

**THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL RELATIONS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE ON
PERCEPTION OF FRANCE IN RUSSIA AND RUSSIA IN FRANCE**

by

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is dedicated to the impact of cultural relations and cultural exchange on perception of France in Russia and Russia in France for the period from the beginning of the eighteenth to the beginning of the twenty first centuries. The dialogue between Russia and France may serve as one of cases when cultural aspect of International relations could prevail over political events. It doesn't mean, however, that culture was entirely separated and independent from official state relations between the countries. Quite the contrary, as the study shows some cultural phenomena had political event as a background for their emergence.

Before the examination of the work it is necessary to mention what components are included in the definition "cultural relations and exchange". There are five main processes: cultural stereotypes formation, formation of concepts "self" and "other", penetration of one country's elements into the other, inclusion of cultural experience of one country in the culture of the other and, as a result, interaction of cultures.

In this study, one of the main subjects of investigation is cultural self-perception and formation of the image of "self" and "other". To make it clear the terms "self" and "other" are used in the work in two meanings. The first one is traditional, when under the term "self" Europe or one of European countries is represented. "Other" then refers to the country that "self" uses as an opposition. The second meaning is based on belonging to certain country and culture. In this case, "self" is native culture and country and "other" is other different culture or state.¹

The study of "self" and "other" brings us to the formulation of **two** interrelated **research questions**. The first question is what role cultural interaction plays in formation of the image of "self" and "other". The second one is why cultural dialogue and exchange are important in the process of International relations.

The **first hypothesis** is as follows. A significant role of cultural interaction in formation of the image of "self" and "other" is based on two main factors. Cultural interaction allows to correct and to change image of "self" and "other" depending on the character of relations between its participants. And, even more importantly, cultural interaction exerts an influence on the formation of the "other" culture by using the cultural experience of the "self".

¹ If not specifically mentioned, the terms are used in the introduction in both senses simultaneously.

The **second hypothesis** is that an important role of cultural dialogue and exchange is explained by their specific character. On the one hand, they interact with political events and can experience the influence of the latter. The influence can be positive either for one of the country's national culture or for the dialogue as a whole. On the other hand, cultural dialogue and exchange are capable to demonstrate their independence and continue their development even in periods of "cooling" of official relations between the countries.

The peculiarities of historical evolution of Franco-Russian cultural contacts within the period of the eighteenth – twenty first centuries support the given above statements. France in the course of three centuries was an embodiment of Europe for Russia. By adopting French cultural experience Russia confirmed its belonging to Europe not only geographically but also spiritually. To obtain recognition of France became an obligatory condition for Russian both political and cultural milieu. Although Franco-Russian cultural relations became quite stable from the eighteenth century, their character and intensity were different in the course of history, as well as the roles of the main two players. In the eighteenth century France demonstrated its superiority in the field of culture. Situation began to change in the nineteenth century, when a series of events showed the need to recognize the achievements of Russia by France. Late nineteenth-early twentieth century, in turn, showed French interest in Russian culture, which in this case, did not mean decline of Russian interest in France that was always high. History of the twentieth century was marked by several key events that were opposed in the character of their influence. Official cultural dialogue, flattened almost to a minimum from 1917 - 1980s, was again intensively supported after 1991.

Overall, **the aim of this piece** of work is to contribute to an increase in intercultural and transcultural research. Recently a large number of works is dedicated to the topic of transcultural relations that are regarded as a guarantee for successful dialogue between countries, promotion of "self" abroad and perception of "other" culture.² The history of cultural relations between Russia and France can serve as an example of how "cultural intermixing" works and develops in practice.

The research paper at hand is **structured** as follows: introduction, chapters 1 – 5, conclusion, bibliography. Chapter 1 examines the *Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)* by Milton J. Bennet as a theoretical basis for the further historical analysis. An overview of the role of stereotypes in the field of cultural relations between countries and especially in the formation of "self"- perception and perception of the "other" is also

² Wolfgang Welsh, "Transculturality – the puzzling form of cultures today," in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage 1999), 194-213.

elaborated in this part of work. Chapters 2-3 outline the processes of emergence, development and revision of “self” and the “other” – France and Russia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Chapter 4 discusses the qualitatively different period of the twentieth century when Franco - Russian cultural relations were twice influenced significantly by the political events. In connection with this a special attention is given to the examination of the period 1917-1991. This period comprises two different forms of interaction, firstly, the official relations between the two countries and the cultural events supported by the governments accordingly, secondly, non-official cultural events. The latter section deals mainly with the role of Russian emigrants in France and their impact on the continuation of cultural mutual enrichment of the countries. Chapter 5 contains a case study of the year 2010 which was the exchange year of Russia in France and France in Russia. This is followed by the concluding discussion, which summarizes the main findings and puts forward some general observations based on these.

The examination of the historical facts is based on the methods of comparativism, synchronism and on diachronic approach. Synchronism is needed to study events that take place in two countries in the same period of history. A diachronic approach allows for an evaluation of events that take place in each of two countries in the course of history. The method of comparativism helps in making final conclusions that are based on the data examined with the help of synchronic and diachronic methods.

The research is based on analyses of academic works dedicated to the history and culture of France and Russia, newspaper articles, and official governmental websites of both countries. Books on the theory of international relations and intercultural communication have been used in the theoretical chapter. Video projects and TV programs have been included in the source base of the fifth chapter of the work.

CHAPTER I. The Cultural Relations between France and Russia as an Example of the Realization of the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

As a basis for the theoretical part of the work the *Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)* by Milton J. Bennet was taken. The DMIS supposes that contact with cultural difference generates pressure for change in one's worldview. This happens because the "default" ethnocentric world view, while sufficient for managing relations within one's own culture, is inadequate to the task of developing and maintaining social relations across cultural boundaries.³ Bennet's theoretical conception is based on the observation of the main stages that accompany an individual in the process of intrusion in an environment different from his or her own but it is also applicable to the field of cultural International relations and it reflects the course and character of the French-Russian cultural relations from the eighteenth to the beginning of the twenty-first centuries. To prove this statement we examine the main types and kinds of the cultural experience and the way they correspond with historical events. In the process of the examination a special part is dedicated to the analysis of the role of self and other and stereotype formation and functioning.

M.J. Bennet singles out two qualitatively different types of cultural experience, like *ethnocentrism* and *ethnorelativism*, and six kinds of experience, including *denial*, *defense*, *minimization*, *acceptance*, *adaptation* and *integration*. By the term *ethnocentrism* he means the experience of one's own culture as "central to reality" and by the term *ethnorelativism* - the opposite of ethnocentrism, "the experience of one's own beliefs and behaviors as just one organization of reality among many viable possibilities." There are also six "kinds of experience spread across the continuum from *ethnocentrism* and *ethnorelativism*."⁴

"The most ethnocentric experience was named the *denial* of cultural difference, followed by the *defense* against cultural difference. In the middle of the continuum the *minimization* of cultural difference seemed to be a transition from the more virulent forms of ethnocentrism to a more benign form, leading to the ethnorelative *acceptance* of cultural difference. At the heart of ethnorelativism was *adaptation* to cultural difference, followed in some cases by the *integration* of cultural difference into identity. The sequence of these experiences became the "stages" of the DMIS."⁵

³Milton J. Bennet, "Becoming Interculturally Competent," in *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education*, ed. Wurzel, J. (Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation, 2004), 74

⁴ Ibid., 62

⁵ Ibid.

Figure 1

Denial → Defense → Minimization → Acceptance → Adaptation → Integration



As demonstrated in Figure 1, the first three kinds of the cultural experience are ethnocentric, meaning that the tenants of one's own culture are experienced as central to reality in some way. Now we proceed to the analysis of the kinds of the cultural experience starting from the most ethnocentric one. So *denial* of cultural difference is "the state in which one's own culture is experienced as the only real one - that is, that the patterns of beliefs, behaviors, and values that constitute a culture are experienced as unquestionably real or true." In this state, "other cultures are either not noticed at all, or they are construed in rather vague ways. As a result, cultural difference is experienced as associated with a kind of undifferentiated **other** such as "foreigner" or "immigrant."⁶ The stated above corresponds with the concept of Carl Schmitt who notes the similarity between the notions of others and enemies, strangers. He writes that "the state defines itself as the unit which distinguishes public enemies from friends. If a given state fails to do so, its authority will immediately be challenged by some other unit which will take on this burden."⁷ The spread of European power and culture provided Europe with this burden.⁸ According to Schmitt, the public enemy "does not have to be morally evil, he does not have to be esthetically ugly, he does not have to appear as an economic competitor, and it can [...] even be advantageous to have business dealing with him. He is nevertheless the other, the stranger."⁹ The other as "the non-European barbarian or savage", "played a decisive role in the evolution of the European identity and in the maintenance of order among European states."¹⁰ As Iver B. Neumann and Jennifer M. Welsh state in the article "The Other in European Self-Definition: An Addendum to the Literature on International Society", "the value of the notion of the other is to remind us that it is a negative process; a thing perceived as much in terms of what it is not".¹¹ Though "a

⁶ Milton J. Bennet, "Becoming Interculturally Competent," in *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education*, ed. Wurzel, J. (Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation, 2004), 63

⁷ Iver B. Neumann and Jennifer M. Welsh, "The Other in European Self-Definition: An Addendum to the Literature on International Society," in *Review of International Studies*, vol. 17, No. 4 (1991):332

