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Georgian students in Germany 1874–1945¹

The development of Georgian national identity can be understood as a socially constructed, ongoing process of defining ‘friend’ and ‘foe’ in order to maintain boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’ within local communities. Constructed on the basis of an elementary structure of opposites, identity does not depend on the existence of objective linguistic or cultural differentiations, but on the subjective experience of difference.²

Since the publication of the semi-documentary “Notes of a Traveller from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis” (1871)³ by the writer and publicist Ilia Chavchavadze, higher education has represented an important form of secondary socialisation. It has contributed significantly to the formation of a modern Georgian cultural nation. As one of the leading figures of the Georgian national movement, Chavchavadze addressed his feelings and fears as a Georgian graduate before his return to Tbilisi in 1861 after four years of study in St. Petersburg, thereby setting a new style.

His “travel notes” became a kind of manifesto for a group of young aristocrats who formed the core of a nascent national *intelligentsia*. They called themselves “Tergdaleulebi”, meaning “those who had drunk the water of the Terek River”. They claimed to modernise their traditional society and lead it to a “national rebirth,” a “new life.” In doing so, they formed the nucleus of a modern Georgian (cultural) nation. The crossing of the Terek River, known as *Tergi* in Georgian, became – similar to Caesar’s Rubicon – a symbol of the crossing of a cultural border between Russia and Georgia. It formed an elementary mental component of a new national identity.⁴ Based on their personal experiences, this never completely merges with other identities, but develops within the framework of a distinguishable community of collective behaviour and symbols. The individual moves within these defined structures and their boundaries.⁵

- 1 This essay was written as part of the research project “Georgische Spuren in Deutschland (Georgian Traces in Germany)”, which was funded by the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation (grant number HE 15-021).
- 2 Peter Sahlin *Boundaries. The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley & London, 1989, p. 270f. See also: A. P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London 1985, especially p. 115.
- 3 All quotations are taken from the English translation: Ilia Chavchavadze, “Notes of a Journey from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis”, in: Ia Popkhadze (ed.), *Ilia Chavchavadze Works. Translated by Marjory and Oliver Wardrop* (Tbilisi: Ganatleba, 1987), pp. 15–34, here p. 31. The original Georgian version: Ilia Tchavtchavadze, “mgzavris tserilebi. Vladikavkasidam tpilisamde”, in: *ibid.*, *T'khzulebata sruli krebuli ots tomad. Tomi 2: mot'kbrobebi*. Piesebi [Collected works in 20 volumes. Vol. 2: (T'bilisi 1988), pp. 9–32. For details, see: O. Reisner, *Die Schule der georgischen Nation. Eine sozialhistorische Untersuchung der nationalen Bewegung in Georgien am Beispiel der „Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung der Lese- und Schreibkunde unter den Georgiern“ (1850–1917)* (The School of the Georgian Nation. A socio-historical study of the national movement in Georgia, using the example of the ‘Society for the Promotion of Literacy among Georgians’ (1850–1917)). Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004; Reisner O. *Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten. Identitätskonflikte und Nationalbewusstsein georgischer Studenten in St. Petersburg*, in: Trude Maurer, Eva-Maria Auch (eds.), *Leben in zwei Kulturen. Akkulturation und Selbstbehauptung von Nichtrussen im Zarenreich*. (Living in two cultures. Acculturation and self-assertion of non-Russians in the Tsarist Empire). Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 83–102. An analysis of language use in Paul H. Manning, “Describing dialect and defining civilisation in Ilia Chavchavadze’s *mgzavris ts'erilebi*”, in: *Amirani* 7 (2002), pp. 97–126.
- 4 “Identity represents a person’s ability to experience and shape his life as a coherent or meaningful whole mainly by reference to in-group interaction. As a continuous process, it creates and sustains distinctions between we-groups and others. It may persist even despite a flow of personnel across them, because categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on the absence of mobility, contact or information, but do entail social processes of inclusion and exclusion. Ethnic distinctions are quite often the very foundation of abstract social systems. Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact.” Frederik Barth: *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference*. Oslo 1969, p. 9.
- 5 Etienne Balibar, *Die Nation-Form: Geschichte und Ideologie* (The Nation-Form: History and Ideology), in: *ibid.*, Immanuel

As an organisational principle, I use the concept of “generations”, which the social scientist Karl Mannheim defined at the end of the 1920s as follows: a generation is formed on the basis of 1) a shared stratification of chronological and geographical characteristics as “generational stratification”, 2) the coherence of participation in a common destiny as “generational connection” and 3) the uniform perception of these experiences, which leads to “generational unity”.⁶

This essay examines how dominant characteristics of individual and group identity developed among Georgian student communities depending on their period of study in Germany from the end of the 19th century to the 1920s. To what extent did Georgian students in Germany contribute to the formation of the Georgian nation and state through their unique experiences?

Departure from the Tsarist Empire to study in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century

A tradition of Tsarist subjects studying at German universities had already developed in the 18th century.⁷ But it was not until the beginning of the 20th century, when more and more students were enrolled in the Tsarist Empire (academic year 1897/98: 28,708 students; 1907/08: 61,174; 1913/14: 70,197; February–September 1917: 63,464), did the number of Russian students enrolled at European universities rise rapidly. The few educated students were replaced by students from the lower middle class who came to the technical schools and universities to study not philosophy, but medicine, chemistry, engineering and law. Their numbers tripled between 1900 and 1914. In the summer and winter semesters of 1912/13 alone, several thousand Russian subjects enrolled at universities, mainly in Berlin (1,174), Leipzig (758), (552), Königsberg (435), Heidelberg (317) and Halle (283). At most universities, they represented more than half of the foreign students, and often the majority of them were Jews.⁸ The latter were denied university education in the Tsarist Empire. At the same time, the number of students enrolled at universities in the German Empire rose from around 53,000 in 1902 to 60,748 in the summer semester of 1914.

Claudie Weill was able to identify a total of 13,577 Russian subjects as enrolled students at universities in the German Empire (not including universities of art, trade or mining) between the summer semester of 1900 and the summer semester of 1914. Of these, 405 students, or just under 3%, came from the Caucasus, including 333 Armenians, 64 Georgians and 8 (presumably Azerbaijani) ‘Muslims’. The Georgian students, who were registered in the university records as subjects of the Russian Tsar, came mainly from the governorates of Tiflis (eastern Georgia) and Kutaisi (western Georgia).⁹ Many successful Georgians are documented on a special website of the Georgian National Library.¹⁰

Wallerstein, *Rasse, Klasse, Nation. Ambivalente Identitäten*. (Race, Class, Nation. Ambivalent Identities). Hamburg 1992, p. 116. Siprašvili, Vladimir (ed.): *kartvel samocianelta revolucinri moqvac'ebis is'oriisatvis* [On the history of Georgian students' revolutionary activities in the 1860s], in: *saist'orio moambe* 19–20 (1965), pp. 333–384; Siprašvili, Vladimir: *p'et'erburgis mosc'ave axalgazrlobis modzraoba da kartveli st'udent'oba (1861–1961 e'e')* [The Movement of St. Petersburg student youth and the Georgian students]. Tb. 1961

6 K. Mannheim, *Das Problem der Generation* (The Problem of Generation). In: *ibid.: Wissenssoziologie* (The Sociology of Knowledge). *Selected works*. Ed. K. H. Wolff. Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1964, pp. 509–522; first published in: *Kölner Vierteljahreshefte für Soziologie* 7 (1928), pp. 157–185, pp. 309–330; reprinted in M. Kohli (ed.): *Sociology of the Life Course* (Neuwied 1978), pp. 38–53. David I. Kertzer, *Generation as a Sociological Problem*, in: *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983), pp. 125–149. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2946060> (18 August 2025)

7 Andrej Andreev: *Russkie studenty v nemetskich universitetakh XVIII – pervoi poloviny XIX veka*. Moskva: Znack, 1997, 2005; Samuel Kassow: *Students, Professors, and the State in Tsarist Russia*. Berkeley 1989, p. 38; Greta Slobin, Katerina Clark, Nancy Condee et al. (eds.): *Russians Abroad: Literary and Cultural Politics of Diaspora (1919–1939)*. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2013.

8 Robert Williams: *Russians in Germany: 1900–1914*, in: *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 1 (1966), No. 4, pp. 121–149, p. 126. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/259894>. McClelland Ch.: *State, Society and University in Germany. 1700–1914*. Cambridge, 1980, p. 74; Fetheringill Zwicker, Lisa: *Antisemitism, the Limits of Antisemitic Rhetoric, and a Movement against Russian Students at German Universities, 1908–1914*, in: *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 55 (2010), 1, pp. 193–203

9 Claudie Weill, *Étudiants Russes en Allemagne 1900–1914. Quand la Russie frappait aux portes de l'Europe*. Paris: Le Harmattan, 1996, pp. 94–98, Mouradian, Cl., Urjewicz, Ch., Weill, Cl. *Les étudiants du Caucase en Allemagne 1900–1914*, in: *Russes, Slaves et Soviétiques. Mélanges Roger Portal. Publications de la Sorbonne - Institut d'Etudes Slaves*. Paris 1992, pp. 369–392; de Boor A. *Die “Nationalität” und der “Sozialstatus” russländischer Studenten in Halle. Erste Überlegungen zur Kategorienbildung aufgrund von Massendaten // Universitäten als Brücken in Europa*. (The “nationality” and “social status” of Russian students in Halle. Initial considerations on the formation of categories based on mass data // Universities as bridges in Europe). Studies on the history of student migration, Edited by H. R. Peter, N. Tikhonov. Frankfurt am Main, 2003. pp. 55–70

10 See also: Georgians Abroad: <http://www.nplg.gov.ge/emigrants/en/> (Visited on 18 August 2025)

The most popular destination for university studies was initially Switzerland, mainly Zurich and Geneva. Only a minority chose France for their studies.¹¹ A smaller but not insignificant group opted to study in Germany, which was revered as a leading centre of science. This was a generation of students who would have a decisive influence on Georgian science in the first half of the 20th century. The first Georgian to study at Heidelberg University was Georg Charasoff (Giorgi Charasasov) from Tbilisi, who studied mathematics from October 1897 to the summer semester of 1901. He had to interrupt his studies due to illness and was de-registered on 27 November 1901. His trail is lost after that.¹²

The philosopher and psychologist Dimitri Uznadze (1886–1950) – founder of scientific psychology in Georgia – and philosopher, translator and cultural scientist Shalva Nutsubidze (1888–1969), who was to establish the history of philosophy in Georgia, studied under Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), Johannes Volkelt (1848–1930) and Paul Barth (1858–1922). Both were co-founders of Tiflis University in 1918.

The philosopher Mose Gogiberidze (1897–1951) obtained his doctorate in Marburg in 1922 under Nicolai Hartmann (1882–1950). Konstantin Bakradze (1898–1970), later professor of philosophy and logic, studied in Freiburg under Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), Heinrich Rickert (1863–1936) and Martin Heidegger (1889–1976).

