizes uniqueness and richness of the Crimean Tatar cultural heritage (material and immaterial) and the continuity of tradition.</li> <li>o Islam as an ethical and moral system, and consolidating force.</li> <li>o Remembering deportation, personal experience in exile, and return to homeland.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Focuses on memory of Chufut Kale as the ‘Crimean Karaite capital’.</li> <li>o Positions Chufut Kale and Balta Tiymez as a crucial ritual sacred landscapes.</li> <li>o Pays much attention to protection and maintenance of both sites.</li> <li>o Stresses the importance of networking between Karaites from different countries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Emphasizes continuity of Christian history in Crimea: from Byzantium, to ‘Crimean Athos’, to present day.</li> <li>o Promotes religion as an ethical and moral system (reflected in academic events and educational activities).</li> </ul>
<p>HOWEVER:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Crimean Karaite religion and culture overlooked.</li> <li>o Lack of attention to Chufut Kale and its history.</li> <li>o The theme of Christian monuments of the preserve is unpronounced.</li> <li>o Memory of the 1944 deportation repatriation in 1990s is underplayed.</li> </ul>	<p>Lack of cooperation between communities.</p> <p>↓</p> <p>Memoryscapes seem isolated from each other, and memories appear not to intersect</p>		

Figure 73. Memoryscapes of different stakeholders – an overview

The Orthodox Christian legacy of the region remains relatively neglected in the academic and cultural activities of BHCP, as compared to the Crimean Tatar heritage. SCD, on the other hand, strongly emphasizes the continuity of the Christian history in Crimea, from Byzantium, to the ‘Crimean Athos’, to present-day religious revival. Both SAMC and SCD promote Islam and Christianity, respectively, as ethical and moral systems – the aspiration that is abundantly reflected in the academic events and educational activities of these two organizations (see Figure 73).

The evaluation of the current condition of the case studies was based on the results of comparative analysis of the documents, such as “Historical References”, “Protection Contracts”, and “Passports of the Objects of Historical Heritage”, produced by the BHCP in the years 2011-2013, combined with the study of a variety of literary sources on Crimea’s sacred sites.

The assessment revealed that with regards to the first case study, the Assumption Monastery, while larger part of the monastery’s territory remains construction-free and has been preserved in its *authentic* condition, the bottom of Mariam Dere gorge comprising the lower level of the monastery is being actively built with modern brick houses, which are incompatible with the old original architectural features of the monastery and were not agreed upon with the administration of the Preserve. Moreover, the administration of the monastery walled the entrance through the valley on one end, thusly cutting off the traditional old road that lead from Bakhchisaray to the Southern and Eastern gates of Chufut Kale, as well as to the cemeteries of Balta Tiymez and Gazy Mansur. As already stated in section 9.3 of the present thesis, it is hoped that multilateral negotiations between the administration of BHCP, the administration of the Assumption Monastery, as well as representatives of the Crimean Tatar and Karaite communities will help to resolve the conflict between the mentioned parties and will allow for a more coordinated approach towards future construction activities undertaken by the monastery. A similar outcome is hoped for with regards to the resolution of the land dispute between the administration of the Assumption Monastery and the Crimean Tatar community of Bakhchisaray.

The case of the Khan’s Palace in Bakhchisaray poses a serious conservation, restoration and management problem, due to the absence of the general plan for the

development of the Preserve, which would clearly define its territorial limits and modes of use. Taking into consideration that as many as sixteen of the buildings comprising the palace complex, alongside palace gardens and parks, are heritage assets listed as objects of national significance, their adequate protection, preservation, maintenance, appropriate use, conservation, repair, rehabilitation, adaptation and museification is guaranteed by the Law of Ukraine regarding the Protection of Cultural Heritage (No. 1805-III, ratified June 8th, 2000, with consideration of changes adopted in the Law No. 2518-VI from September 9th, 2010) (Supreme Council of Ukraine, 2000). It has to be noted that authenticity is an important criterion for the inscription of cultural heritage assets on the list of objects of national significance, whereby the property must, to a considerable degree, retain its original shape and material-technical structure and historical layers (see Art. 10 of the aforementioned Law).

In reality, the majority of the buildings of the palace complex are currently in dissatisfactory condition. Even those that are qualified by MCU (MCU, 2011) as ‘well-preserved’ (the Large Mosque, the Small Mosque, Dyurbe of Dilyara Bikech, Southern and Eastern Dyurbes, the Retinue Building, the Library Building, the Stables and the Tombstone rotunda) require partial restoration and repairs. Palace gardens, which used to be the pride of the Crimean Tatar capital, and are recognized as heritage assets of national significance, have been re-planned and re-shaped during repeated works undertaken throughout the past century to such extent that none of them remains true to the initial appearance. This approach directly contradicts the letter of the law and needs to be tackled in the course of implementation of the newly prepared management plan.