⁸ *Ibid.*, 329

⁹ *Ibid.*, 332

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 329

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 331

variety of others have been instrumental in forging the European identity” there was “the dominant other in the history of European states system - “the Turk”. In contrast to the communities of the “New World”, the military might and physical proximity of the Ottoman Empire, combined with a strength of its religious tradition, made it a particularly relevant Other in the evolution of European identity.”¹² Edward Said was one of those who described a creation of “an Oriental other”, and tried to show how “European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even undergoing self.”¹³

The example with the Ottoman Empire is useful in the context of the work because it, in its turn, provides us with a link to the relations between France and Russia in the eighteenth century. Through the examination of relations Europe (self) – the Ottoman Empire (other) we will move to the analysis of relations France (self) – Russia (other) as a specular reflection of the former ones. The Ottoman Empire occupied and controlled a quarter of European continent, comprising some of Europe’s most coveted territory. So “the logical conclusion ought to be that the Ottoman Empire was, empirically, a European state” but the paradox is that it was not. Even though a significant portion of the Empire was based in Europe, it could not be said to have been of Europe.”¹⁴ The stated above can be referred to the relations between France and Russia and applied to the Russian Empire, but with one important amendment. In contrast to the Ottoman Empire, Russia aspired to be the part of Europe culturally and thus tried intensively to gain the experience of the latter by taking France as a model for its own transformation. But its aspiration did not correspond with the dominant feature of the eastern policy of France before the eighteenth century. The core of the policy was positive attitude toward Sweden, Poland and the Ottoman Empire. The basis for it is the geopolitical structure, in which the eastern boundary of the civilized world passed through the line Stockholm – Warsaw - Istanbul. Thereby Russia's appearance on the Western political scene called this construction in question. France tried to continue the usage of this model in the eighteenth century. Non-realization of Peter the Great dream about an alliance with France during his visit to Paris in 1717 can serve as a reason for it.¹⁵

¹² Iver B. Neumann and Jennifer M. Welsh, “The Other in European Self-Definition: An Addendum to the Literature on International Society,” in *Review of International Studies*, vol. 17, No. 4 (1991): 330

¹³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmonsworth, 1985), 3

¹⁴ Iver B. Neumann and Jennifer M. Welsh, “The Other in European Self-Definition: An Addendum to the Literature on International Society,” in *Review of International Studies*, vol. 17, No. 4 (1991):333

¹⁵ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Санкт-Петербург : Алетейя, 2005), 466-67

Now let us get back to the DMIS and examine its next state - *defense*. On this level “one’s own culture is experienced as the only viable one - the most “evolved” form of civilization, or at least the only good way to live.” The *defense* worldview structure is not sufficiently complex to generate an experience of the other. The cultural differences experienced in a *defense* perspective are **stereotypical**. This state is present at the historical development of the concept self (Europe) – other. So Edward V. Gulick in his work *Europe’s Classical Balance of Power: A Case History of the Theory and Practice of One of the Great Concepts of European Statecraft* wrote the following:

“By delineating which areas and values fell beyond the **pale** of European society, European states refashioned their own identity as a cultural whole and were better able to create the rules and institutions **distinctive** to their own interstate game.” They created “a **Great Wall**”, “a kind of **diplomatic fence** divided the **European state** system from **the rest of the world**.”¹⁶

As it was stated above, defense is based considerably on stereotype formation and functioning. So now we examine the phenomenon of the stereotype more profoundly.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are “elements of broad cultural practices and processes”, they carry “quite definite ideological views and values, they are not necessarily integral to our perceptual and cognitive organization of the social worlds we live in.”¹⁷ A peculiarity of stereotype is that it has significant negative connotations that are used at the stage of *defense*. They are “**inaccurate** because of the way they portray a social group or category as homogenous”, they **isolate**, take out of context certain forms of behavior, disposition or propensity. Being the **imprecise** representations, stereotypes “create the illusion of precision, of order, or the ways things should be.”¹⁸ Stereotyping also “imparts a sense of **fixedness** to the **homogenized** images it disseminates” and “constructs **difference** as deviant for the sake of normative gain.”¹⁹ In addition to homogenization of particular categories, “stereotypes serve as blanket **generalizations**” for all assigned to such groups.²⁰ Stereotypes can also be regarded as **deficient** and **discriminatory**. They are **deficient** because “they encourage an indiscriminate lumping of people under overarching group-signifiers, or because they reduce specific groups and categories to a limited set of conceptions which in themselves often contradict each other.” Stereotypes can be **discriminatory** when with their help “the stunted features or

¹⁶ Edward V. Gulick, *Europe’s Classical Balance of Power: A Case History of the Theory and Practice of One of the Great Concepts of European Statecraft* (New-York, 1967), 10

¹⁷ Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping. The Politics of Representation* (NY: Palgrave, 2001), 3

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5,7

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 10

attributes of others which characterize them are considered to form the basis for negative judgments, unjust treatment.”²¹

Correlation of stereotype with the “reality” provokes the emergence of its other discrepant characteristic. From one side, stereotyping is “condemned for **not being realistic**” and, from the other side, it is condemned for “being **too realistic**.”²² According to Walter Lippmann, there are two definitions of stereotypes: in political sense and in psychological sense. Stereotypes in political sense are “inadequate and biased, endorsing the interests of those who use them.” They are “obstacles to rational assessment and resistant to social change.” In psychological sense, “stereotyping is a necessary mode of processing information, especially in highly differentiated societies, an inescapable way of creating order” out of reality.²³ Lippmann added that stereotypes are “the projection upon the world of our own sense of our own value, our own position and rights.”²⁴ He added that stereotype is an ordered, schematic, determined by culture “picture of the world” in the human mind, which saves one’s efforts in the perception of complex objects of the world.²⁵

In dealing with stereotypes, M. Pickering also points out “the importance of taking a **historical view** of the processes they have been involved in.” Among such processes are “processes associated with building a national identity and nationalist sense of belonging.”²⁶ And it again refers us to the concept of self and other that was described above.

Taking into consideration the characteristics of the stereotype, the following conclusion can be made. Being the result of ethnocentric reactions, stereotype favors attempts to judge other people and cultures in terms of one’s own culture.²⁷ In addition, stereotyping faces the following dilemma: “to resort to one-sided representations in the interests of order, security and dominance, or to allow for a more complex vision, a more open attitude, a more flexible way of thinking.”²⁸ Though the first part of the statement demonstrates the negative aspect of stereotype, the second part with “a more complex vision, a more open attitude, a more flexible way of thinking” can be productive for the realization of cultural interaction programs. For example, cultural exchange programs provide each country-participant of the project with an opportunity to create its own program of events that, in its opinion, will reflect

²¹Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping. The Politics of Representation* (NY: Palgrave, 2001), 10

²² Ibid., 15

²³ Ibid., 18

²⁴ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, 64, <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper2/CDFinal/Lippman> (accessed 30 August 2011)

²⁵ Е.Н. Белая, *Теория и практика межкультурной коммуникации* (Москва: Форум, 2011), 113

²⁶ M.Pickering, *Stereotyping. The Politics of Representation* (NY: Palgrave, 2001), 9

²⁷ А.П. Сидохин, *Межкультурная коммуникация* (Москва: Альфа-М, 2011), 225

²⁸ Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping. The Politics of Representation* (NY: Palgrave, 2001), 3 -4

its prominent or outstanding cultural, scientific or historical sides full to the brim. Ipso facto the country has a chance to promote its own simple auto-stereotypical presentation to the foreigner (another country). At the same time, being a ground and exhibit room for presentation of one country, another country has a right to participate in choosing the events that the first country-participant wants to promote. Therefore the country uses its simple hetero-stereotypical function through selection and confirmation of the country-partner's program of events.

That leads us to the study of types of stereotypes. Jaakko Lehtonen points out that "in an intercultural setting, one of the goals of the participant is getting to know the attitudes and personality of the communication partner." One can do it by applying "both evidence and our existing beliefs about the members of that cultural group." But one should remember that existing beliefs or stereotypes "can concern one's own group or that of the other." Thus stereotypes form respectively the following two types: auto-stereotypes and hetero-stereotypes. In addition, "members of a given group may also share common conceptions about the other party's stereotypical assumptions about themselves, or about the respective other party." In other words, it is called a "projecting" of one's "own prejudices onto the group of others", and this type of stereotyping could be called a projected stereotype.²⁹ As an opposition to the projected stereotype, simple stereotype is given. Simple auto-stereotype can be represented by the statement "In our opinion we (my nationality) are . . ." Projected auto-stereotype is formulated as: "We think that they (inhabitants of the foreign country) consider us to be . . ." Projected hetero-stereotype is like: "We feel that they (the inhabitant of the foreign country) think that they are . . ." Simple hetero-stereotype is: "We think that they are..."³⁰

As any compound action the formation of a stereotype goes through the certain stages. The stages are: leveling, sharpening, and assimilation. Despite the vitality, a stereotype is not eternal. It is influenced by two factors: the collective unconscious processing and individual social and cultural environment, as well as purposeful ideological influence through the media. Change of stereotype occurs when a large number of denied information is accumulating.³¹ Though stereotypes can be changed gradually, they can also be broken.