The development of the Georgian student body was closely followed and documented, particularly in the Tergdaleulebi newspaper “Iveria”. Georgian students actively reported on their studies¹³ and on political developments in Germany. They were thus the first foreign correspondents. Georgian students were particularly active in Leipzig, Saxony.¹⁴

We have received news from Germany that Anton Purtseladze and Nikoloz Khizanishvili are currently in Berlin, both studying under Professor [Ernst Viktor] Leyden. They will remain at the clinic for a while longer and then complete their medical (practical) year. We will establish a new colony of Georgians here, jokes the correspondent, because Georgians have gathered. Nikoloz Nikoladze and his family, Nikoloz Ghoghoberidze, David Sarajishvili and his wife, Ivane Gvelesiani and others are currently nearby.¹⁵

One of the most academically productive Georgian students was Pilipe Gogitchaishvili (in English: Phillip Gogitschayschwili). In April 1897, he travelled to Munich and attended lectures by Lujo Brentano (1844–1931), professor of economics, and the renowned cultural historian, sociologist and novelist Wilhelm Heinrich von Riehl (1823–1897). In the autumn of 1897, he enrolled at the University of Leipzig. There he obtained his doctorate in economics in 1901. His dissertation, “Trade in Georgia with Special Reference to Primitive Forms of Business,” was published as a supplement to the prestigious series “Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft” (Journal of Political Science). With this work, he contributed a critical study on Georgia’s economic situation with regard to the spread of capitalist production. After returning to Tbilisi, he was appointed head of the Caucasian Statistics Department, where he not only collected statistical data for official purposes, but also investigated, for example, the

11 Weill, *Etudiants Russes en Allemagne 1900-1914*, pp. 94–98, 100, 225. See also Ivanov A. E. *Russkoe akademičeskoe žarubež'e XVIII – načala XX veka (k postanovke naučnoj problemy)* / Istočnik po istorii adaptacii rossijskich ėmigrantov v XIX–XX vv. Moscow 1997

12 Heidelberg University Archive, Stud. A, Charasoff G., sheets 1–6. General: Svatikov S. G. *Russische Studenten in Heidelberg* (Russian students in Heidelberg). Edited by E. Wischhöfer. Heidelberg, 1997.

13 Modebadze P. ts'erili leip'tsigidan (rusetis sasts'avleblebshi k'ursdamtavre-bultatvis germaniis umaghles sasts'avleblebshi shesvlis shezhgudva. tsnobebi get'enis t'eknik'uri inst'it'ut'is shesakheb) [Letter from Leipzig (Access restrictions at German universities for graduates of Russian schools. News from the Technical Institute Gethen)]. “Iveria” No. 70, 31 March 1902, N. 70, p. 2.

14 Suliashvili Davit. ts'erili redaktsiis mimart (leip'tsigis kartvel st'udent'a tkebvna redktsiisadmi, kartuli žurnal-gazetebis gamogzavnis shesakheb) [Letter to the editor (request from Georgian students in Leipzig for relief, sending of Georgian magazines and newspapers) “Iveria” No. 25, 1 February 1904, p. 3 ; “t'pili (k. leip'tsigshi, etnograpiuli muzeumis direkt'oris p'rop. voiles ts'inandadebit, v. dumbadzis mier reperat'is ts'ak'itkhva universit'et'shi)” [Tiflis (V. Dumbadze gave a lecture at the University in Leipzig to Professor Voyles, Director of the Ethnographic Museum)] “Iveria” No. 171, 25 July 1904, p. 2; “chven shevit'q'et” ... (leip'tsigis universit'et'is st'udent' vasil dumbadzisatvis ori disert'atsiis davaleba) [“We have heard” ... (Two dissertation topics for Leipzig University student Vasil Dumbadze)]. “Iveria” No. 230, 8 October 1904, p. 2. General: Bruchmüller W. *Der Leipziger Student 1409–1909*. Leipzig, 1909. p. 75; *Russische Studenten in Leipzig // Leipziger Kalender*. Leipzig, 1910. pp. 164–171.

15 “germaniidgan gvat'q'obineben” [We are informed from Germany] ... (A. Purtzeladze, N. Khizanishvili, N. Ghoghoberidze, N. Nik'oladze, D. Sarajishvili, Iv. Gvelesiani da skhv. Berlinshi). Newspaper “Iveria” No. 154 (20 July 1903), p. 2. Translated from Georgian by Oliver Reisner.

forms of land ownership among the Georgian nobility and compared the level of education among the peoples of the Caucasus. In doing so, he laid the foundations for Georgian sociology.¹⁶ He also wrote the only description to date of his admission as a foreign student in Munich:

When I entered the auditorium of the University of Munich for the first time and listened to the lecture, the students (mainly Germans) grouped together and assigned everyone a permanent seat, i.e. [,] who should sit where during the lecture. In order to secure the assigned seat, we had to bring place cards and attach them to the table. I did just that, attaching my seat card with my surname, first name and address to my desk. When I went to the lecture the next day, someone had changed my seat card and added the following instead of my surname, first name and address: “Gogichaishvili Phillip – Asia”. At first, I didn’t understand what that meant; a student explained to me that this is how encyclopaedias describe every animal, stating which continent it comes from, for example: “Crocodile – Africa”. This annoyed me and other students, especially non-Germans, but what could we do?¹⁷

With the massive influx of mainly Jewish students from the Tsarist Empire around 1910, critical assessments of “Russian students” began to emerge in the field of medicine, as they competed with their German fellow students for the limited number of internship places. This conflict was discussed in the German press as the “academic foreigner question”. diskutiert.¹⁸

Georgian students in Berlin (1874–1918)

In the matriculation records of the Wilhelms University in Berlin (now Humboldt University),¹⁹ we can see how Georgian first names were “Germanised”: Giorgi became Georg, Iwane became Johannes, Nikolos became Nikolaus, and so on; only Alexander remained Alexander. Surnames followed the Russian form, e.g. Dshawachoff for Javakhishvili. The first Georgian student enrolled in Berlin was “Nikolaus von Schanschiff” or Nikoloz Shanshiashvili, in the “Easter semester” of 1874. He studied chemistry for four years. The most popular subjects chosen by Georgian students until 1918 were medicine, philosophy and political science. There were even two women from Georgia, as well as representatives of other nationalities. The most famous students were the later writer Konstantin Gamsakhurdia (1916–1919), the historian Ivane Javakhishvili (1901–1902), Irakli Tsereteli (1904–1906), Stepan Shaumian (1902–03) and Michael von Tseretheli (1914–03).

To prepare for his doctoral thesis and an academic career,²⁰ the Georgian historian Ivane Javakhishvili left his faculty of Oriental languages at St. Petersburg University to prepare for his doctoral thesis and an academic career. Through the mediation of his supervisor, Niko Marr, he studied for a year in Berlin at Friedrich Wilhelm University under Professor Adolf von Harnack, a renowned researcher

16 Philipp Gogitschayschwili *Das Gewerbe in Georgien, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der primitiven Betriebsformen* (Trade in Georgia, with special reference to primitive forms of enterprise). Tübingen 1901 (= Journal for the Entire Political Science [ZGSW], Erg.H.; 1). Translated by Oliver Reisner.

17 Pilip’e Gogichaishvili: *ts’erilebi, mogonebebi* [Letters, Memories]. Tbilisi: TSU Publishing House, 1993, pp. 5–6.

18 Peter H. R., de Boor A., Klotzsche M. *Studenten aus dem Russischen Reich, der “Klinikerstreik” und die “akademische Ausländerfrage” an der Universität Halle vor dem 1. Weltkrieg // Beiträge zur Geschichte der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*. Hrsg. v. H. J. Rupier. Halle, 2002; Arpine Maniero: Die „akademische Ausländerfrage“ in Deutschland in der Wahrnehmung russländischer Studenten: *Konfliktmanagement im Zuge der „akademischen Ausländerfrage“*, aus: Andreas Speer, Andreas Berger (Hg.), *Studentengeschichte zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, in: *historicum-estudies.net*, URL: <https://historicum-estudies.uni-koeln.de/archiv/studentengeschichte/deutschland-im-19-jhdt-auslaendische-studierende/russlaendische-studenten>. Siehe auch ihre Dissertation: Arpine A. Maniero: *Umkämpfter Weg zur Bildung. Armenische Studierende in Deutschland und der Schweiz von der Mitte des 19. bis Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen 2020.

19 Heidborn T. *Russländische Studierende an der Berliner Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität und der Technischen Hochschule Berlin 1880-1914* (Russian Students at Berlin’s Friedrich Wilhelm University and the Technical University of Berlin 1880-1914). Inaugural dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelm University in Bonn, 2009. URL: <http://hss.ulb.uni-bonn.de/2009/1641/1641.pdf>; Lenz M. *Geschichte der königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin* (History of the Royal Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin). Halle, 1910. Vol. 4. pp. 257–258

20 Trude Maurer: „Abkommandiert“ in die „akademische Freiheit“. *Russischer Professorenachwuchs in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert // Tel Aviv Yearbook for German History*. Vol. XXIV. 1995. p. 75; Maurer T. *Hochschullehrer im Zarenreich. Ein Beitrag zur Sozial- und Bildungsgeschichte* (University teachers in the Tsarist Empire. A contribution to social and educational history). Cologne; Weimar; Vienna, 1998. pp. 90–91; Petrov F. A. *Formirovanie sistemy universitetskogo obrazovaniya v Rossii* (Formation of the university education system in Russia). Vol. 1–4. Moscow, 2003. Vol. 4. Russian Universities and People of the 1840s. Part 1: Professors; Rainer Ch. Schwinges (ed.): *Humboldt International: Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Humboldt International: The Export of the German University Model in the 19th and 20th Centuries). Basel, 2001.

of Oriental Christianity and, at that time, rector of the university.²¹ However, after arriving in Berlin in April 1901, he first had to overcome the administrative problem of having his master's degree recognised before he could finally be officially enrolled on 4 July. When Harnack offered him a position working with him in Berlin after a year of study, Javakhishvili declined with thanks and returned to St. Petersburg. By that time, he already had his own national agenda and travelled to the Sinai with Prof. Niko Marr to locate ancient Georgian manuscripts.

These students were directly confronted with the emerging European nationalisms.²² On the occasion of the centenary of the incorporation of Eastern Georgia into the Tsarist Empire (Russian interpretation) or its annexation (Georgian interpretation) in 1901, Ivane Javakhishvili declared that he “naturally stands on a national position” and, together with other Georgian students, signed a protest note from the Georgian Nobility Assembly.²³ Javakhishvili subsequently not only advocated the introduction of international standards and scientific methods into Georgian and Caucasian historiography, but also sought to develop them further. In his inaugural lecture on “The History of Georgia” as a private lecturer on 18 November 1902, he stated that essential historical questions such as the definition of ethnicity, the differentiation between racial and national characteristics, or the nature of the state could not be answered without international “philosophy of history”.²⁴ On the other hand, he lamented that Western historians were not approaching the history of the “Orient” in a new way and were simply repeating the dominant public view of Western superiority over the East. The discussion of Eurocentrism was an early critique of what Edward Said would later call “Orientalism”.²⁵

Javakhishvili also started his own Georgian “scientific community”, initially as a student circle in St Petersburg and, after the February Revolution of 1917, with the establishment of a Georgian university in Tbilisi. After completing his master's thesis on “The State Structure in Ancient Georgia and Armenia” in May 1907, he initiated a scientific circle for Georgian students at the University of St. Petersburg in order to attract potential Georgian candidates as early as possible. Under his leadership, presentations and research were conducted in the Georgian language in order to create a separate scientific terminology in the native language and to study Georgian culture in a ‘scientific manner’. In 1915, this circle succeeded in publishing its first volume in Georgian, demonstrating the suitability of Georgian as a language of science.²⁶ Such activities gradually spread the academic readership among young students and strengthened their national consciousness.

In order to assess the scientific potential of the students, Javakhishvili initiated a survey among Georgians at Russian and foreign universities in 1910.²⁷ A total of 1,500 questionnaires were printed, containing 15 questions on geographical and social origin, educational background, interests, knowledge of the Georgian language, literature and history, and participation in academic and other circles, journals or parties. Javakhishvili and his “Georgian Academic Circle” received more than 750 completed

21 He received written support from Baron Rozen, a leading specialist in Arabic, Byzantine and Islamic studies, as well as from his immediate superior, Nikolai Ja. Marr. See his correspondence with Niko Marr: Dali Gersamia (ed.) *niko marisa da ivane javakhishvilis mimoc'era* [The Correspondence between Niko Marr and Ivane Javakhishvili]. Tbilisi 1996, pp. 8–9. Vera Tolz *European, National, and (Anti-)Imperial: The Formation of Academic Oriental Studies in Late Tsarist and Early Soviet Russia*, in: *Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 9 (2008), 1, pp. 53–83.