A number of acute problems demanding immediate attention from the side of the town administration, as well as from higher authorities responsible for heritage protection, such as MCU, arise due to unregulated trade along the banks of Churuk Su river (also listed as cultural heritage asset of national significance) in the immediate vicinity of the main entrance to the Khan’s Palace. Market stands that sell items presented as authentic Crimean Tatar art in many instances have little to do with traditional handicraft techniques. Apart from misleading the tourists, this ‘shopping mile’ also distorts the face of the embankment, causes traffic jams and endangers the

safety of the pedestrians. In this instance, BHCP is advised to take a note of Article 5 of which stipulates that any programs and projects of city-planning, architectural and landscape transformations, building, road, and land work on monuments of national importance, their territories, in protection zones, in protected archaeological territories, in historical areas of settlements can only be implemented on special approval. The same concerns the projects, the implementation of which can influence the objects of cultural heritage (see paragraph 19). It is imperative that unregulated trade along the banks of Churuk Su is brought under the direct control of Bakhchisaray town-planning authorities and BHCP. Whether or not vendors' stands should be removed altogether, or be re-installed in the form that would not jeopardize the integrity of the Palace complex and impart the experience of the visitors, should be decided by a special committee assigned jointly by the aforementioned bodies.

It is advisable that the administration of BHCP allocates additional budget towards the improvement of both quantity and quality of interpretative materials available to the visitors at the Palace, such as information stands and signposts. Insufficient explanation of the history and function of the different buildings comprising the Palace complex impairs the perception of the monument for those visitors, who lack background knowledge of the Crimean Tatar history and culture.

The success of the restoration works carried out in the historical district of Salachiq in the past fourteen years is subject to controversy. The quality and adequacy of reconstruction of a series of the district's historic buildings, including Zincirli Medrese and the bathhouse, is questionable. According to the expert conclusions by MCU, BHCP and the Academic Research Institute of Monument research, both of the buildings were reconstructed on the basis of pure speculation, which was to a large degree derived from the appearance of the similar Ottoman structures found elsewhere in the world. The same concerns the restoration works carried out at the Dyurbe of Haji-Giray. Considering that both Zincirli Medrese and the Dyurbe of Haji-Giray are listed as heritage assets of national significance, BHCP must ensure that in the future, only approved archeological and restoration projects by organizations with the special license are implemented, in accordance with paragraph 22 of Article 5 of the Law of Ukraine regarding the Protection of Cultural Heritage, stipulating that special permission for work on monuments of national importance,

their territories and protected zones, in protected archaeological territories, as well as in historical settlement areas must be given.

Gazy-Mansur cemetery appears to be overlooked by both the Preserve and MCU, with the chance of implementing of the clearing and restoration project developed by *Ukrproyektrestavratsiya* Research Institute back in the 1990s remaining thin. It is hoped, however, that this outstanding religious site will receive more attention from the side of both the local and the state authorities.

Problems described above point to the necessity of the development jointly by BHCP, MCU and administrative authorities of Bakhchisaray of the comprehensive scheme for coordination and management of the Preserve's territory, which would include a detailed plan for urban development in Bakhchisaray and improved legal base that would ensure that BHCP experts are consulted before new construction projects are put into action. In particular, this concerns the construction of new hotels and other tourist catering facilities that interrupt the integrity of the original architectural style of the old town.

Similarly to other historical sites located on the territory of BHCP, the preservation of the town of Chufut Kale is impeded by unsystematic excavations, which are carried out on various parts of the site in the absence of a comprehensive and holistic plan for archaeological investigation. As a result, while the history of selected sections of the town has been well researched on, other sections remain unstudied. There exists a strong need for the development of a qualitatively new excavation project that would take into consideration the importance of all stages of Chufut Kale's history and address the town's past in a holistic manner.

Lack of security around the territory of the Preserve proves to be a critical problem that has to be tackled immediately. This particularly concerns such remote, and therefore, vulnerable, monuments of BHCP as Balta Tiymez and Gazy Mansur cemeteries, where marauding and tombstone thefts remain a sad fact of everyday life. Despite multiple requests filed to the administration of the Preserve by the Crimean Karate community in the past two decades, this issue has not been adequately addressed. Unhindered access to these prominent historical and religious sites,

combined with the absence of guards, even during the high summer season, makes control over such illegal activities impossible. Not only does this result in irretrievable loss of unique artifacts, but it also deeply offends the feelings of the people who find it impossible to tolerate these sacrilegious acts at their ancestral burial sites. It is hoped that the implementation of the new management plan developed jointly by BHCP and MCU as part of the World Heritage Nomination (MCU, BHCP, 2013) will put a stop to the spread of illicit activity at the cemeteries, and that sufficient funds are allocated by the Preserve towards the appointment of trained guards that will oversee the territory of the sites.

All this said, I believe that the solution towards enhanced protection of the sacred heritage of Bakhchisaray, as well as of the other sacred sites around the peninsula, consists not only in the improved planning and control over the cultural heritage assets on the part of BHCP. It is equally important that broader involvement of the Crimean Tatar and the Crimean Karaite communities into the decision-making process concerning their heritage is achieved. Possible strategies for the enhancement of community participation in the protection and management of the sacred sites, which acted as case studies for the present research, as well as for other Crimea's sacred sites, present a gripping subject for further academic investigation.



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