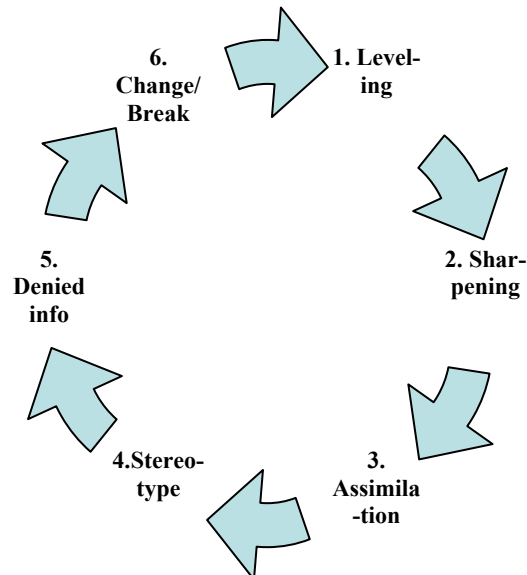
²⁹ Jaakko. Lehtonen, *Cultural Stereotypes*, <http://www.jyu.fi/viesti/verkkotuotanto/kp/vf/jaakko.shtml> (accessed 15 December 2011)

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ G.S.Melnik, *Stereotype and its formation in the process of Mass Communication*, <http://psyfactor.org/lib/stereotype1.htm> (accessed 15 December 2011)

Among the stereotype-breaking actions can be personal visit to the other country.³² The given below chart demonstrates the stereotype turnover that was depicted above.

Figure 2



According to J. William Breslin, “**productive interactions between different groups** can also counteract stereotypes.”³³ Stephen Ryan adds one more component to the mechanism of breaking. He points that cultural attitudes must be examined. According to his view, “national identities can be exclusionary” and thus “intellectuals and artists can play an important role in peace-building by examining cultural traditions and myths, by deconstructing exclusionist myths, and by reconstructing a more pluralist, inclusive set of cultural myths and traditions.”³⁴ Besides, one should not forget the role Mass Media plays in the process of creation, changing or breaking of a stereotype. Among the effective methods of impact on people's minds, that help in the formation of stereotypes G.S. Melnik marks the use of common interests, external similarity between an event and suggestion about it, linking the new stereotypes with the old ones; substitution of stereotypes, shifting the focus of attention.³⁵

³²International On-line Training Program on Intractable Conflict. Conflict Research Consortium. *Stereotype-breaking Actions*. (USA: University of Colorado), <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/stereobk.htm> (accessed 15 December 2011)

³³ J. William Breslin, “Breaking Away from Subtle Biases,” in *Negotiation Theory and Practice*, ed. J. William Breslin and Jeffery Z. Rubin (Cambridge: The Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School, 1991), 249

³⁴ Stephen Ryan, “Peace-Building and Conflict Transformation,” in *Ethnic Conflict and International Relations*, 129-152.

³⁵ G.S.Melnik, *Stereotype and its formation in the process of Mass Communication*, <http://psyfactor.org/lib/stereotype1.htm> (accessed 15 December 2011)

Methods marked by G.S. Melnik, are actively used in cultural exchange programs and will be described in the following parts of the work.

Now we come back to the examination of the DMIS stages. At the stage of *defense*, the second ethnocentric stage, the world is organized into “us and them,” where one’s own culture is superior and other cultures are inferior. In addition, these “superior cultures” “are likely to have many negative stereotypes of “them,” including a full stock of jokes emphasizing the assumed failings of other cultures.” In its benign form, *defense* may be expressed by “helping” “inferior cultures” to succeed by bringing the latter into the assumedly superior dominant culture. The stated above corresponds to the position of France as an “enlightener” of Russia in the eighteenth century. The *defense* experience is accompanied by negative stereotyping of other cultures. Bennet states that “other incidents of a culturally polarized worldview are evident in the complaints of travelers about unfamiliar food and similar failures of other cultures to not be “like us.”³⁶ One can refer to the French travel literature of the eighteenth century has represented in the next chapter for confirmation of this statement.

Defense a variation, and it is *reversal*, “where an adopted culture is experienced as superior to the culture of one’s primary socialization (native culture).” In contrast to *defense*, *reversal* “does not maintain the other culture as a threat.”³⁷ So here one can have an example of Russia in the end of the eighteenth – beginning of the nineteenth centuries when French culture was regarded as dominant for the Russian nobility and cultural elite.

The next stage, *minimization*, “tends to mask recognition” of one’s own culture and the institutional privilege it affords its members. At *minimization* level dominant culture (culture that influences other countries) is still unable to appreciate other cultures.³⁸ One may refer to the memoirs “Napoleon Campaign in Russia” by Armand Augustin Louis de Caulaincourt with quotations from Napoleon or memoirs and diaries of French prisoners of war 1812. For people of non-dominant cultures, a *minimization* worldview involves the acceptance of something like the “melting pot” idea. European Russians in the nineteenth century may serve an example for it.

An important point for our survey is what Bennet calls “the missing piece in *minimization*.” In his view, “the issue that needs to be resolved to move into ethnorelativism,

³⁶ Milton J. Bennet, “Becoming Interculturally Competent,” in *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education*, ed. Wurzel, J. (Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation, 2004), 65

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 66

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 67

is the recognition of one's own culture (cultural self-awareness)."³⁹ The French-Russian relations in the nineteenth century demonstrated that this issue was not missed and was represented by the consequences of the War 1812 mainly and by the Crimean War partially.

The analysis of the ethnorelative stages of development start from the examination of *acceptance*. Here it is important to mention that meaning that one's own culture is experienced in the context of other cultures. So *acceptance* of cultural difference is "the state in which one's own culture is experienced as just one of a number of equally complex worldviews."⁴⁰ It corresponds with the entrance of the Russian culture on the European stage in the first decades of the twentieth century. By constructing a kind of self-reflexive perspective, self is able to experience other as a different but equal subject. This statement finds its confirmation in the change of French perception of Russia that was based on the political and military approach in the end of the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth centuries, the *Ballets Russes*, World Expo 1900. A peculiarity of this stage is the emergence of "adept at identifying how cultural differences in general operate in a wide range of human interactions."⁴¹ The figure of Diaghilev may serve as an example of it. Besides, on the level of *acceptance* self might have positive attitudes toward another culture without having the ability to experience the other culture with much depth. So the *Ballets Russes* influenced the changes in the French fashion, interior design, ways of spending spare time (oriental balls), but did not lead to a better understanding and deeper study of Russian culture by the French.

The next stage to examine is *adaptation* when "one's worldview is expanded to include relevant constructs from other cultural worldviews."⁴² According to Bennet, *adaptation* includes "the extension of self repertoire of beliefs and behavior" and makes dominant culture "curious about cultural difference and actually eager to experience other culture."⁴³ Adaptation as defined here has long been the goal of intercultural communication training.⁴⁴

The crux of intercultural adaptation is the ability to have an alternative cultural experience. Individuals who have received largely monocultural socialization normally have access only to their own *cultural worldview*, so they are unable to experience the difference between their own perception and that of people who are culturally different. The development of intercultural sensitivity describes how we gain the ability to create an alternative experience

³⁹ Milton J. Bennet, "Becoming Interculturally Competent," in *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education*, ed. Wurzel, J. (Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation, 2004), 68

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 69

⁴² Ibid., 70

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

that more or less matches that of people in another culture. People who can do this have an *intercultural worldview*.⁴⁵

The resolution of authenticity at *adaptation* may establish the condition of *integration*, the last stage of development. *Integration* represents “the state in which one’s experience of self is expanded to include the movement in and out of different cultural worldviews.” Integration includes an important component - a *constructive marginality*, “in which movements in and out of cultures are a necessary and positive part of one’s identity.”⁴⁶ *Constructive marginality* leads to successful *intercultural* communication that “similarly involves being able to see a culturally different person as equally complex to one’s self and being able to take a culturally different perspective.”⁴⁷ Constructive marginality represents the resolution of the identity issue of *integration*. Here people are able to experience themselves as multicultural.⁴⁸ Bennet adds that *integration* is not necessarily better than *adaptation* in situations demanding intercultural competence.⁴⁹ By this statement he underlines that both of them are not easily reachable points.

It should be also mentioned that the last two stages were not fulfilled in the course of French-Russian interaction. Though the factual reason for it was the revolution 1917 but the real cause is a not very high level of the openness of self for a culturally different perspective of other. This “non-openness” is significant nowadays and serves as one of the main incentives for development of International cultural dialogue and cultural exchange programs.

In whole, the history of cultural relations can be viewed in terms of the *Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity*. The history of the Franco-Russian relations shows a gradual evolution inside the ethnocentric part, where an important role is given to the concept self – other and the formation and functioning of stereotypes. Cultural relations of the beginning of the twentieth century confirmed the transition to the first ethnorelative stage, which was suspended by political factors. Examination of the content of the subsequent stages suggests that they are aims of contemporary politics of cultural dialogue and cultural exchange programs.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Milton J. Bennet, “Becoming Interculturally Competent,” in *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education*, ed. Wurzel, J. (Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation, 2004), 74

⁴⁶ By *marginality* “the incorporation of habits and values from two divergent cultures and incomplete assimilation” is meant (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/marginal>)

⁴⁷ Milton J. Bennet, “Becoming Interculturally Competent,” in *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education*, ed. Wurzel, J. (Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation, 2004), 73

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 72

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ The examination of the examples of cultural exchange programs and their aims is given in Chapter V.

CHAPTER II. Cultural relations between Russia and France in the Eighteenth Century. Dominance of the French culture.