22 Miroslav Hroch *European Nations. Explaining Their Formation*. London & New York: Verso, 2005.

23 At least according to the assessment of his student, Grigol Natadze. Guram Qorashvili Ivane Javakhishvili: (akhleburad ts'ak'itkhvis tsda) [Ivane Javakhishvili – Attempt at a New Interpretation]. Tbilisi: TSU, 1999, p. 28.

24 Ivane Javakhishvili *Istorija narodov Vostoka i dannye istorii Gruzii i Armenii*, first published in Georgian “aghmosavletis khalkht'a istoria da sak'art'velos da somkhet'is istoriis monac'emebi” in *ibid.*: *k'art'veli eris ist'oria. cigni pirveli. mekbut'e gamoc'ema* [History of the Georgian Nation. Volume 1. 5th edition]. Tbilisi 1960, pp. 389–400. See also: Qorashvili *ivane javakhishvili* (1999), pp. 159f.

25 Vera Tolz: *Russia's Own Orient: The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods*. Oxford 2011, pp. 23–68.

26 Javakhishvili, Iv. (ed.) *k'rebuli. p'et'rogradis kartvel st'udent'ta samecniero c'ris gamoc'ema*. [Anthology. Publication of the Petrograd Scientific Circle of Georgian Students]. Tbilisi, 1915; Javakhishvili *t'xulebani t'ormet tomad*, vol. 1 (1979), p. 15. Chit'aia, G.: *kartvel st'udent'ta samecniero c're* [The Scientific Circle of Georgian Students], in: *tbilis universit'et'i*, 7 November 1976; K'ak'abadze, B.; Zarnadze, Nana (eds.): *Sank't-p'et'erburgis kartuli satvist'omos "iveris" sakmianobis kronik'ebi* [Chronicle of the activities of the Georgian association “Iveria” in St. Petersburg]. SPb. 2000; Mirianašvili, P. *p'et'erburgis mosc'avle kartveli st'udent'obis daxasiateba* [On the characterisation of Georgian students in St. Petersburg], in: *šroma* 1883 H.3.

27 Eduard K'odua *soc'iologiuri da soc'ialur-p'ilosopiuri naazrevi meoc'e saukunis pirveli naxevis sak'art'velosbi* [Sociological and social-philosophical thinking in the first half of the 20th century in Georgia]. Tb. 2001, pp. 416–424. This survey provides information about the social background and political situation of Georgian students before the First World War.

questionnaires from Georgian students in Russia and throughout Europe, including 72 from Switzerland (22), France (16), Belgium (12) and Germany (12). Analysis of the responses clearly shows that these students were significantly more nationalistic or separatist in their views than Georgian students studying in the Tsarist Empire. The latter tended to follow socialist and populist trends, as did their Russian fellow students. The survey was intended to assess the academic potential of the Georgian youth in order to lay the foundation for the future establishment of a Georgian university in Tbilisi. This then happened upon Javakhishvili's return to Tbilisi in January 1918.

The nationalists who had emigrated abroad (P'etre Surguladze, the brothers Levan and Giorgi K'ereselidze, N. Maghalašvili) founded the newspaper "Free Georgia" (Tavisupali Sakartvelo) in Geneva. This circle, which was joined by Michak'o C'ereteli in Heidelberg and Giorgi Mačabeli in Berlin, formed a "Committee for the Independence of Georgia" based in Berlin at the beginning of the First World War. The younger, radical representatives of the national movement wanted to achieve their goal of an independent nation state at the beginning of the World War with the support of a foreign superpower, the German Empire.²⁸ When it came to the question of the best possible outcome of the war for Georgia, many intellectuals therefore advocated an alliance led by Germany, with only a small minority favouring the Entente formed by France and England.²⁹

With the outbreak of the First World War, all Russian citizens' studies in Germany came to an abrupt end. They were forcibly expelled, as was Michael von Tseretheli (Mikheil Tsereteli), who had to abandon his studies in Ancient Oriental Studies. However, as an ardent nationalist, he did not return home, but emigrated to Belgium. He joined the German-Georgian Society and published numerous titles in support of Georgian independence in Germany.³⁰

Georgian students in Germany during independence (1918–1921)

After independence in 1918, the Georgian Mensheviks attempted to solve the acute social problems through land reform in a "democratic" Georgian republic.³¹ With Germany's recognition of Georgia on 24/25 June 1918, a "Georgian Mission" (legation) was established in Berlin. From November 1918 to 24 September 1920, it functioned on a "provisional" basis, from 25 September 1920 to 4 November 1922 it served as the official embassy, and from then until at least spring 1923 it functioned again as the unofficial representative of the Georgian government in exile. Its envoys were Iason Bakradze and Vladimir Akhmeteli, as well as M. Kautkishvili and Alexander Gozalishvili.³² Its activities can also be traced in the files of the Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin, which concern the accelerated doctorate of Konstantine Gamsachurdia in 1918–1919.

At the same time, the new government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia was preparing a kind of educational offensive, in which Georgians were to be sent to study in Germany.³³ In 1919, Ivane Nikuradze was among the young people selected to study abroad on the recommendation of Ivane

28 Astamadze, Giorgi: *Deutsch-georgische Zusammenarbeit 1918. Georgiens Unabhängigkeit und das deutsch-georgische Bündnis im Südkaukasus* (German-Georgian Cooperation 1918. Georgia's Independence and the German-Georgian Alliance in the South Caucasus). Paderborn 2022, pp. 13–36; Grdzelidze, Revaz: *sakartvelos damonk'ideblobis erovnuli k'omit'et'i (1914-1918 c'.c')* [The National Committee for the Independence of Georgia 1914–1918]. Tbilisi 1995 and Grdzelidze, sakartvelos p'olit'ik'uri p'art'iebis ist'oria (1910-1924) [History of Political Parties]. Tbilisi 1998, pp. 51–78; Matthias Dornfeldt, Enrico Seewald: *Deutschland und Georgien. Die Geschichte der amtlichen Beziehungen* (Germany and Georgia. The History of Official Relations). Berlin 2018, pp. 9–83.

29 Laskhishvili does not mention whether these discussions took place at the beginning of the war or later. Nor is the Ottoman Empire mentioned as a military partner of the German Empire. Laskhishvili G. *memuarebi* [Memoirs]. Tbilisi 1992, pp. 251–253; for details, see Oliver Reisner: *Zwischen kultureller Autonomie und politischer Unabhängigkeit – politische Konzeptionen und interethnische Beziehungen in Tbilisi, 1905-1917* (Between Cultural Autonomy and Political Independence – Political Concepts and Interethnic Relations in Tbilisi, 1905–1917), in: Fikret Adanir, Bernd Bonwetsch (eds.): *Osmanismus, Nationalismus und der Kaukasus. Muslime und Christen, Türken und Armenier im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. (Osmanism, Nationalism and the Caucasus. Muslims and Christians, Turks and Armenians in the 19th and 20th Centuries). Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 133–151.

30 Michael von Tseretheli: *Rassen- und Kulturprobleme des Kaukasus*. (Racial and Cultural Problems of the Caucasus). Publications of the German-Georgian Society, 1916, Issue 1; idem: *Die Rechte Georgiens* (The Rights of Georgia). Berlin: Verlag "Der Neue Orient", 1917.

31 Stephen F. Jones, *Socialism in Georgian Colours. The European Road to Social Democracy 1883–1911*. Cambridge, Mass.: 2005

32 Steffi Chotiari-Jünger *Georgier in Berlin* (Georgians in Berlin). Berlin 1999, pp. 19–24.

33 Dodo Chumburidze: *ganatleba sakartvelosbi (1918-1921 ts'lebsi)* [Education in Georgia 1918-1921]. Tbilisi 2000.

Javakhishvili and Petre Melikishvili. As the brothers were inseparable, their father came from Samtredia to offer his financial support to the rector of the university, Ivane Javakhishvili, so that his brother Alexander could also be sent to Germany. Both brothers knew from the outset that Göttingen had a number of different physics and mathematics institutions. These included Professor Prandtl's Institute for Applied Mathematics and Professor Rünke's Institute for Applied Mechanics. Ludwig Prandtl (1875–1953) is considered the founder of modern hydrodynamics, gas dynamics and aerodynamics. Ivane Nikuradze became his best student and spent the rest of his life in Göttingen. His brother Alexander Nikuradze later served the National Socialists.

Georgian students in Germany after the Bolshevik occupation in 1921

The archive of Tbilisi State University, which has been kept in the Central State Archive for the Recent History of Georgia since 1920, contains records of the university's charter, the hiring and dismissal of employees, personnel files of teachers and employees (1918–1930), the collection of student transcripts, documents from the admissions committee from 1918 to 1928, and lecture notes for the faculties of polytechnics, mathematics, natural sciences, medicine, and agricultural sciences; student lists, personnel files (1920–1930), documents on military obligations, accounting records (1921–1930), minutes of meetings of various committees. Of particular importance are the minutes of the meetings of the Professorial Council, whose extensive meeting minutes report on all important arrangements at the university. Until 1926, the Academic Council of Professors was the highest governing body of the university and made decisions on fundamental issues of university life. In addition, these documents contain not only records of more or less well-known events related to the founding and development of the first Georgian higher education institution, but also some interesting historical facts about Georgia in the 1920s. This is only natural, as every historical event in Georgia had a serious impact on the university. Often the opposite was true – the university was the initiator of some processes that later became the subject of public debate. The university determined not only the scientific and educational directions, but also, to a large extent, the political environment within the country. Several professors who were members of the council had studied in Germany, such as Akaki Shanidze, Dimitri Uznadze and Mikheil Tsereteli.³⁴ It is therefore not surprising that the university's first academic journal was published in Georgian and German.

During the Soviet “New Economic Policy” (NEP), the joint-stock company for the promotion of manganese ore in Chiatura, “Chiaturamanganum”, sent its employees Ivane and Isidore Varazashvili to Germany in 1922, whose younger brother Giorgi was already studying at the Mining Institute in Charlottenburg. The brothers did not limit themselves to questions of manganese production; they began to promote Georgian culture in Germany. There was an idea among Georgians living abroad to establish a Georgian publishing house in Berlin. Ivane Varazashvili realised this idea. With a great deal of dedication and love, he founded the publishing house “Naher Osten” (Near East) in Berlin, where Richard Meckelein's “Deutsches Sprachhandbuch mit Chrestomathie und Wörterbuch” (German Language Handbook with Chrestomathy and Dictionary) was printed for Georgians who needed to learn German. The author was a German specialist in Kartvelology, the study of Georgia with a focus on linguistics. In addition, the Varazashvili brothers laid the foundation for the “Rustaveli Society” in Hamburg to help poor Georgian students abroad and promote the exchange of Georgian-European cultural heritage abroad. Richard Meckelein was the chairman. In addition to Ivane Varazashvili, Grigol Diasamidze, Moses Shanidze, Jacob and Kato Khojolava, Elisabeth Meckelein and others were members of the board of the “Rustaveli Society”. The Varazashvilis were known as mentors who helped young people study in Berlin. Many Georgian scientists, including Vano Saradjishvili and Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, were able to study thanks to their scholarships.³⁵

34 Manana Liluashvili, Zurab Gaip'arashvili (eds.) *tbilisi saxelmciho universit'et'is p'ropesorta sab'os okmebi* [Minutes of the Council of Professors of Tbilisi State University] 1917-1926. Tbilisi 2006. Professors Akaki Shanidze, Ioseb Kipshidze, Dimitri Uznadze and Mikheil Tsereteli wrote the minutes published in this edition.