This chapter consists of three interconnected parts. The first part reflects the French perception of Russia in the eighteenth century. This part confirms an intensive usage of the concept “self” (France, civilization) – “other” (Russia, uncivilized country) by the French side. Then the analysis of the Russian perception of France is given. The examination of the activities of Peter the Great, Elizaveta Petrovna and Catherine the Great demonstrates a strong yearning for obtaining European knowledge in general and French cultural experience in particular. The third part of the chapter demonstrates concrete examples of the French cultural influence on Russia in the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth century provides us with two different ways of perception of the “other”. France regards Russia as a country that is at the best outwardly European but inside is definitely Asian with all typical characteristics of Asian way of life. By this, France easily supports its position of a European leading country, a judge who can decide what state is in Europe and what state is outside. Russia serves for France, as well as for other leading European countries of that time, a criterion of backwardness. If any Western European countries were alike Russia, the similarity was only in disadvantages like despotism.⁵¹ Russia, in its turn, regards France as one of the leading powers in Europe and takes French cultural experience as a means for transformation of its own culture in a modern European way.

French perception of Russia

In the eighteenth century Russia became an object of extraordinary intellectual interest.⁵² French philosophers-enlighteners played a leading role in invention of a definition of “Eastern Europe”.⁵³ They created a new conception of division. Before it a leading concept was a

⁵¹ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 116

⁵² *Ibid.*, 19

⁵³ The Enlightenment was a self-consciously international, and more particularly European, movement. Europe was often seen as a single country divided into various provinces, but with a common way of thinking, a common set of values, and a common language, French, which had the same role as Latin in the Middle Ages. Belief in progress was universal among the thinkers of the Enlightenment. Thinkers of the French Enlightenment rejected authority as the basis for knowledge. Instead they accepted the rationalism developed in the previous century. This did not automatically imply a rejection of religion, and various positions were held including atheism, deism, various forms of Protestantism, and even Catholicism. In practice, however, it meant rejecting the Church as the source of knowledge and therefore of the rules by which anyone should live. These could only be reached by the individual exercising his reason. The French Enlightenment was politically divided between

Renaissance concept of North – South where the North was represented by barbarian tribes and the South by Italian city-states. Due to enlighteners the opposition changed to West-East.⁵⁴ It led to the creation of a new concept “Eastern Europe” that, in its turn, was inseparably linked with development of “orientalism”. The main point of “philosophical geography” or “orientalism” was exclusion of Eastern Europe from Europe and inclusion in Asia.⁵⁵ Thus Europe (and France) depicted itself through the contrast with Eastern Europe where the latter was a kind of a bridge between true Europe and the East.⁵⁶

Geography also played an important role in creation of ideological frontiers. In 1716 a Parisian *Almanach Royal* included Poland in Eastern Europe and a year later Moscovia was put into the list. This case proves a general tendency of the eighteenth century when Western Europe possessed an advantage over Eastern Europe and gained a right to decide what geographically and culturally belonged to Europe and what to Asia.⁵⁷ Thus geography was linked with a subordination. With its help France established relations with other European countries and Europe formed its attitude towards the rest of the world.⁵⁸

French view on Russia was formed by French nobility, philosophers who wrote about their real or imaginary journeys to Russia. One of the most notable figures of this period was a French ambassador in St Petersburg **Count Segur**. Recalling his experience during 1780s, Count Segur believed that Russian noblewomen “had outstripped the men in this progressive march towards improvement: you already saw a number of elegant women and girls, remarkable for their graces, speaking seven or eight languages with fluency, playing several instruments, and familiar with the most celebrated romance writers and poets of France.”⁵⁹

Segur depicted Saint-Petersburg of the eighteenth century as a chaotic mix of “the age of barbarity and the age of civilization, tenth and eighteenth centuries, Asiatic and European manners, rude Scythians and refined Europeans, brilliant nobility and ignorant crowd.”⁶⁰ On the one hand there were fashionable dresses, splendid feasts, like in London or Paris. On the

those such as Voltaire who favored strengthening the absolute monarchy as the most efficient way to achieve reform, and those such as Montesquieu who favored restricting the monarchy to re-establish liberty. Neither side proposed extreme change although their thought has often been seen as a factor leading to the French Revolution. (<http://www.answers.com/topic/french-enlightenment>)

⁵⁴Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 25 - 36

⁵⁵ Ibid., 38

⁵⁶ Ibid., 39

⁵⁷ Ibid., 236

⁵⁸ Ibid., 289

⁵⁹Segur Louis-Philippe, comte de. “Memoires, souvenirs, et anecdotes, par le comte de Segur”, vol. I, in *Bibliothèque des mémoires: relatif a l'histoire de France: pendant 18e siècle*. Vol. XIX, (Paris, 1859), 236-7

⁶⁰ Ibid., 329 – 30

other hand he wrote about merchants in Asian clothes, servants and carrier in sheepskin coat with long beards and fur hats.⁶¹

He added that in course of fifty years all (Russians) were trained to imitate foreigners, to dress, to eat, to build houses and to furnish them, to greet each other, to give balls and dinners as the French, German and English did.⁶² Segur admitted that Russia is a European country but different parts of it were on different levels of development. He gave a following conclusion: Russia had a chance to become like Europe but like feudal Europe (not a contemporary one).⁶³



J.-B. le Prince (1734-1781) Scene from Russian Life

Segur was one of those officials who accompanied Catherine the Great during her journey around the Crimea. Segur understood a real object that Catherine pursued. The Russian ruler of a German origin knew that in France, and in Paris in particular, Russia was still considered as an Asian country, poor, full of ignorance and barbarity. She knew that for the French there was no difference between new European Russia and peasant Asian Moscovia.⁶⁴ Thus Asian barbarity of Russia can serve as an excuse for her own despotism.⁶⁵ Journey to Crimea only consolidated her image as a queen of the North who visited her wild Asian spaces.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Segur Louis-Philippe, comte de. "Memoires, souvenirs, et anecdotes, par le comte de Segur", vol. I, in *Bibliothèque des mémoires: relatif a l'histoire de France: pendant 18e siècle*. Vol. XIX, (Paris, 1859), 327

⁶² *Ibid.*, 332 - 33

⁶³ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 114

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 202

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 203

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 216

Segur was not the first one who left a detailed description of his impressions and observations about Russia. Ten years earlier **Denis Diderot** visited Saint-Petersburg.⁶⁷ During his stay (winter 1773-1774) he edited plans and regulations of new types of educational institutions, planned by Catherine the Great.⁶⁸ His stay in Russia was a sign of personal gratitude for Russian empress and at the same time he was in charge of improvement of Franco-Russian relations in accordance with French governments' assignment. In his works of this period he confirmed the existence of Franco-Russian cultural links.⁶⁹ Diderot wrote that "there is no nation in Europe that "se francise" as quick as Russian did, both in language and in manners".⁷⁰ The statement also demonstrates that, in the philosopher's view, France was the main source of civilization not only for Russia but for the whole Europe."⁷¹ In the fourteenth volume of Encyclopedia that he edited and wrote articles for Diderot characterized Russia as a country where "before the reign of Peter the Great customs, dress, morals and manners reminded more Asia rather than Christian Europe."⁷² It should be mentioned that Diderot stay in Saint-Petersburg took place in a period of aggravation of Franco-Russian official relations. Ipso facto his work in Russia demonstrated that Russian state figures supported scientific and cultural contacts with France and ranked it higher than politics.⁷³

With the assistance of Diderot other French men of culture had an opportunity to work at the court of Catherine the Great. Among them was Pierre-Charles Leveque who wrote *History of Russia* in 1782. This work is considered to be a historiographical masterpiece of the French Enlightenment in the field of Russian studies and was popular in the nineteenth century. Leveque was in Russia for seven years, he taught literature in a military school.⁷⁴

Diderot was not the only great French philosopher attracted by the phenomenon of Russia in the eighteenth century. **Voltaire** was in correspondence with Catherine the Great, wrote a book *History of the Russian Empire in the reign of Peter the Great* in 1763 and in 1746 he became a member of the Academy of Science in Saint-Petersburg.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 60

⁶⁸ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 114

⁶⁹ Denis Diderot. "Entretiens avec Catherine II (1773)," in *Oeuvres politiques*, ed. Paul Verniere (Paris, 1963), 206

⁷⁰ Ibid., 266-267

⁷¹ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 343

⁷² Ibid., 284

⁷³ N.O. Shiraliev, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 23

⁷⁴ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 428

⁷⁵ Ibid., 300

Voltaire established in the mid of the mid-eighteenth century foundations of ideological construction that led to the origins of Franco-Russian approach.⁷⁶ Though Voltaire never was in Russia or even to the east of Berlin, it did not stop him from the development of his own concept of Russia.⁷⁷ In 1760 Voltaire wrote a dialogue *Russian in Paris*. There are two characters – a Russian and a Parisian. The Parisian praises Peter the Great, who had imparted arts, manners and law in Russia. But the Russian answers:

« Je viens pour **me former** sur les bords de la Seine;
C'est **un Scythe** grossier voyageant dans Athene
Qui vous conjure ici, timide et curieux,
De **dissiper la nuit** qui couvre encore ses yeux. »⁷⁸

This extract can serve an example of Voltaire's double perception of Russia. On the one hand, he appreciated the efforts of the Russians to be educated in French manner and on the other hand, he regarded civilized France as the only source of it.⁷⁹



Voltaire (1694 - 1778)



Denis Diderot (1713 - 1784)

In 1790-1791 **Charles-Marie de Salaberry** wrote *Journey to Constantinople* that was published in 1799.⁸⁰ He was never in Russia but it did not stop him from writing an attachment *About Russians*. In the attachment Salaberry compared Russians with Turks in

⁷⁶ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2005), 69-71

⁷⁷ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 40

⁷⁸ Voltaire. "Le Russe a Paris" in *Oeuvres completes de Voltaire*. Vol 10. (Paris, 1978), 119 – 131

Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 159

⁷⁹ Ibid., 520

⁸⁰ Ibid., 87

their ferocity, lack of discipline, ignorance, prejudice, fanaticism, and uncleanness.⁸¹ He talked about Russian civility as ostentatious but not genuine.⁸²

The official perception of Russia by France was based mainly on the eastern policy of the latter. The core of the policy was positive attitude toward Sweden, Poland and the Ottoman Empire. The basis for it was the geopolitical structure, in which the eastern boundary of the civilized world passed through the line Stockholm – Warsaw - Istanbul. Thereby Russia's appearance on the Western political scene called this construction in question.⁸³ The only way how France could preserve this policy was the usage of the concept of “self” and “other” that was in demand in the Enlightenment period. It is important to note that the French revolution of 1789–1799 that was associated with the crisis of the Enlightenment ideas did not change the negative attitude towards Russia in the concept. Moreover the new French world-view was based on the blame of the popular Enlightenment image of an educated and enlightened monarch, man of wisdom on a throne who was embodied in the figures of Peter and Catherine the Great.⁸⁴

Russian perception of France

Russian perception of France in the eighteenth century was made on the two main levels. On the first (official) level Russia regarded France first as an unattainable ideal of state and public organization and later on after the Revolution as a “breeder of republic disease”. The second level revealed France as a trendsetter in all aspects of cultural life.⁸⁵ Figures of three Russian rulers, Peter the Great, Elizaveta Petrovna and Catherine the Great, will be in focus of examination of the official level.

⁸¹ Charles-Marie marquis de Salaberry d'Irumberry, *Voyage a Constantinople, en Italie, et aux oles de l'Archipel, par l'Allemagne et la Hongrie* (Paris:Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1799), 214 - 216

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Санкт-Петербург : Алетейя, 2005), 466-67

⁸⁴ С.А. Мезин, “Зарождение петровской темы в общественной мысли Франции,” in *Взгляд из Европы: французские авторы XVIII века о Петре I*. (Saratov, 2003), <http://annuaire-fr.narod.ru/bibliotheque/Mezin-book/Glava-2.html> (accessed 20 December 2011)

⁸⁵ N.O. Shiralievа, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 8



Peter the Great (1682 - 1721)



Elizaveta Petrovna (1709- 1762)



Catherine the Great (1729-1796)

Peter the Great began reinventing himself and his aristocracy in the European mould. The first thing he did on his return from Europe, in 1698, was to order all the boyars to give up their kaftans for Western codes of dress. He forbade them to wear beards, he commanded his nobles to entertain after the European fashion. The aristocracy was to learn French, to converse politely and to dance minuet.⁸⁶

Peter, as it is often said, turned Russia to Europe. Civility, disposition towards commerce, interest for science, arts, and various innovations became distinctive features of his time.⁸⁷ Although Peter was the first Russian ruler who looked at European experience as a source for Russian renovation, his attitude towards arts and culture in general was utilitarian. His main aim was a creation of a modern army and fleet rather than collecting pictures of old masters. His personal library consisted of 1500 volumes about military science, shipbuilding, works on history, architecture, gardening, etc. In 1703 he founded a city of Saint-Petersburg that in 1712 became a capital of Empire, a cultural laboratory for subsequent centuries and a metaphor of civilization construction in Russia.⁸⁸ He was the first Russian ruler who secularized culture.⁸⁹

Peter invited the first French artists and masters to work in Russia. Among his first projects was the Strelna Palace. It was erected under the project of Jean-Baptiste Le Blond in 1717. All decorative materials including paintings, textile, sculpture and jewelry were from France.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 43

⁸⁷ Louis de Jacourt. *Russie*, in *Encyclopedie*. (Vol.14), 445

⁸⁸ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 243

⁸⁹ Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехмо, 2011), 25

⁹⁰ I.Svirida, "Versailles et la culture russe: entre realite et myphe", in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-eme siecles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscow: Naouka, 2006), 17-21



Strelna Palace. 19th century.



Strelna Palace. 2010

Peter said that it is “useful to adopt French science and arts”.⁹¹

It is important to mention that Peter borrowed not the most actual and fashionable things of that time but only those things that he found suitable and necessary for Russian needs.⁹² In 1717 Russian tsar unofficially visited France. During his stay he was in Versailles, examined its palace, park, fountains, ponds and stables.⁹³ Peter visited the French Academy of Science and was elected an honorary member.⁹⁴

It is a curious detail that France played a considerable role in creation of a myth about Peter the Great. On the occasion of the death of the tsar Bernard de Fontenelle wrote an eulogy in 1725. Then the myth continued to exist in Voltaire’s works, and later on in *Petriad* by Antoine Tomas.⁹⁵

In 1721 Peter the First accepted a title of Russian Emperor. By this act he superposed two strategies. On the one hand, he aimed at getting recognition from European states and for overcoming an inferiority complex towards Europe. On the other hand, he demonstrated his independence and underlined the idea of bipolar Europe with two Christian Imperial centers, putting the Russian Empire over Britain, France and Spain.⁹⁶

⁹¹ И.И Голиков, *Деяния Петра Великого* (Moscow, 1788) , 329

⁹² Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехто, 2011) , 27

⁹³ I.Svirida, “Versailles et la culture russe: entre realite et myphe”, in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-eme siecles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscow: Naouka , 2006), 11-12

⁹⁴ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 305

⁹⁵ Ibid., 304

⁹⁶ Рикарда Вульпиус, «Вестернизация России и Формирование Российской Цивилизаторской Миссии в XVIII веке», in *Imperium inter pares: роль трансферов в истории Российской империи (1700 – 1917)* (Moscow: NLO, 2010), 19

Peter was of great interest in the West. His efforts to establish the empire, to conquer new territories, to develop art and commerce, as well as to subordinate church to state obtained recognition of European countries. In the first half of the eighteenth century, there was a dominated view that Peter brought Russia to one of the highest positions among European empires.⁹⁷

Peter also had a plan to arrange a marriage between his daughter, future empress **Elizaveta Petrovna**, and French king Louis XV. Strengthening of ties between France and Russia took place during the reign of Elizaveta Petrovna. She ascended the throne thanks to plot of 1741 arranged by the French ambassador in Russia marquis de la Chetardie. Russian diplomacy of the stated period was directed towards closer relations with France. In 1745 French king Louis XV made a historically significant act. He officially recognized Elizaveta as an Empress. Here it should be mentioned that Peter the First accepted a title of Emperor in 1721 but the title was not recognized by many European states.⁹⁸



Louis XV (1710-1774)



J-J Trotti marquis de la Chetardie (1705-1759)

Elizaveta and Peter the Great periods have an important distinctive feature. During Peter's reign European culture was forcibly embedded in Russian culture. During Elizaveta's reign European culture ruled the minds of elite and began to gain, owing to the empress

⁹⁷Рикарда Вульпиус, «Вестернизация России и Формирование Российской Цивилизаторской Миссии в XVIII веке», in *Imperium inter pares: роль трансферов в истории Российской империи (1700 – 1917)* (Moscow: NLO, 2010), 34

⁹⁸ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2005), 68

encouragement, more and more distinctive national traits.⁹⁹ Since 1742 French culture, fashion, language and manners became an integral part of Russian court life.¹⁰⁰

One of the greatest “Europeans” of Elizaveta’s times was Ivan Shuvaloff, her minion. He ordered books from Europe and collected works by Rembrandt, Tintoretto, Rubens, Van Dyck that later would become a part of the Hermitage Collection. He worshiped Peter the First. He started correspondence with Voltaire and persuaded the latter to write “The History of Russia during the Reign of Peter the Great”.¹⁰¹

The reign of **Catherine the Great** continued the movement of Russia to French culture. Catherine set the pattern for the theatre in Russia. She herself wrote plays and comic operas; she began the fashion for the high French style in the Russian theatre. She advanced the Enlightenment idea of the theatre as a school of public manners and sensibilities. In her times, estates of nobility became islands of European culture on Russian peasant soil.

Catherine implemented Peter’s dream about creation of national cultural life on a basis of European model. As Petr Vyazemsky wrote, “Russian (Peter the First) wanted to make us Germans and German (Catherine the Second) wanted to make us Russians”. Catherine was more generous in spending money on art. According to her orders, numerous paintings, sculptures, silver and porcelaine were bought in Europe and became a basis of the Hermitage collection.¹⁰² For stocking of her collection she hired experts like Ivan Shuvalov, Etienne Maurice Falconet and even Diderot. Her agents bought Rembrandt, Murillo in Paris. It was considered as a first massive attack of Russian money on European art-market. As Diderot wrote in his letters to Catherine, he had provoked “a real public anger” by buying so many pieces of art and sending them to Saint-Petersburg.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехмо, 2011), 34

¹⁰⁰ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 260

¹⁰¹ Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехмо, 2011), 39

¹⁰² Ibid., 50

¹⁰³ Ibid., 51



I.I. Shhuvaloff (1727-1798)



J-B Greuze *Filial Piety* (Bought by Diderot for the Hermitage)

Thanks to Catherine's decrees of 1768 and 1783, publishing activity successfully developed. Act of 1768 encouraged the translation of foreign books into Russian. Decree of 1783 made no differences between publishing houses and plants and allowed a creation of not only state but also private publishing houses.¹⁰⁴

To sum up the previous discussion, the eighteenth century was a period of intensive penetration of European culture into Russia. During the reign of Peter the Great the main orientation was on the countries of Northern Europe (Holland, England). At the same time France was regarded as a perspective cultural source and partner.¹⁰⁵ The subsequent periods turned a perspective into reality that showed a dominance of the French culture by the end of the eighteenth century in Russia.