35 For information on Ivane Varazashvili, see: *kartvelebi utskhoetshi: ts'1* [Georgians abroad. Book 1]. Rusudan Daushvili, Grigol K'alandadze, Rusudan K'obakhidze, Gocha Japaridze, Temur T'art'arashvili. Tbilisi 2012, pp. 82–83. Rekhviashvili, S.: *dzamebi varazashvilebi* [The Varazishvili Brothers], in: *lit'erat'uruli sakartvelo* [Literary Georgia]. 15 April 1988, p. 10.

On 1 June 1927, Herakles Uruschadze (Irakli Urushadze) received his doctorate in political science from the Faculty of Philosophy at Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin with his thesis “A Contribution to the Development of Local Government in Georgia”. The study on the economic history of Georgia covers municipal development from the end of the 18th century to the 1920s under the Soviets. Originally from the western Georgian region of Kutaisi, he was one of the scholarship holders sent by the Social Democratic (Menshevik) government to Berlin University in the winter semester of 1919, where he studied political science until the summer semester of 1925 and then obtained his doctorate.

Giorgi Nioradze asked Ivane Javakhishvili whether he should return to Georgia or not.³⁶ The situation was similar for Vladimir Emukhvari, who also turned to Ivane Javakhishvili for advice on whether he should stay in Germany without a state scholarship after the annexation or return to Georgia.³⁷ The economic situation in Germany had deteriorated dramatically with the hyperinflation of 1923, and the Georgians stranded in Germany were left without a secure income.

As far as short-term academic contacts were concerned, in 1928 the German Society for Eastern European Studies organised a conference and exhibition entitled “Historical Science in Soviet Russia, 1917–1927”, at which the historian Mikheil Al. Polievktov (1872–1942) presented the state of “Historical Science in Georgia in the Years 1917–1927”.³⁸ This was the first presentation of Georgian historical science in German. In a later issue of the association’s journal *Osteuropa*, art historian Giorgi Chubinashvili, who was socialised in the German community in St. Petersburg, gave an overview of the most important trends in Georgian art.³⁹

Georgians under National Socialism

Many Georgians who had already been living in Germany for several years became increasingly committed to regaining Georgia’s independence, even if this meant cooperating with the National Socialists. The archives of Humboldt University contain, among the files of the National Socialist German Lecturers’ League, correspondence with Michael Tsereteli, who, already in his fifties, applied for a scholarship for young talent from this association in 1933 and presented himself as the leader of the fascist organisation “Tetri Giorgi – White Georgian” together with his Aryan certificate.⁴⁰

During the Second World War, Alexander Nikuradze wrote what was probably the first overview of the history of the Caucasus in German under the pseudonym “A. Sanders”, although it was strongly coloured by “völkisch” ideology.⁴¹ The work is remarkable in terms of cultural history because one of its maps (currently unavailable on the internet) shows in a very memorable way the few passes through the Greater and Lesser Caucasus, as well as the river systems in the Meso-Caucasus itself and of the Don and Volga in the north.

36 Georgian National Archives: Archive for Recent History. Fond 471 Tbilisi State University, File 136, Sheet 628. Songulašvili, Avtandil V.: *kartali k'ult'ura da int'elligencia 1917-1937* [Georgian Culture and Intelligentsia from 1917 to 1937]. Tbilisi 2008

37 Vladimir Emukhvari wrote to the rector of Tbilisi University, Ivane Javakhishvili from Kleinhennersdorf near Schandau (Saxony) on 18 March 1922 and from Stolpen near Dresden on 21 March 1924.

38 See Otto Hoetzsch, *Die russische Historikerverwoche und die Ausstellung “Die Geschichtswissenschaft in Sowjetrußland 1917-1927* (The Russian Historians’ Week and the Exhibition “Historical Science in Soviet Russia 1917-1927); speech at the opening ceremony, in: *Osteuropa* (1927/28), p. 745; M. Poliewktow *Historical Science in Georgia in the Years 1917-1927*, in: *Osteuropa* 4 (1928/29), pp. 171–183; Dittmar Dahlmann (ed.) *Hundert Jahre Osteuropäische Geschichte: Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* (One Hundred Years of Eastern European History: Past, Present and Future). F. Steiner, 2005, pp. 32–33. Otto Hoetzsch *Aus der historischen Wissenschaft der Soviet-Union. Vorträge ihrer Vertreter während der „Russischen Historikerverwoche“, veranstaltet in Berlin 1928 von der Deutschen Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas* (From the Historical Science of the Soviet Union. Lectures by its representatives during the “Russian Historians’ Week”, organised in Berlin in 1928 by the German Society for the Study of Eastern Europe). Berlin: Ost-Europa Verlag, 1929.

39 Georg Tschubinaschwili *Die georgische Kunst, Hauptlinien ihrer Entwicklung* (Georgian Art, Main Lines of its Development), in: *Osteuropa* (1929/30), p. 759. For more on him, see: Edith Neubauer: Tschubinaschwili – *Porträt eines Kunstwissenschaftlers*, (Tschubinaschwili – Portrait of an Art Historian), in: *Georgica* 8 (1985), pp. 56–59

40 Humboldt University Archive: NS-Doz2 ZB II 1847 A.02 Ka.040 1756a, pp. 1–5 (The matter of M. Tsereteli’s scholarship in 1939), NS-Doz2 ZB II 1847 A.03 Ka.040_1756b (proof of ancestry or “proof of Aryan descent”), NS-Doz2 ZB II 1847 A.03 Ka.040 1756b (extension of the contract for teaching the Georgian language) and others.

41 A. Sanders [pseudonym for Alexander Nikuradze]: *Kaukasien. Nordkaukasien, Aserbaidshan, Armenien und Georgien. Geschichtlicher Umriss* (Caucasus. North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. Historical outline). Munich 1942.

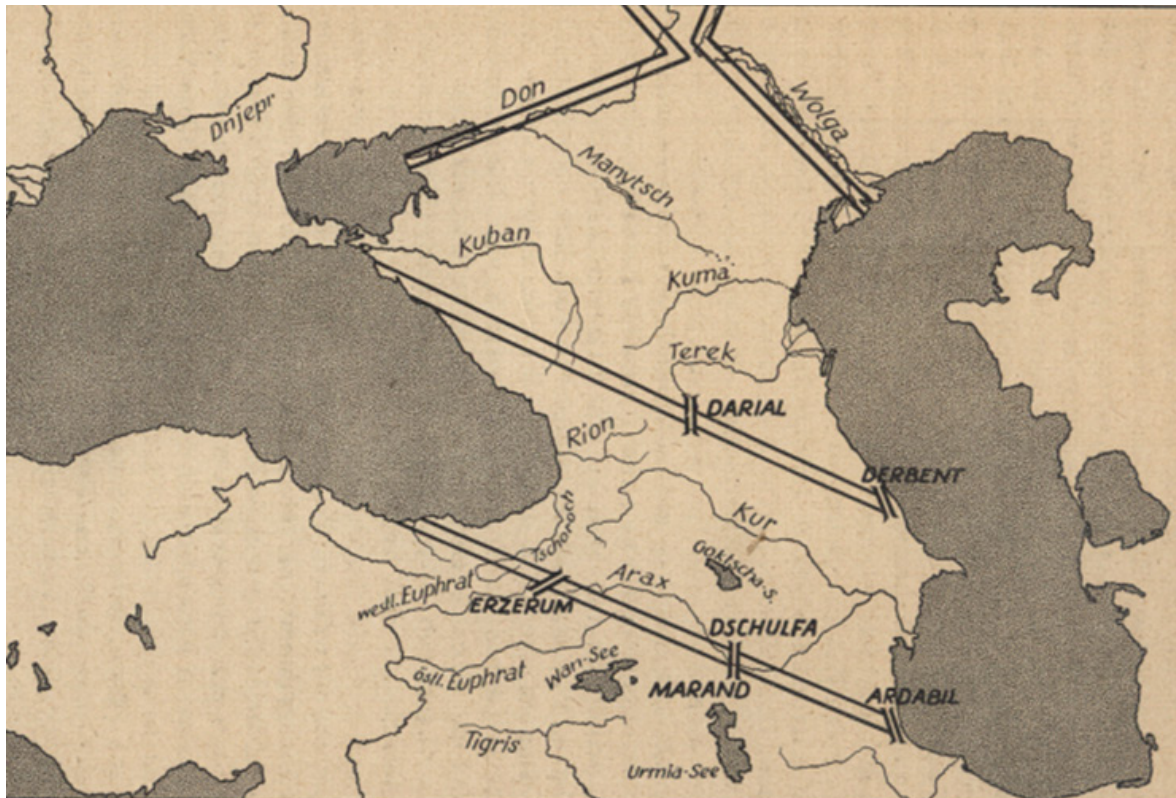


Fig.: A. Sanders [Alexander Nikuradze]: *Kaukasien. Geschichtlicher Umriss*. Munich: Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1942.
Map: The main gates of the Caucasus (north-south borders and passes, schematic), p. 33

Conclusion

Georgian students in Germany left little mark in the academic sphere, but they did engage in contemporary research on Georgia and the Caucasus, which were then part of the Russian Empire. Influenced by the European idea of nationhood and nationalism, they sought to gain recognition in the academic sphere for the specific nature of their culture and history, distinguishing it from Russian civilisation. The lack of financial resources had a strong impact on their ability to study in Germany, especially when compared to the most active social element from the Caucasus, the descendants of wealthy Armenian merchant and entrepreneur families, who represented an emerging bourgeoisie that could cover the costs of higher education.⁴²

Thus, after returning from their studies in Germany, representatives of the Georgian intelligentsia attempted to mobilise their population for the cultural and educational agenda in continuation of the *Tergdalenlebi*. Although their activists found themselves in a marginal position between the nobility and the peasantry, they succeeded in developing a sense of ethnic belonging as a cultural community that was free from barriers of class or local origin and should be accessible to all potential members. With their academic expertise, they were able to formulate a modern concept of nationhood and transfer it to their Georgian brothers and sisters. With their cultural activities, they developed – like the *Tergdalenlebi* – a national institution of public socialisation with the university they founded, which contributed to modernisation and Europeanisation.

Their ambivalence towards Tsarist Russia made them long for equality as subjects of the Tsar, whose own culture would be recognised and who would be granted a certain degree of internal self-determination. The Tsarist military was widely accepted by Georgians as a protective power against Muslim neighbours,

42 For more details, see: Gazer, Hacik Rafi: *Deutsch-armenische akademische Beziehungen und der Leipziger „Armenisch-Akademische Verein“*. (German-Armenian academic relations and the Leipzig “Armenian Academic Association”). In: Peter, Hartmut Rüdiger (ed.): *Schnorrer, Verschwörer, Bombenwerfer? Studenten aus dem Russischen Reich an deutschen Hochschulen vor dem 1. Weltkrieg*. (Scrounger, conspirator, bomb thrower? Students from the Russian Empire at German Universities before World War I). Frankfurt am Main, 2001, pp. 169–186; Arpine Maniero: *Umkämpfter Weg zur Bildung. Armenische Studierende in Deutschland und der Schweiz von der Mitte des 19. bis Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*. (The Contested Path to Education. Armenian Students in Germany and Switzerland from the Mid-19th to the Early 20th Century). Göttingen 2020.

which is why their elite did not make any broad demands for secession from the Tsarist Empire. The exception were the few radical-minded young intellectuals who had to turn to foreign powers such as Germany to secure their dream of political independence.

After three generations, a non-existent political nation was replaced by a new ethnically sensitive community with cultural associations as its most important organisational backbone. In this concrete and enduring “moral community” (Mark Steinberg), the growing class of marginalised, educated employees could meet with like-minded people and coordinate their efforts between the Tsar and the “people”. It enabled a combination of emotional impulses and rational control for their actions and became an important school of nation building.⁴³

While in the Tsarist Empire the social divide between the nobility and the peasantry and autocratic rule prevented the rise of political loyalty on a “national basis” (Archil Jorjadzes saerto niadagi), this could only develop during the brief interlude of the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918–1921), whose development was interrupted by the Bolshevik occupation. However, from the mid-1930s onwards, the ethnic-cultural community became a substitute for a political nation anchored at the supranational level of the Soviet people under the leadership of Comrade Stalin in Soviet nationality policy. Many Georgians who had studied in Germany and then returned home paid for their experiences abroad with their lives during the Great Terror of 1937–1938. The “national cause” was thus Sovietised and its roots, the Georgians educated in Germany and other countries, were destroyed. This was also intended to “erase” the ideological ties that existed in the early 20th century, thereby obliterating the memory of lost independence as a “common foundation”.⁴⁴

This loss also had an impact on the civic self-image after the restoration of state independence in 1991, which was defined in ethnic-cultural categories rather than civil and legal ones. It became apparent that this conflict over the core elements of citizenship attracted little public attention. This may be linked to the upheavals experienced by the old intelligentsia as a remnant of Soviet society. The social upheavals robbed the former cultural elite of their accustomed role as experts in legitimising the independence of an ethnically and culturally defined Georgian nation. Today, when they try to “sell their own services on the free market, they [the intelligentsia] become traders,” which only makes their former position even more questionable.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the emerging non-governmental organisations, which are mainly confined to the capital, must continue to take this issue seriously and lend plausibility to the whole debate without revealing the relevant informal “rules of the game”. Both opponents – the old Soviet *intelligentsia* and the new civil society – are characterised by their relative powerlessness. They therefore seek support for their cause (*nation building vs. state building*) elsewhere. The example of the instrumentalisation of an ethno-cultural concept of nationhood shows to this day how limited the scope for policy development is in public debates. While other institutionalised forms of political conflict between different elite groups are lacking, these debates in the media are an expression of a hidden, permanent hierarchy of personal coalitions in a personalised political system.⁴⁶ It was only thanks to a renewed increase in student and academic exchanges through the ERASMUS+ academic mobility programme and the DAAD that a broader understanding of civic integration beyond the instrumentalised ethno-cultural version of a titular nation as a component of Georgia’s Europeanisation was able to take root in broader social strata and bring the civic integration of ethnic, religious and sexual

43 Further details at: Oliver Reisner *Die Schule der georgischen Nation. Eine sozialhistorische Untersuchung der nationalen Bewegung in Georgien am Beispiel der ‘Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung der Lese- und Schreibkunde unter den Georgiern’ (1850–1917)* (The School of the Georgian Nation. A socio-historical study of the national movement in Georgia using the example of the ‘Society for the Dissemination of Reading and Writing among Georgians’ (1850–1917)). Wiesbaden 2004.

44 Ronald G. Suny *The Revenge of the Past. Nationalism, Revolution and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford CA 1993.

45 Jgerenaia E. *Utopia and the Field of Sociality* (A Sociological Essay), in: p’araleluri t’ekst’ebi / Parallel Texts no. 2. Tbilisi 1998, pp. 79, 81) cites the warlord and playwright Jaba Ioseliani as the perfect example of ‘the last of the Mohicans of the Georgian intelligentsia’.

46 For more details, see: Reisner, Oliver: *Seilschaften und Staatsbürgertum. Formen des sozialen Zusammenhalts in Georgien* (Old boy networks and citizenship. Forms of social cohesion in Georgia), in: *Osteuropa* 75th year, 4/2025, pp. 147–166; Oliver Reisner: *Vom ethnischen Nationenverständnis zum politischen Staatsbürger? Ein Einführung in die Geschichte und Gegenwart der Minderheiten Georgiens* (From an Ethnic Understanding of Nationhood to Political Citizenship? An Introduction to the History and Present Situation of Minorities in Georgia), in: *European Journal for Minority Issues*, vol. 18, 1–2/2025, pp. 25–49.

minorities in Georgia back on the agenda and lead to more active involvement in politics and participation in the political decision-making process.⁴⁷

Once again, these achievements – including through extensive academic exchanges with the EU – seem to be under threat. After freedom of expression, demonstration and assembly had been increasingly eroded since 2023 and the “Georgian Dream” was able to massively manipulate the parliamentary elections of 26 October 2024,⁴⁸ the de facto Prime Minister Irakli Kobakhidze – who, incidentally, earned his doctorate in law at Heinrich Heine University in Düsseldorf – announced on 28 November 2024 that the EU integration process would be suspended until the end of 2028. This provoked nationwide mass protests, which were unsuccessfully suppressed by increasingly repressive measures but continue to this day. Once again, government propaganda invokes an ethno-cultural nation under the banner of “traditional values” and “national sovereignty,” which serves solely as symbolic politics to maintain its own power and exclude all citizens from democratic participation. Since the end of November 2024, civil protests have been forming against this, which also include representatives of minorities on a civic basis.⁴⁹ Once again, it remains to be seen how strong civic awareness and the desire for membership in the European Union really are in Georgia today.

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- 47 Oliver Reisner: *Die Europäisierung Georgiens* (The Europeanisation of Georgia), in: Olaf Leïße (ed.): *Politics and Society in the Caucasus. A Troubled Region between Tradition and Transformation*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2019, pp. 115–134.
- 48 Zaal Andronikashvili: „Schutzlos gegenüber Russland“ Wahlen in Georgien: Alptraum 3. Akt. (“Defenceless against Russia” Elections in Georgia: Nightmare Act 3), in: *Osteuropa* 74th year, 11-12/2024, pp. 5-14; Hans Gutbrod: *Verräterische Zahlen. Manipulation der georgischen Wahlen* (Traacherous figures. Manipulation of the Georgian elections), in: *Osteuropa* 74th year, 11-12/2024, pp. 15-24.
- 49 See: Moritz Florin: *Palimpsest of protest. Tbilisi graffiti landscape in spring 2025*, in: *Osteuropa* 75th year, 5/2025, pp. 45-64; Hans Gutbrod: *Georgia – Russian repression in fast motion*, VoxEuropDeutsch, 29 July 2025. URL: <https://voxeurop.eu/de/georgien-russische-repression-zeitraffer/>

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Cultural Policy against the Grain 流れに逆らう文化政策

liber amicorum for Matthias Theodor Vogt in honour of
his 65th birthday, edited by his colleagues and students

Dieter Bingen, Köln; Stefan Garsztecki, Chemnitz; Goro Christoph Kimura, Tokyo; Luigi Ferrara, Neapel; Peter Lah, Rom; Beat Siebenhaar, Leipzig, in Verbindung mit Günter Beelitz, Düsseldorf; Agnieszka Bormann, Görlitz; Andreas Bracher, Wien; Jelena Budanceva, Riga; Adam Chmielewski, Breslau; Maria Davydchyk, Berlin; Jürgen Erfurt, Berlin; Princesse Esperance Fezeu, Bafoussam; Pierpaolo Forte, Benevent; Annemarie Franke, Görlitz; Erik Fritzsche, Dresden; Kazuo Fujino, Kobe; Miloš Havelka, Prag; Adrien Houguet, Taschkent; Zoltán Huszár, Pécs; Sebastian Lalla, Ulaanbaatar; Stefan Liebing, Hamburg; Luca Lombardi, Rom; Katarina Markovic, Boston; Jean Bertrand Miguoué, Yaoundé; Christoph Pan, Bozen; Oliver Reisner, Tiflis; Róza Zuzanna Różańska, Krakau; Mihály Sári, Pécs; Una Sedleniece, Riga; David Simo, Yaoundé; Anton Sterbling, Fürth; Paul Videsott, Bozen; Susanne Vill, Wien; Eduard Werner, Leipzig; Ivan Zadori, Pécs; Gabriele Zaidyte, Vilnius; Kamil Zágóršek, Liberec; Reiner Zimmermann, Dresden

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herausgegeben von seinen Kollegen und Schülern

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30 years of the Saxon Cultural Area Act and its accompaniment in research and teaching by the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony

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Presse

Andreas Hermann: Gepfeffelter Gruß aus Görlitz

(Spicy greetings from Görlitz)

Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten. Dresden, 31. Mai 2024. S.11.

Photo: Andreas Hermann, faktenreich Dresden

<https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hermann-Dresdner-Neueste-Nachrichten-31.05.2024->

[Seite-11.pdf](#)



Peter Chemnitz: Wissenschaftler verabschieden Professor Vogt

(Scientists bid farewell to Professor Vogt)

Görlitzer Nachrichten Sächsische Zeitung, 29.Mai 2024, S. 16

https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/SZ-Goerlitz-29Mai2024_Wissenschaftler-verabschieden_Professor-Vogt.pdf

(1) Invitation

by Dr. Stephan Meyer, Landrat des Landkreises Görlitz (shire county president) and Chairman of the Cultural Convention for the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area

Thirty years ago – on 1 August 1994 – the Saxon Cultural Area Act came into force.

In the same month, the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony was founded to support the Cultural Area Act in research and teaching. In order to attract the experts needed for cultural policy, the institute and the Zittau/Görlitz University shortly afterwards established the Görlitz degree programme ‘Culture and Management,’ which now has around 500 graduates who are successfully working all over the world.

We would like to celebrate this with you and Professor Matthias Theodor Vogt, the ‘father’ of the Act, on Friday, 24 May 2024, in Görlitz. After 27 years, he is retiring from his university position with a keynote speech on the future of cultural areas in Saxony. In cooperation with the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony and the Zittau/Görlitz University, we invite you to a symposium with keynote speeches from academia and practice, as well as a panel discussion.

We don’t just want to celebrate and engage in navel-gazing within Saxony, but also to receive external input on the history and present of cultural policy in order to reflect together on the next thirty years of cultural spaces in Saxony. We have invited speakers from the Council of Europe, Tokyo, Riga, Naples, Krakow, Marburg and, of course, Görlitz, who will present core elements of state, municipal and independent cultural policy ‘against the grain’ in keynote speeches and short presentations. Afterwards, we will discuss with the chair of the Culture Committee in the Saxon State Parliament, members of the Culture Senate and Culture Convention, and representatives of the art scene.

(2) Welcome



Rector of Zittau/Görlitz University, Alexander Kratzsch
https://youtu.be/6Imh0TNbyIM?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_je3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



(3) Introduction

Landrat Stephan Meyer, Görlitz: *Outline of current problems and expectations of municipal cultural policy in Saxony by the Chairman of the Cultural Convention of the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area,*
https://youtu.be/cjROQsTqrCY?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_je3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

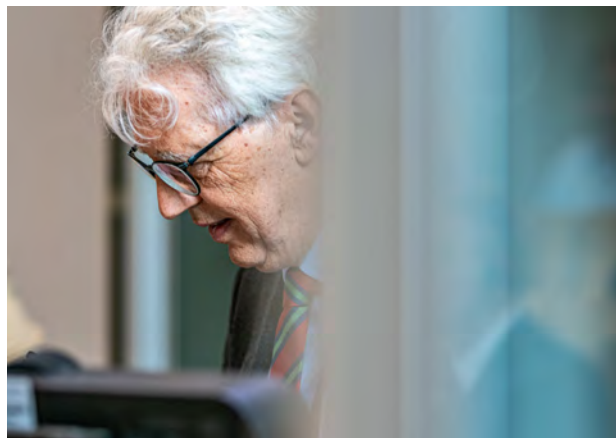
(4) Impulses: External suggestions for Saxony's cultural policy

Una Sedleniece, former State Secretary, Riga: *Memories of her time as a student in Görlitz from 1997 to 2001 in the first cohort of the UNESCO degree programme 'Culture and Management' in Görlitz at the Zittau/Görlitz University and the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony*
https://youtu.be/jKB-0Govtac?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Kimura Goro Christoph (Sophia-University, Tokyo): *Japan learns from Saxony*
https://youtube/3gVq1Btd5sc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

Gregor Vogt-Spira
 (Philipps University of Marburg):
Emperor Augustus and the invention of 'cultural policy'
https://youtube/00iVWcYxYT?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Róża Zuzanna Różańska (Jagiellonian University Krakow): *Royal cultural policy of the Baroque era*
https://youtu.be/o4rVJFW1Yp4?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Stefan Garsztecki (Chemnitz):

Province takes place in the mind

https://youtu.be/_XavYiqjEi0?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Beate Sibylle Pfeil
(Council of Europe expert):

Minorities in three classes.