Though cultural dominance was evident it did not mean that Franco-Russian relations were stable during all that period. There was one considerable event that had both positive and negative effect on interconnection between the countries. It was **the French Revolution** of 1789 that profoundly shook Russia's idealization of France. Orlando Figes asserts that "the Jacobin reign of terror undermined Russia's belief in Europe as a force of progress and enlightenment. As an example for this statement he takes Karamzin, a prominent Russian writer and historian.

As Karamzin wrote in 1795, he did not recognize the "Age of Enlightenment" in blood and flames. His anguish was widely shared by the European Russians of his age. Brought up to believe that

¹⁰⁴ Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехмо, 2011), 52

¹⁰⁵ Ю. Лотман, "Русская литература на французском языке," in *Избранные статьи в 3 томах. Статьи об истории русской литературы* (Tallin, 1992), 354

only good things came from France, his compatriots could now see only bad. Their worst fears appeared to be confirmed by the horror stories which they heard from the émigrés who had fled from Paris to St Petersburg. The Russian government broke off relations with revolutionary France. Politically the once Francophile nobility became Francophobes, as ‘the French’ became a byword for inconstancy and godlessness, especially in Moscow and provinces. In Petersburg, where the aristocracy was totally immersed in French culture, the reaction was more gradual and complicated – there were many liberal noblemen and patriots (like Pierre Bezukhov in War and Peace) who retained their pro-French views.¹⁰⁶

In this passage one finds several important observations. The Revolution and change of the regime in France inevitably made autocratic Russia break off any relations with a currently formed republic. Moreover the French Revolution delivered a blow on Catherine’s attitude towards the Enlightenment. She considered the revolution as an international political threat. It is a notable fact that in 1779 she bought the library of Voltaire and placed it in the Imperial book depository in the Hermitage underlying by it his great role in cultural life in Russia.¹⁰⁷ And in 1791 she abandoned any publications of Voltaire works. Moreover even after her death, in 1800 the decree on prohibition of import of books emerged and a list of prohibited books grew considerably.¹⁰⁸

At the same time rupture of political relations did not shake a predominant position of French culture in the circle of Russian aristocracy and moreover only strengthened it by allowing French émigrés to find their shelter in Russia. Most of them were royalists, for example brother of Louis XVI, comte d’Artois who later became Carl X. Among other émigrés was Nikolai Benois, the court architect and portrait painter, whose son, Alexander Benois, established the Ballets Russes with Sergei Diaghilev.¹⁰⁹ In 1795 Élisabeth-Louise Vigée-Le Brun, a favourite painter of Marie-Antoinette, arrived to Saint-Petersburg where she painted Russian nobility.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Orlando Figes, *Natasha’s Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 67

¹⁰⁷ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 113

¹⁰⁸ Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехмо, 2011), 69

¹⁰⁹ Orlando Figes, *Natasha’s Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 41

¹¹⁰ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 413



É.-L. Vigée-Le Brun *Marie-Antoinette* (1783)



É.-L. Vigée-Le Brun *Princess Youssouppoff*

In general, for the period of the eighteenth century two categories of French émigrés were formed. One group consisted of those who came to work on an individual contract basis. The second group was made of illegal emigrants, mostly protestants and royalists who came after the Revolution. The first group was not numerous; the list of the first French who came to Russia in 1716 included only 54 names.¹¹¹ Mass migration of French specialists occurred later during the reign of Elizaveta Petrovna (1741 - 1762). Brain drain was so evident that French minister of Foreign Affairs (E.-F.Choiseul) made an attempt to stop or reduce it. His endeavour was of no success and migration increased during the time of Catherine the Great.¹¹²

Among those who came to work in Russia were: sculptor Nicolas Pinault, painters Louis Caravaque, Jean-Louis Voille, masters of decorative and applied arts, jeweler L.-D. Duval, master of heraldry Francesco Santi (created an arms of Saint-Petersburg), architect Le Blond, etc.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Christophe Augereau, "La difficile installation du premier consulat de France a Saint-Petersbourg en 1717", in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-eme siecles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscow: Naouka , 2008), 22-23

¹¹² Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 77

¹¹³ Г.В. Вилинбахов, "Основание Петербурга и имперская эмблематика," in *Семиотика города и городской культуры: Петербург/Труды по знаковым системам*. Vol. XVIII. (Tartu, 1984), 46-54



Francesco Santi 1718-1758)



Arms of Saint-Petersburg

The establishment of Russian ballet started from 1737 when French dancer and choreographer Jean-Baptiste Lande opened a first professional ballet school in the old Winter Palace.¹¹⁴ In the end of Catherine the Great era Charles le Picq came to work in Saint-Petersburg.¹¹⁵

Many of French noble men were on Russian military or state service. For example, general-governor of Odessa since 1803 was A.-E. Du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu, who in 1814 after the restoration of the Bourbons returned to France and in a year became a prime-minister. His successor on a post of a general-governor was Louis Alexandre Langeron, native of Paris. His portrait can be found in the Military Gallery of the Winter Palace of the State Hermitage among the portraits of other Russian heroes of Patriotic War 1812.¹¹⁶



A.-E. Du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu, monument to him (Odessa) L.-A. Langeron (1763-1831)

Above mentioned personalities are only some examples of prominent French people who made a valuable contribution to cultural and public life in Russia. The majority of emigrants worked as governesses, barbers, teachers, dancing masters, cooks, tailors, milliners and

¹¹⁴ Кулаков В.А. “Ланде,” in *Балет. Энциклопедия* (Moscow, 1981), 292

¹¹⁵ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2005), 84

¹¹⁶ Василий Молодяков, *Россия и Франция: “L’Entente Cordiale” (1889 - 1900)* (Moscow: Просвещение, 2010), 8

various artisans. Though their population was at an average 3,000-4,000, their influence on maintenance and strengthening of French style of life was evident and became prevalent in the end of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries.¹¹⁷

Though French cultural dominance was shaken in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Revolution was not the only reason for it. Another cause was a possibility for Russian nobles to travel abroad and create their own opinion about France that was quite often negative. To prove this statement one may refer to the letters of Denis Fonvizin that he wrote while his stay in France in 1778.

France was the symbol of the West. Paris was ‘a city of moral decadence’, of ‘lies and hypocrisy’ which could only corrupt the young Russian who came to it in search of that crucial ‘*comme il faut*’. It was a city of material greed, where ‘money is God’; a city of vanity and external appearances, where ‘superficial manners and conventions count for everything’. The French philosophers were fraudulent because they didn’t practice what they preached. In sum, he concluded, Europe was a long way from the ideal the Russians imagined it to be.¹¹⁸

Fonvizin also represented his negative views on Russians who worshiped France in comedies he wrote. So Fonvizin’s character Ivan, in *The Brigadier*, considers France his ‘spiritual homeland’ for the simple reason that he was once taught by a French coachman. Returning from a trip to France, Ivan proclaims that ‘anyone who has ever been in Paris has the right not to count himself a Russian anymore’. In Russian literature, mostly comedies, the nobleman who worships France – and thus despises Russia – was a stock character.¹¹⁹

The terms Fonvizin used to characterize Europe and France in particular appeared with extraordinary regularity in subsequent Russian travel writing up to the time of Herzen’s *Letters from France and Italy* (1847 – 1852) and Dostoevsky’s *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions* (1862). The idea that the French were false and shallow became commonplace.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 87-89

¹¹⁸ D.I.Fonvizin, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 2 vols. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959) vol.1, 420, 439, 460

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 77-8

¹²⁰ Orlando Figes, *Natasha’s Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 66



D.I.Fonvizin (1745-1792)



N.M.Karamzin (1766-1826)

The Cultural Impact of France on Russia

French Theatre

The course of the eighteenth century clearly proved that French culture dominated in various spheres of Russian life. The statement will be underpinned below through the review of the most outstanding events in such areas as theatre and music, art and architecture, education, literature and language.

To start with theatre and music, it should be noted that the musical life of eighteenth-century Russia was dominated by the court and by small private theatres such as the Sheremetev theatre. Public theatres, which were long-established in the towns of Western Europe, did not really feature in the cultural life of Russia until the 1780s.¹²¹ The Sheremetev theatre served an example of Russian and French mix. The troupe that was ranked on a level with the court theatre in Petersburg consisted of serfs only.¹²² But training of the troupe was made in the disciplined techniques of the Paris Opera with French singing teacher, a language instructor in French and with peasants selected at an early age and trained as musicians and singers. The Sheremetev theatre was the first in Russia to stage ballets (mainly, French) on their own, rather than as part of an opera. The Russian ballet was born in Sheremetev's estate Kuskovo.¹²³

¹²¹ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 38

¹²² *Ibid.*, 39

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 40

Catherine the Great was also an amateur of music. She invited a French opera troupe to the Petersburg court as one of her first acts on the assumption of the throne in 1762. The French comic opera was a major influence on early Russian operas like *Anyuta* (similar to Favart's *Annette et Lubin*)¹²⁴ And at the same time the Hermitage court theatre in St Petersburg was the home of the French opera, the most prestigious of the foreign companies.¹²⁵

The Influence of the French Language on Russian Literature and Language

A constantly growing interest in French language and literature explained the lack of a national Russian literature in the eighteenth century.¹²⁶ Since the reign of Elizaveta Petrovna, Gallomania became “a la mode” for Russian educated audience and French book production by the number of sold copies was in the first place for many decades.¹²⁷ A particular feature of Russian literature of that period was also a great number of Russified French plays. The already mentioned Denis Fonvizin was among those who made translations and adopted French stories for Russian audience.