Current language policy in Ukraine

https://youtu.be/ZPjNQLPoiPc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

[OrrW0](https://youtu.be/ZPjNQLPoiPc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0)



Luigi Ferrara (University of Federico II Naples): The Saxon Cultural Areas Act as a model for Italian legislation?

https://youtu.be/yKympfBwEGo?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

(5) Coffee break in the auditorium





(6) Keynote speech

Matthias Theodor Vogt (IKS and HSZG):
On the future of cultural areas in Saxony
https://youtu.be/M5HIZcKotuc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



(7) Discussion: 30 years of cultural areas in Saxony



Moderator: Cultural Secretary Annemarie Franke, Cultural Area Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien
 Theresa Jacobs (Leipzig): Sorbian Institute Bautzen and Leipzig Dance Theatre
 Franz Sodann MdL: Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Science, Higher Education, Media, Culture and Tourism in the Saxon State Parliament
 Thomas Zenker (Zittau): Lord Mayor and member of the convention
 Kirstin Zinke (Dresden): Senator for Culture and Managing Director of the Saxony State Association for Socio-Culture
https://youtu.be/Zev0Hpg3fYk?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0





(8) Closing remarks

Benedikt Hummel, Mayor for Culture of the City of Görlitz
as representative of the graduates of 'Culture and Management'
https://youtu.be/t7EuD-oQ_a4?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Many thanks to all the hard-working helpers who made this conference possible:

Dr. Annemarie Franke and her team from the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area: Sabine Hohlfeld, Manuela Mieth, Maria Förster, Liane Seiffert, Sabine Zimmermann-Törne, Anna Caban
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Remigiusz Socha, Maximilian Helm, computer science students, Zittau/Görlitz University

Clara Linnemayr [remote coordination from the USA], Zoe Schulmayer, Victoria Hentschel, Antonia Weber (students of „Culture and Management“)

Joanna Bär and Alexandra Grochowski (translators)

Johanna Metzner, student of culture and management, and her family from the ‘Bierblume Görlitz’
<https://www.bierblume-goerlitz.de/>

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INSTITUT FÜR
KULTURELLE INFRASTRUKTUR
SACHSEN

*30 Jahre
1994 – 2024*



Hochschule
Zittau/Görlitz



Freistaat
SACHSEN

Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Photos von Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

Documentation of the art night celebrating 30 years of IKS and the premiere of the film 'Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures' at Benigna, Görlitz

<https://kultur.org/institut/30-years-iks/>



The Art Night took place at the 'Benigna' on Görlitz's Untermarkt, one of the city's most historically significant buildings. It is named after Benigna Horschel. On Pentecost Sunday 1464, she was impregnated by the mayor's son Georg Emmerich and then callously abandoned. The conflict between the Emmerich and Horschel families was to become a turning point in the city's history, far more exciting than the teenage drama Romeo and Juliet [https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hoch_Benigna_Spannender-als-Romeo-und-Julia_in_Vogt-et-al-Benigna-2024-04-25.pdf].



In the fine tradition of debate among Görlitz students of 'Culture and Management' [https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Vogt_3Gruende-fuer-Goerlitz-als-Studiengangsort_Benigna-2024-04-25.pdf] with complex issues in the city and region (and often far beyond), the institute received an enquiry from Robert Lehleiter and Christian Weise. They wanted a concept for the use of the 'Benigna'. Supervised by Matthias Theodor Vogt and Maik Hosang, 12 female students and 1 male student explored this issue in a research seminar, in collaboration with council archivist Siegfried Hoche and a Bonn theatre group, supervised by René Harder.



The theory [download: https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hoch_Benigna_Spannender-als-Romeo-und-Julia_in_Vogt-et-al-Benigna-2024-04-25.pdf] was put to the test at the art night on 24 May 2024.

Art Night

Photo documentation

[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/IKS30y-Benigna24Mai2024_PhotosZgraja-k.pdf] with photos by Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz mail@andi.film.



Maestro Luca Lombardi and Miriam Meghnagi from Rome performed a work to mark the institute's 30th anniversary (world premiere and first joint performance of the couple).



Former Prime Minister Georg Milbradt from Dresden gave the laudatory speech.



Maria Davydchyk performed a Belarusian folk song.



Steffi Bärman from Zittau recited in the Upper Lusatian dialect.



Elisabeth Domsgen from Görlitz recited a ballad by Bürger.



Honorary Consul Stefan Liebing from Hamburg commended the research and institute projects on Africa.



Princess Esperance from Bafoussam sang a Cameroonian song.



Joseline Amutuhair performed a Ugandan dance, accompanied on the drums by Tomas Ondrusek from Waldheim.



Hans-Peter Struppe from Görlitz and Cornelia Wosnitza from Dresden sang cheeky modern songs.



The art night ended with a song by 21 former UNESCO students of 'Culture and Management' (class of 1997), who offered their congratulations in Latvian, Polish, Sorbian, Czech and German.

Museum: Thirty Years of IKS

Some of the 30 years of work of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony is documented at <https://kultur.org/>. To mark the institute's anniversary, the archives were opened and an exhibition was put together, supported by our student intern Jakob Bormann as curator.



Film Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures

Premiere 24 May 2024, Benigna Görlitz

on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony

Concept: Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz

Camera and editing: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz mail@andi.film

The film can be downloaded free of charge as Creative Commons ShareAlike CC BY-SA (1.0 2.0 2.5 3.0 4.0) and installed on your own website.

‘Without immigration, Görlitz is lost,’ said the then mayor Siegfried Deinege during research for the study ‘Arriving in the German world’ [<https://kultur.org/forschungen/merr/>]. However, immigration is a process in which preconceived assumptions – positive or negative stereotypes – play a decisive role in choosing a destination.

When Cameroonian mayor Roger Tafam promoted Görlitz in June 2023, he found that the city was so heavily disparaged as xenophobic on English-language social media that the parents of the young people he wanted to send to Görlitz for training vetoed the idea and none of them wanted to come.

The objective data tells a completely different story. No city in Saxony has a higher proportion of foreigners than Görlitz, not even Leipzig, and certainly not the state capital Dresden. Data from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the criminal investigation departments indicate peaceful coexistence (see Vogt 2023). If Görlitz entrepreneurs want to attract excellent workers in times of skilled labour shortages, they urgently need to counter the media's denigration with facts. The inglorious first-place finish of the Görlitz district in the European elections on 9 June 2024 has opened the door to further suspicions.

Roger Tafam suggested presenting parents with a film about the real Görlitz in English in YouTube format in order to respond to the allegations of ‘manifest xenophobia’ circulating on the internet. With the film **‘Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures’** and in cooperation with the Municipal Hospital, the Maltese Hospital, the Zittau/Görlitz University and many civil society actors, the Institute implemented this idea together with Andi Zgraja, Görlitz (camera and editing).

The film is short and asks only one question: **What is so special about Görlitz?** The data is impressive and stimulates discussion.

To mark the institute's anniversary, we are making the film available to all Görlitz-based companies in two audio tracks: (a) with Leoš Janáček's 2nd String Quartet ‘Intimate Letters’ and (b) a brass recording. **Which music do you prefer? And which one do you think your contacts will like best?**

Film “Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures”**Musik: Leoš Janáček (1854-1928): String**

[\[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Janacek.2024-05-24_HD_neu_2.mp4\]](https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Janacek.2024-05-24_HD_neu_2.mp4)

Film “Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures” Musik: Leoš Janáček (1854-1928): String Quartet No. 2, „Intimate Letters“, IV. Allegro – Andante – Adagio. With kind permission of Erica Brenner and Jessica Sherwood [6 December 2023) Alexi Kenney, violin 1 (Chamber Fest Cleveland Young Artist), David Bowlin, violin 2, Dimitri Murrath, viola, Julie Albers, cello Performed on June 24, 2016 Mixon Hall, Cleveland Institute of Music Cleveland, Ohio Chamber Fest Season 5 <http://chamberfestcleveland.com> Audio: Ian Dobie – Dobie Digital Productions, Editing: Erica Brenner <http://ericabrennerproductions.com>

Film “Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures”**Musik: O Chanucah (Instrumental).****YouTube Audio-Bibliothek**

[\[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Brass_2024-05-24_HD_neu_1.mp4?_=1\]](https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Brass_2024-05-24_HD_neu_1.mp4?_=1)

Görlitz Rhythms: A Dance of Cultures

Uraufführung 24. Mai 2024, Benigna Görlitz
aus Anlaß der Dreißigjahrfeier des
Instituts für kulturelle Infrastruktur Sachsen

Konzeption: Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Film: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

Görlitz Rhythms: A Dance of Cultures

Uraufführung 24. Mai 2024, Benigna Görlitz
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Instituts für kulturelle Infrastruktur Sachsen

Konzeption: Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Film: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

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- Vogt, Matthias Theodor (2021d): *On the threshold to visibility and dignity. The long story of Polish migrants at Görlitz/ Zgorzelec*. In: Inocent-Mária V. OP Szaniszló (Ed.), *Invisible migrant workers and visible human rights*. Angelicum Press., Rome (pp. 169-187). [Hier die deutsche Fassung]
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- Miguoué, Jean-Bertrand (2023): *Einführung*. In: Vogt, Matthias Theodor, Schreiter, Nathalie; Mandakh, Namuundari; Miguoué, Jean-Bertrand (2023): *Interkulturelles Erwartungsmanagement von Ankommenden, Stadtbevölkerung und Pflegeteams. Bericht über das Forschungsseminar zum Projekt Interkulturelles Jahr Pflege im Master Studiengang Kultur und Management*. Sommersemester 2023, Hochschule Zittau/Görlitz. [\[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Vogt-Miguoue-Schreiter-Namundaari-Interkulturelles-Erwartungsmanagement-2023-10-30.pdf\]](https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Vogt-Miguoue-Schreiter-Namundaari-Interkulturelles-Erwartungsmanagement-2023-10-30.pdf)

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Studied political science, constitutional, social and economic history, sociology and education in Bonn. Doctorate in 1979. From 1980 to 1999, Poland expert at the Federal Institute for Eastern European and International Studies in Cologne. From 1999 to 2019, director of the German Poland Institute in Darmstadt. Since 2004, he has been an honorary professor at the Zittau/Görlitz University of Applied Sciences. He was a visiting professor at the Technical University of Darmstadt from 2012 to 2014. He is chairman of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony in Görlitz. Main areas of research: Polish contemporary history, politics and political system, Polish foreign and security policy, German-Polish relations since 1945. Numerous publications since 1978, including: *Die Polenpolitik der Bonner Republik von Adenauer bis Kohl 1949-1991* (The Polish Policy of the Bonn Republic from Adenauer to Kohl 1949-1991), 1998 (Polish edition 1997); with Marek Halub and Matthias Weber: *Mein Polen – meine Polen. Zugänge & Sichtweisen* (My Poland – My Poles: Approaches and Perspectives), 2016 (Polish edition 2016); *Denk mal an Polen. Eine deutsche Debatte* (Think of Poland: A German Debate), 2020 (Polish edition 2021). Numerous awards, including the International Bridge Prize of the European City of Görlitz/Zgorzelec 2023.