That is an interesting fact that number of the French was in times less than Germans in Russia but it was French language that was considered a language of diplomacy and trade.¹²⁸ Loanwords took place not only in technical and cultural terminology but also in everyday communication.¹²⁹ As Voltaire wrote, French language spread in Russia “as the country became civilized”.¹³⁰ And finally French language became the second native and then the native language of Russian nobility since the time of Catherine the Great till Alexander the First.¹³¹

The dominance of the French language led to the problem with creation of a Russian literary language. There were no terms in Russian for the sort of thoughts and feelings that constitute the writer's jargon. Basic literary concepts had never been developed in the Russian

¹²⁴ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 41

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 51

¹²⁶ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 108

¹²⁷ *Французская книга в России в XVIII веке* (Leningrad, 1986)

¹²⁸ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 110

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 171

¹³⁰ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 309

¹³¹ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 115

tongue: *gesture, sympathy, privacy, impulsion, imagination* – none could be expressed without the usage of French.¹³²

“But *pantaloons, gilet, and frock* –
These words are hardly Russian stock.”¹³³

Adoptions were so powerful that they stayed in Russian language as word-for-word translations:

“Prendre part” (принимать участие)
“Perdre patience” (терять терпение)
“Faire honneur” (делать честь)
“faire influence **sur**” (производить влияние **на**).¹³⁴

The French language greatly influenced the reform of Russian literary language made by Nikolay Karamzin. The reform was based on the author’s refusal to use vocabulary and grammar of Church-Slavonic, injecting, instead of it, a spoken language into his works and taking as a model French grammar and syntax.¹³⁵

Fashion and architecture

By decree of Peter I in 1700, the nobles and town dwellers were not allowed to wear the Russian costume. Instead, the following forms were established: for men - a short coat and waistcoat adjacent, pantaloons, long stockings and shoes with buckles, white wig or powdered hair, clean-shaven face, and for women - a broad frame-skirt, tight-fitting bodice, wig and high heels, bright make-up (rouge and ceruse). Thus, the basic forms of European dress - "German or French dress" - replaced the Russian costume and gave rise to new notions of beauty and aesthetic ideals.¹³⁶

¹³² V. Vinogradov, *Очерки по истории русского литературного языка XVII – XIX вв.* (Leiden, 1949), 239

¹³³ A. Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin*, p. 19

¹³⁴ В.В. Виноградов, *Очерки по истории русского литературного языка XVII-XIX века* (Москва, 1938), 160-172

¹³⁵ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 172

¹³⁶ http://raduga.edusite.ru/html/koroluk/html/XVIII_vek.htm



Russian costume in the end of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century

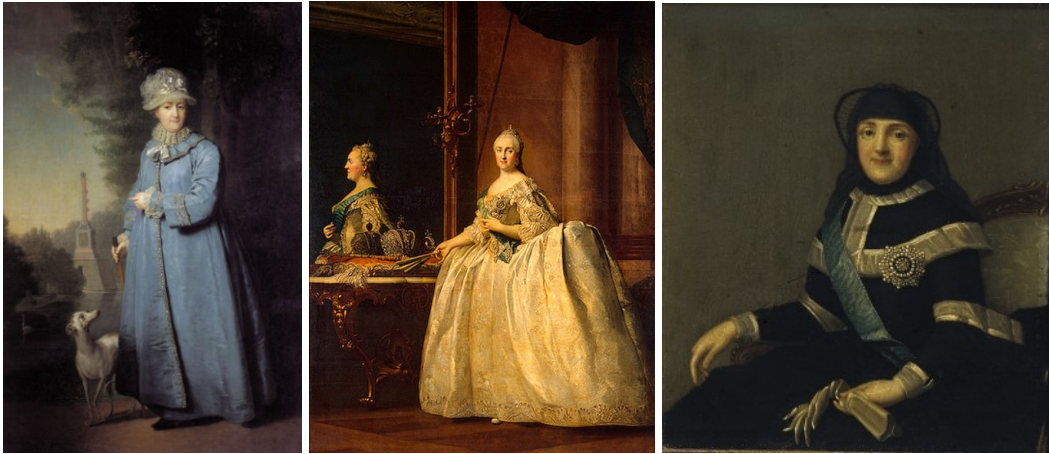
During the reign of Elizaveta Petrovna a dress was characterized by a special splendor and richness. Ladies wore low décolleté form-fitting dresses on frame basis. In 1720 a dress with a fold Watteau appeared in France and later on in Russia. The collection of the dresses of Elizaveta Petrovna consists of up to 15 thousand luxurious dresses. Since the reign of Elizaveta Petrovna France became not only an “artsetter” but also a trendsetter for Russian upper and middle class. French tailors, hatters, milliners, perfumers, goldsmiths occupied the best places for their shops in Moscow and Saint-Petersburg and since that time became sole fashion rulers.¹³⁷



Elizaveta Petrovna and her dresses

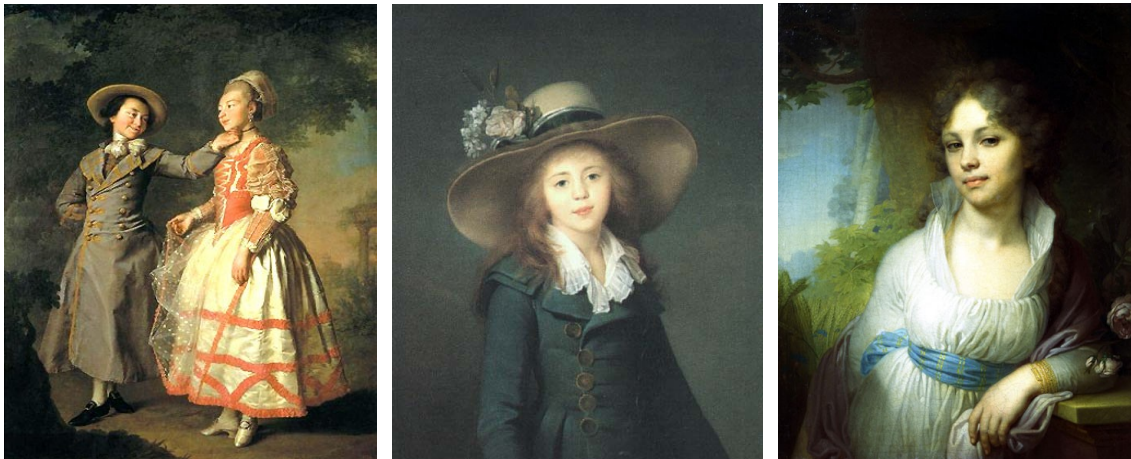
A new stage in the development of aesthetic tastes and ideals of the Russian society was the reign of Catherine II. This period was associated with the increasing influence of French fashion, with the approval of luxury and splendor forms of a dress.

¹³⁷ http://raduga.edusite.ru/html/koroluk/html/XVIII_vek.htm



Catherine the Great and her dresses

The given below portraits of the Russian noble women demonstrate that already in the eighteenth century one can scarcely find a difference between French and Russian women of fashion.



1

2

3

- 1) Levitsky *Portrait of E.Khrushcheva and E.Khovanskaya*, 1773
- 2) Jean-Louis Voille *Baroness Stroganoff*, 1781-82,
- 3) V.P. Borovikovsky *Portrait of M.I.Lopukhina*, 1797

In the course of the eighteenth century Russia tried to follow all European art tendencies and styles starting from baroque and rococo in the first part of the century and ending with classicism and sentimentalism in its second part.¹³⁸ As this work provides an overview but not a detailed study, the focus will be on two representatives of French art who played a significant role in constructing of European architectural look of the Russian capital. One is Jean-Baptiste Vallin de la Mothe (1729-1800), an architect who created an appearance of Saint-Petersburg. Among his works are Gostiny Dvor, arc of New Holland, building of the Academy of Arts, a catholic church of Saint Catherine, Maly Hermitage and numerous palace of the city. De la Mothe was invited to Russia in 1759 and worked here till 1775. Besides his

¹³⁸ <http://www.hist.msu.ru/Departments/Art/Russian/18/>

main occupation, he also taught in the Academy of Arts. Among his students were prominent Russian architects V.I.Bazhenov and I.E.Starov. Thereby this example proves a dual role of French masters: quite often they did not only do their main job but also passed their experience to Russian followers.