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Prof. Dr. habil. Pierpaolo Forte (Benevento)

Full Professor of Administrative Law at the University of Sannio in Benevento. Currently, he serves as a member of several boards, including the Doctoral Board in Person, Market, and Institutions, the board of directors of the Archaeological Park of Pompeii, the Antonio Morra Greco Foundation in Naples, Ravello Lab, and the steering committee of Federculture. Additionally, he is part of the board of directors and the Scientific Committee of AITART – the Italian Association of Artist Archives. His previous roles include serving as a legal advisor to the Minister for Cultural Heritage and Activities of the Italian Republic, an expert at the Presidency of the Italian Government, and a member of the board of directors of the “Maggio Musicale Fiorentino” Foundation. He also held the position of President

of the Donnarregina Foundation for Contemporary Arts, which oversees the Museo Madre in Naples. He has authored approximately seventy scientific publications and is a member of the Editorial Board for the journal *P.A. Persona e Amministrazione: Ricerche Giuridiche sull'Amministrazione e l'Economia*, as well as for Brill Research Perspectives in Art and Law. He is also part of the Scientific Committee for the series *Diritto Comparato dell'Arte* and is affiliated with CIRTAM, the Interdepartmental Research Center from Late Antiquity to Modern times at the Federico II University of Naples.

Dr. Annemarie Franke (Görlitz)

is a historian and has been working in cultural administration since 2023 as cultural secretary for the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area, based in Görlitz. 1990–1996: Studied modern and contemporary history (Eastern Europe), Slavic studies and political science in Bonn and Berlin (Master of Arts from Humboldt University in Berlin). Head of the Kreisau Foundation Memorial for European Understanding and member of the board between 2001 and 2012. 2015 Doctorate at the Historical Institute of the University of Wrocław on a topic related to German-Polish relations; 2013–2018 Cultural Officer for Silesia at the Silesian Museum in Görlitz; 2019–2023 Research project assistant at the European Network Remembrance and Solidarity in Warsaw.

Prof. Dr. Kazuo Fujino (Kobe) 藤野一夫

Professor Emeritus of Performing Arts, Cultural Policy, and Arts Management at the Graduate School of Intercultural Studies, Kobe University, and Professor Emeritus of the Hyogo Professional College of Arts and Tourism, Toooyka. His area of specialization is the relationship between art and society, mainly in the performing arts of Germany and Japan. He has published numerous books and articles on Richard Wagner. He was a researcher at the Collegium PONTES Görlitz-Zgorzelec-Zhořelec. He was a president of the Japan Association for Cultural Policy Research (2022-2025) and has been involved in many cultural policy initiatives on national and local level. Among his recent publications are *Cultural Policy of Basic Municipalities—Why Art is Needed in Cities* (2019) and *Lecture on Cultural Policy for Everyone—Creating Cultural Commons* (2022).

藤野一夫(神戸):神戸大学大学院国際文化学研究科名誉教授、兵庫県立芸術文化観光専門職大学副学長を経て名誉教授。専門は文化政策/アートマネジメント/音楽文化論/ドイツ思想史。特にリヒャルト・ワーグナーに関する数多くの著作を発表。コレギウム・ポンテスのシニアフェローも務めた。日本文化政策学会会長(2022-2025)を歴任し、国と地方自治体の数多くの文化審議会の座長、文化振興財団等の理事を務める。最近の著書に『基礎自治体の文化政策～まちにアートが必要なわけ』(2019)、『市民がつくる社会文化～ドイツの理念・運動・政策』(2021)、『みんなの文化政策講義～文化的コモンズをつくるために』(2022)などがある。

Prof. Dr. Stefan Garsztecki (Chemnitz)

Political scientist. From 1983 to 1989 he studied political science (major subject), modern and contemporary history and cultural geography (minor subjects) at the University of Bonn (Magister Artium in political science). From 1989 to 1994 he held a doctoral scholarship from the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. After completing his doctorate in political science in 1995 with Klaus Ziemer and Kurt Düwell at the University of Trier, he holds the Chair of Cultural and Area Studies at Chemnitz University of Technology since 2010.

Sebastian Gemkow (Dresden)

Minister of State for Science, Culture and Tourism of the Free State of Saxony since 2019. Studied law at the universities of Leipzig, Hamburg and Berlin, completed his legal training in Leipzig with the first and second state examinations. In 2007, he established himself as a lawyer in Leipzig, has been a member of the Saxon State Parliament since 2009 and President of the Parliamentary Forum for Central and Eastern Europe since 2010. In 2014, he became Honorary Consul of the Republic of Estonia for Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. From 2014 to 2019, he was Saxon State Minister of Justice.

Prof. PhDr Miloš Havelka CSc (Prag)

Professor at the Faculty of Humanities at Charles University. His main areas of interest are questions of historical sociology of knowledge, theories of historiography and sociology, and the history of modern Czech thought. In 2002 and 2004/05, he was a visiting professor at the Institute for European Studies at Chemnitz University of Technology. In addition to numerous studies in domestic and foreign journals, he has published, among other things, the annotated two-volume anthology *Der Streit um die Bedeutung der tschechischen Geschichte* (The Dispute over the Meaning of Czech History), a collection of studies on historical sociology of knowledge *Ideen – Geschichte – Gesellschaft* (Ideas – History – Society), a collection of his polemical and critical texts *Geschichte und Kritik* (History and Criticism), and the anthology *Glaube, Kultur und Gesellschaft* (Faith, Culture, and Society). He is co-editor of the monograph series *Religious Cultures in Modern Europe*, published by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Prof. Dr. Goro Christoph Kimura (Tokyo) 木村 護郎 クリストフ (東京)

graduated from Hitotsubashi University in Tokyo in 2002 with a dissertation entitled *Perspectives on human intervention for the preservation and revitalisation of minority languages*. He has been employed at Sophia University in Tokyo since 2004. He has been an associate professor since 2007 and a full professor at Sophia University since 2012 and is currently Dean of the Faculty of Foreign Studies. He has worked as a visiting professor at the Slavic-Eurasian Research Centre of Hokkaido University in Sapporo and as a visiting scholar at the Sorbian Institute (Bautzen), the European University Viadrina, the University of Leipzig and the Collegium PONTES Görlitz-Zgorzelec-Zhořelec. Kimura has been a board member and managing director of the Japan Society for the Study of Slavic Languages and Literatures since 2022.

2002年に東京の単一橋大学を卒業し、博士論文「少数言語の保存と再生における人間の介入に関する展望」で学位を取得しました。2004年から東京のソフィア大学に勤務し、2007年から准教授、2012年から教授を務め、現在は外国語学部の学部長です。北海道大学(札幌)のスラヴ・ユーラシア研究センターで客員教授、ソルビアン研究所(バウツェン)、ヨーロッパ大学ヴィアドリーナ、ライプツィヒ大学で客員研究員として勤務。彼は、ポンテス・ゴリツィー・ズゴジェレツ・ゾルジェレツ・カレッジウムの研究員でした。2022年から日本スラヴ語文学研究会の理事兼事務局長を務めている。

Prof. Dr. Peter Lah (Rom)

Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Pontifical Gregorian University. Ph.D. in Communication Studies, Northwestern University, 2004. 1992–1995 Theology studies (Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule St. Georgen, Frankfurt am Main, Germany). Professor (professore ordinario) at the Pontifical Gregorian University where, since 2011, he has been teaching courses in media studies and journalism at the Faculty of Social Sciences. In recent years his interest expanded to questions of media literacy and organizational communication. Between 2008 and 2011 he held teaching and administrative positions at the Faculty of Media in Ljubljana and at Faculty of applied social sciences in Nova Gorica, Slovenia. From 2004 to 2007 he was assistant professor at Saint Louis University, Missouri. 2006–2008 and 2012 Chair of the expert commission on pluralism in the media (Ministry of culture, Republic of Slovenia). Peter Lah is member of the Society of Jesus. Having completed the novitiate in 1988, he was ordained priest in 1995. Recent publications: Lah, Peter (2022): *Social media and communication for peace*. In: Turco, Danilo (ed.), *Ethics of coexistence or ethics of conflict* (S. 47–70). G&B Press. Lah, Peter (ed.) (2021): *Navigating hyperspace. A comparative analysis of priests' use of Facebook*. Resource Publications. Lah, Peter (2020): *The scandal of secrecy*. *Gregorianum* 101(2): 405–425..

Prof. Dr. Luca Lombardi (Rom)

Luca Lombardi is one of his country's most internationally renowned composers. After graduating from the German School in Rome with Dr. Joseph Vogt, he studied in Rome, Vienna, Cologne, Utrecht and Berlin (with B.A. Zimmermann, K. Stockhausen and P. Dessau, among others). He received his doctorate in German studies from the University of Rome. From 1973 to 1994, he was professor of composition at the conservatories in Pesaro and Milan, and has been a freelance composer ever since. He

has composed around 180 works, including five operas. A selection of his writings has been published under the title *Construction of Freedom* (Baden-Baden, 2006). He is a member of the Academy of Arts in Berlin and the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts (Munich). He lives alternately on Lake Albano (Rome) and in Tel Aviv. www.lucalombardi.net.

Dr. Stephan Meyer (Görlitz)

Studied industrial engineering and economics. In 2006, he completed his studies with a thesis on *Energy efficiency comparison in the manufacturing industry for Germany, Poland, and the Czech Republic*. In 2007, he obtained the qualification of European Energy Manager (IHK Bildungszentrum). He received his doctorate in 2011 with a thesis on *Decision-making model for value chain-oriented emission reduction in transition countries*. He worked at SEC Energie-Contracting, at Nokia in Espoo, Finland, and was a guest lecturer at the German-Kazakh University in Almaty. He joined the Junge Union in 1998 and has been politically active ever since, currently as deputy CDU district chairman in the district of Görlitz. From 2009 to 2022, he was a member of the Saxon State Parliament, chairman of the Committee for Science and Higher Education, and parliamentary secretary of the CDU parliamentary group. Since September 2022 he is *Landrat* of the shire county Görlitz.

Dr. Beate Sibylle Pfeil (Freiburg)

Lawyer and independent researcher specialising in issues relating to national minorities in Europe. She has made a name for herself in her field through numerous lectures and seminal publications. From 1996 to 1999, she was a research assistant and from 1999 to 2016 deputy scientific director of the South Tyrolean Institute for Ethnic Groups in Bolzano, Italy. From 2017 to 2023, she was a Council of Europe expert responsible for the so-called Language Charter, and from 2017 to 2022, she was vice-chair of the European Centre for Minority Issues in Flensburg. Co-founder and co-editor of the *European Journal for Minority Issues*.

Prof. Dr. Oliver Reisner, (Tbilissi)

Since 2016, Oliver Reisner has been Jean Monnet Professor of European and Caucasian Studies at Ilia State University, teaching bachelor's, master's and doctoral students with a focus on European Studies and Caucasian Studies. In 2000, he received his doctorate from Georg August University in Göttingen, Germany, in Eastern European History, Slavic Studies, and Medieval and Modern History. From 2000 to 2003, he developed and coordinated a master's programme in Central Asia/Caucasus at the Institute for Central Asian Studies at Humboldt University in Berlin. From 2003 to 2005, he worked as a programme manager for human rights at World Vision Georgia, implementing a project on civil integration in the Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli regions of Georgia. From 2005 to 2015, he was a project manager at the EU Delegation to Georgia, responsible for democratisation, minorities, education, youth, labour and social affairs. Main research topics: 1) Nation building and identity in the Caucasus in the 19th and 20th centuries; 2) Memory studies on dealing with the Soviet past in Georgia and the Caucasus; 3) History of Caucasian studies as a regional science; and 4) The role of religion in Georgia.

Dr.-Ing. Matthias Rößler (Dresden)

President of the Saxon State Parliament from 2009 to 2024. Graduate engineer in mechanical engineering, 1979 to 1985 research assistant at the University of Transport with teaching assignment (doctorate in 1985), 1985 to 1990 development engineer and head of a research team at the Lokomotivbau – Elektronische Werke Hennigsdorf combine. 1989 to 1990 Member of the GDR Executive Committee of the 'Demokratischer Aufbruch' (Democratic Awakening), member of the Dresden District Round Table and the Coordination Committee for the Re-establishment of the Free State of Saxony. 1990–2024 Member of the state parliament. 1994 to 2002 Minister of State for Culture, 2002 to November 2004 Minister of State for Science and the Arts.

Dr. Róża Różańska (Krakau)

Assistant Vice President in Quality Control and User Acceptance Testing at Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation Holdings PLC (HSBC) and since 2003 Science Ambassador for the Women in

Tech Poland programme funded by the Ministry of Science, under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Sciences. She holds a PhD with distinction in Management and Quality Sciences (thesis nominated for the European Business History Association award) and studied at the Sorbonne in Paris as well as at the Brazilian science diplomacy school InnSciD. Róża Różańska is predominantly a historian, specialising in Intellectual Property Law, Technology Transfer, and Executive Management. She is also a harpsichordist and member of the British Harpsichord Society, UNESCO Global Tech Diplomacy Forum and The Internet Society. She has lectured widely across Europe, with over 50 conference talks, 15 scientific articles and 350 journalistic texts. She developed her expertise in executive decision-making and leadership through courses from the University of Michigan and Università Bocconi, among others. She previously worked in London, managed the Polish Research Centre in London, served on the National Council for PhD Students, and in 2025 represented Poland at the UN/ITU high-level event marking the 20th anniversary of the World Summit on the Information Society in Geneva.

Dipl.-Kffr. (FH) Una Sedleniece M.A. (Riga)

Deputy Director of the Latvian National Museum of Art (since 2015). She studied “Culture and Management” at the University of Applied Sciences Zittau/Görlitz and the Institute of Cultural Infrastructure Saxony (1997-2002) as well as international cultural relations (1992-1996) and museology at the Latvian Academy of Culture (2006-2010). Chairwoman of the Expert Committee for Cultural Heritage and member of the Board of Trustees of the State Cultural Capital Foundation (2023–2025). Head of the Baltic Summer School of Museology (since 2022) and Chair of the Board of the Baltic Society for the Promotion of Museology (since 2013). Head of the Latvian Museum Council (2020–2022). Worked in several Latvian museums, in the State Authority on Museums (2002–2005), in the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia (2005–2011), including as Deputy State Secretary for Cultural Policy (2006–2007).

Prof. Dr. Beat Siebenhaar (Leipzig)

Beat Siebenhaar is a linguist and dialectologist specialising in the study of linguistic varieties, language in the new media, prosody and dialectology. He studied German, philosophy and literary criticism at the University of Zurich from 1983 to 1991 and received his doctorate in German linguistics in 1999 with a dissertation entitled *Sprachvariation, Sprachwandel und Einstellung. Der Dialekt der Stadt Aarau in der Labilitätszone zwischen Zürcher und Berner Mundartraum*. He holds the Chair of German Linguistics (specialising in linguistics of varieties) at the University of Leipzig since 2008. Before that, he worked at the University of Zurich, the University of Bern and the University of Lausanne, among others. Siebenhaar has been Dean of the Faculty of Philology at the University of Leipzig since October 2016 till October 2025.

Prof. Dr. habil. David Simo (Yaounde)

Director of the German-African Science Centre in Yaoundé. Professor Emeritus of German Studies and Cultural Studies. Former Head of the German Department at the Faculty of Arts, Literature and Humanities at the University of Yaoundé 1 in Cameroon. Former President of the African Association of Germanists. Visiting Professor at German and French universities. Reimar Lüst Prize winner of the Humboldt Foundation. Former Humboldt Science Ambassador in Cameroon.

Prof. Dr. habil. Anton Sterbling (Fürth)

Co-founder of the dissident Romanian-German writers' group 'Aktionsgruppe Banat' (1972-1975). Studied social sciences at the University of Mannheim, doctorate and habilitation at the University of the Federal Armed Forces in Hamburg. Lecturer at the University of the Federal Armed Forces in Hamburg, the University of Heidelberg, the University of Bonn and, until 2019, at the Saxon Police University (FH). Numerous academic and literary publications. Latest publications: *Ungewissheiten heimwärts fliehender Krähen* (Uncertainties of crows fleeing home): Recent poems, short prose and stories. Ludwigsburg 2025; *Ist die Europäische Union eine Wertegemeinschaft?* (Is the European Union a community of values?) In: *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, vol. 60, no. 1, Wiesbaden 2024.

Prof. Dr. habil. Susanne Vill (Wien)

Professor emerita of Theatre Studies at the University of Bayreuth, lecturer in Theatre Studies and Musicology at the Universities of Vienna, Munich, Marburg, Erlangen, Zürich. Singer, director. Member and contributor of the International School of Theatre Anthropology (ISTA) and the European Music Theater Academy. Congress organizations and edition of conference reports: *Ausbildung für Musiktheater-Berufe* [Training for music theater professions] 1986 in Munich for the founding of the Bavarian Theater Academy; *Das Weib der Zukunft' - Frauengestalten und Frauenstimmen bei Wagner* [The Woman of the Future' – Female Characters and Female Voices in Wagner] 1997 in Bayreuth; *Richard Wagner und die Juden* [Richard Wagner and the Jews] in cooperation with Tel Aviv University 1998 in Bayreuth. Numerous publications on music, theater, opera, musicals, singing and media performances. Productions, theater studio with guest performances in Germany and abroad, concerts, radio recordings and television broadcasts. www.susanne-vill.at.

Prof. Dr. habil. Dr. h.c. Gregor Vogt-Spira (Marburg)

Professor emeritus of Classical Philology at the Philipps University Marburg. After completing his doctorate and his habilitation at the University of Freiburg i.Br., he was a Founding Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Greifswald from 1994 to 2006, where he helped to rebuild the Institute of Classical Studies. From 2008 to 2012, he was Secretary General of the German-Italian Centre Villa Vigoni on Lake Como (Italy), a European interface for the humanities and sciences, politics, economy and culture. In 2001, he founded (together with Jerker Blomqvist, Lund) the network Colloquium Balticum of the Baltic Sea countries. In 2020, he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Riga.

Prof. Dr. phil. Dr. habil. Prof. h.c. Dr. iur. h.c. Matthias Theodor Vogt (Görlitz)

Managing director of the Saxonian Institute for Cultural Infrastructures (<https://kultur.org/>), professor emeritus at the Zittau/Görlitz University, honorary professor at the University of Pécs and Doctor iuris honoris causa of Ilia University, Tbilisi. Master of Arts in Theatre Studies with a focus on modern German literature and philosophy in Munich, Paris and Aix-en-Provence. Doctorate in musicology. Habilitation in urban studies. Visiting professor at universities and music academies in Vienna, Prague, Wrocław, Krakow, Dresden, Boston, Yaounde, Cairo, Ulaanbaatar, Shanghai, Kobe and Toyooka, as well as at the Pontifical Gregorian University and the Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas, both in Rome. Theatre experience at Moscow, Russe, Vienna, Salzburg, Venice, Milan, Rome, among others. Research interests: cultural policy and art policy, cultural history including medical history, minorities. Has taught at 60 universities in Europe, Africa, Asia and North America.

マティアス=テオドル・フォークト (ゲルリッツ)

は、ザクセン州文化インフラ研究所(<https://kultur.org/>)の所長兼経営責任者、ツィッタウ/ゲルリッツ高等専門学校名誉教授、ペッチ大学名誉教授、ティビリシのイリア大学名誉法学博士です。ミュンヘン、パリ、Aix-en-Provenceで演劇学、現代ドイツ文学、哲学の修士号を取得。音楽学の博士号を取得。都市計画学のハビリタツィオンを取得。ウィーン、プラハ、ヴロツワフ、クラクフ、ドレスデン、ボストン、ヤウンデ、カイロ、ウランバートル、上海、神戸、豊岡の大学および音楽大学、ならびにローマのグレゴリアナ大学とアンジェリカム大学で客員教授を歴任。演劇経験：モスクワ、ルッセ、ウィーン、ザルツブルク、ベネチア、ミラノ、ローマなど。研究分野：文化政策と芸術政策、文化史(医学史を含む)、少数民族。ヨーロッパ、アフリカ、アジア、北米の60の大学で教鞭を執る。

Dr. phil. Reiner Zimmermann (Dresden)

Former head of department, born in Neustadt/Orla, Thuringia. 1960–1965 Studied musicology, art history, and theater studies in Leipzig, editor at the music publishing house Editions Peters Leipzig/Dresden 1966–1985, music theater dramaturge at the Dresden Music Festival 1986–1991, 1991 to 2003 Head of the Art Department at the Saxon State Ministry of Science and the Arts. Publications include *Mehr Sein als Scheinen. Kulturpolitik in Sachsen nach 1990* (Donatus-Verlag, Niederjahna/Käbschütztal, 2022). Editor of musical works by Mendelssohn, Fauré, Debussy, Meyerbeer, and others; editor of the musical

writings of Camille Saint-Saens and the autobiography of Jules Massenet. Author of *Giacomo Meyerbeer - Biografie nach Dokumenten* (Giacomo Meyerbeer - Biography Based on Documents), 1991. Since 2009, editor-in-chief of the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Dresden* (Monuments of Music in Dresden). See also *Viele Stimmen. Festschrift für Reiner Zimmermann zum 75. Geburtstag am 27. November 2016*, published by his friends.



TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT
IN DER KULTURHAUPTSTADT EUROPAS
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To listen, to reflect, to act Cultural Policy against the Grain

What are the premises of today's cultural policy? What insights can the past, present and theory offer for a contemporary cultural policy? How can art counteract agoraphobia, digital isolation and populist temptations? How can local authorities give their citizens ample space to develop civil society solidarity 'for the good of the city. For only when the city is well will you be well.' (It should be noted that Jeremiah 29:7 addresses immigrants who are to become citizens in foreign Babylon. Does our cultural policy also achieve this?) Are the arts not precisely the place where we can first listen to the other before we think together and then act together?

It is the historical achievement of Matthias Theodor Vogt, in the Free State of Saxony, which was re-established in 1990, to not only conceive the Saxon Cultural Area Act between 1991 and 1995 in a unique process of analysis and dialogue with the state, municipal and civil society levels, but also to have it enshrined in law and, last but not least, to have it implemented with little friction. It was therefore only natural that, on the thirtieth anniversary of the law's entry into force, the cultural areas of Saxony invited Matthias Theodor Vogt's colleagues and students to a conference entitled 'Kulturpolitik gegen den Strich' (Cultural Policy Against the Grain). We are hereby presenting the results of this conference in a commemorative publication to mark his 65th birthday.

What can art do better and differently than the digital world? What political, structural, economic, and, last but not least, intellectual conditions are necessary for art to develop its own life for the benefit of humanity? The cover image shows Haus Klingewalde, Görlitz, home of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony since 1998. The watercolour by Lynne Beal, Cologne, relates to a conversation with Matthias Theodor Vogt about the vanishing point in Alberti: *De pictura* | *De pictura* (1435 – 1436). According to Corinna Laude, in the *centricus punctus* of Alberti's intromission theory, 'the orthogonal vanishing lines, the depth lines of the representation, converge "quasi persino in infinito" (as it were out into infinity), it lies in infinity – and thus, according to contemporary understanding, in God'. Which "vanishing points" does today's post-secular society use?

How can political science in Chemnitz interact in a multidisciplinary, cross-continental manner, always with reference to human beings themselves, with cultural studies in Tokyo and linguistics in Leipzig, with legal studies in Naples and social sciences in Rome? This volume shows that cultural policy studies require a fact-based holistic approach and that this may be achieved by working together.

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liber amicorum for Matthias Theodor Vogt in honor of
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