The Academy of Arts

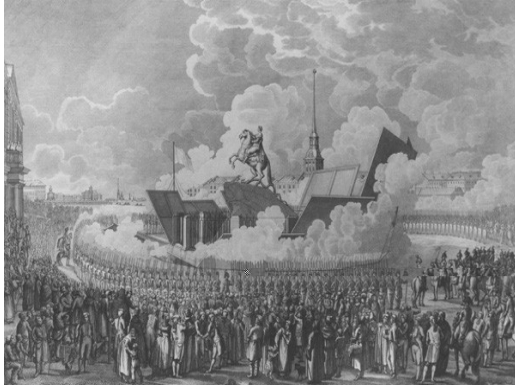


Arc of New Holland

The second person was Étienne Maurice Falconet. He had never been to Russia but it did not prevent him from making a monument that later became one of the brightest symbols in Russian history and literature. Catherine the Great asked Falconet to create a monument dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Peter the Great accession to the throne. As it was stated above, Falconet did not visit Russia, in addition to it he got information about Peter the First only from French sources.¹³⁹ So his monument was a work of a Frenchman who “saw Russia through the lens of the Enlightenment”. The statue consists of a huge stone and a figure of the Emperor on a horse and symbolized, according to Falconet’s idea, “all the difficulties that Peter overcame in his great efforts to transform Russia”.¹⁴⁰ The monument was opened in 1782 and became the symbol of glory not only of Peter the Great but also of Catherine who put an inscription “To Peter the First from Catherine the Second, year 1782” on it. Later on, in the nineteenth century Falconet’s Bronze Horseman would become a literary character, a symbol of tyranny and cruelty of a ruler who was ready on numerous victims for fulfillment of his dreams. (See “The Bronze Horseman” by A.S.Pushkin)

¹³⁹ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 102-105

¹⁴⁰ Лари Вульф, *Изобретая Восточную Европу Карта Цивилизации в Сознании Эпохи Просвещения* (Moscow: NLO, 2003), 168



Opening of the monument, 1782



The Bronze Horseman, 2010



A.N. Benois, illustration for “The Bronze Horseman” by A.S. Pushkin, 1903

A conversation about architecture will not be full enough without mentioning the construction of the Peterhof Palace and the role that the Versailles Palace played in it. Versailles was present in the Russian culture, as well as in European, in two merged images – as an artistic masterpiece and as a royal residence. Feats of 1660's that took place in Versailles made other European rulers wish to have their own "Versailles." It automatically extended the sphere of influence of French culture, contributed to the expansion of the French art and language, taste and fashion, and gave impetus to a kind of Gallomania in Europe.¹⁴¹

Russian visitors first appeared at Versailles with the Embassy of P.I. Potemkin that was adopted by Louis XIV.¹⁴² The first Russian source with information about Versailles is represented in letters by A.A. Matveev, who in 1705-1706 carried out diplomatic assignments in Paris. In April 1717 Peter the Great came with an unofficial visit to France. He looked at the palace, examined park, fountains, stables, ponds, and was pleased with what he saw.¹⁴³ It was not a coincidence that it was Peter the Great who decided not only to create something similar at home, but to surpass the French original. Among his contemporaries, Peter with his scale of activity and meteoric rise, was ready to translate the ideas symbolized by Versailles. Russia was then a rising empire, and France with the death of “Le Roi Soleil” was completing

¹⁴¹ R. Pomeau *L'Europe des Lumières: Cosmopolitism et unite Europeenne au XVIIIe siecle* (Paris, 1991), 84

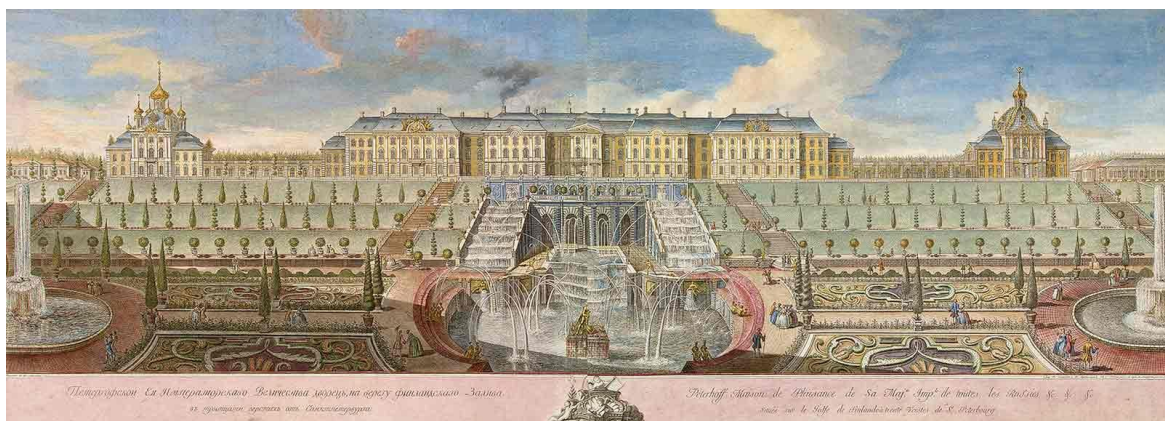
¹⁴² I.Svirida, “Versailles et la culture russe: entre realite et myphe”, in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-eme siecles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscow: Naouka , 2006), 9

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 11-12

its “Grand Siecle” entering in a critical age of its history. Versailles was the result of brilliant periods of French Empire, and the Peterhof, in its turn, appeared at the beginning of a new era of the Russian Empire.¹⁴⁴



Versaille¹⁴⁵



Peterhof¹⁴⁶

Chapter Summary

To sum up, the following conclusions can be made. The perception of each other by France and Russia was diametrically opposed. France had big doubts in inclusion of Russia in the list of civilized countries. These doubts were based on the fixed model of a civilized “self” and uneducated “other”. Russia, in its turn, “cut through a window to Europe” with a swift thrust, aimed to become equal in power and authority with leading European countries and gain their recognition. This yearning for acknowledgement is reflected in the fact that Russia absorbed intensively European cultural experience by inviting scientists, artists, masters to work and

¹⁴⁴ I.Svirida, “Versailles et la culture russe: entre realite et myphe”, in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-eme siecles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscow: Naouka , 2006) , 16

¹⁴⁵ www.nemiga.info

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

teach in Russia. It is important to acknowledge that although the population of French emigrants in Russia was quite small (several times smaller than the German population), admittance of the French culture was so high that it became dominant in Russia. In total, in the eighteenth century Franco-Russian cultural relations had unidirectional character. French dominance in this field was so high that it was senseless to talk about high level of interchange.

CHAPTER III. Cultural relations between Russia and France in the XIX century. Formation of full-fledged cultural dialogue.

This chapter reflects the major events and trends that influenced the development and the changing nature of cultural relations between Russia and France in the nineteenth century. The study of the phenomenon of "European Russian" and the linguistic superiority of French over other European languages will be considered as the main arguments in favor of the French cultural domination in Russia. A part of the chapter is devoted to the development of representations of the "other", in other words, the French perception of Russia and Russian perception of France. A significant part of the chapter is devoted to three key political events between the countries in the nineteenth century and their refraction in the establishment of the idea of Russian national cultural identity, and in the formation of full-fledged bilateral cultural dialogue.¹⁴⁷

French cultural domination in Russia remained the main tendency in the first part of the nineteenth century. It led to two main consequences. Absorption of the French culture by the Russian nobility required an increasing number of **French immigrants**. Their ranks were replenished then not only with architects, artists, craftsmen, but also with teachers and tutors, and by mid-century, with entrepreneurs and engineers. Among the architects who came to work in Russia were Jean-François Thomas de Thomon, graduate of the French Academy of Arts, who constructed Stock Exchange building and Stone theatre in Saint-Petersburg; Henri Louis Auguste Ricard de Montferrand, a holder of the "Ordre national de la Légion d'honneur" and the architect of the Isaac's cathedral, the Alexander Column and the monument to Nicholas the First. Besides, French expatriates occupied significant positions in the Russian army and navy. For example, Jean-Francois de Traverse was a Russian navy minister from 1811 to 1828. French tutors and teachers became an indispensable part of the home education in high and middle-class families.¹⁴⁸

The second display of French cultural domination in Russia is connected with the appearance of the term "**European Russians**". Though in the term an adjective European is used it is evident that the "Frenchness" was the main constituent part of this type of a person. Among them are the great cultural figures of the Russian tradition, like Alexander Pushkin, Nikolay Glinka, Nikolay Gogol, Leo Tolstoy, Ivan Turgenev, Fedor Dostoevsky, Piotr

¹⁴⁷ N.O. Shiraliev, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 28

¹⁴⁸ Н.В. Юхнева, *Этнический состав и этносоциальная структура населения Петербурга. Вторая половина XIX – начало XX века* (Leningrad, 1984), 71-72

Tchaikovsky, Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov and Sergey Diaghilev. They were not simply Russians, they were Europeans too, and the two identities were intertwined and mutually dependent in a variety of ways. For European Russians, there were two very different modes of personal behavior. In the salons and ballrooms, at the court and in the theatre, they were very *'come il faut'*: they performed their European manners. Yet on another and perhaps unconscious plane and in the less formal spheres of private life, native Russian habits of their behavior prevailed.¹⁴⁹ This phenomenon was linked with the idea of a European education that was to make the Russian feel as much at home in Paris as in Petersburg and combine Russianness with a European cultural identity.¹⁵⁰

Among the first European (French) Russians was the renowned Russian poet and writer A.S. Pushkin. As a boy he had immersed himself in the French books of his father's library. His first verse was composed in French. This European heritage was strengthened by the years he spent between 1812 and 1817 at the lycee at Tsarskoye Selo – a school modeled on the Napoleonic lycees.¹⁵¹

Fedor Tyutchev may also serve an evident example of this type. Being a famous Russian poet, he knew French better than his native language. Tyutchev worked as a diplomat in Munich and Torino for more than twenty years and had strong ties with many European intellectuals. In 1844 he sent an anonymous letter written in French to the Russian emperor Nicholas the First. In the brochure he expressed his ideas about the role of Russia in Europe, stating that after the victory over Napoleon, Western Europe ("Europe of Charlemagne"), found herself face to face with Eastern Europe ("Europe of Peter the Great").¹⁵² In 1853 he was "an agent of influence" in Paris on behalf of Nicholas the First "for processing" of the French journalists who in conflict with Russia supported Turkey.¹⁵³

Alexandr Herzen, writer and thinker, spent a part of his life in Paris. There he enjoyed political, cultural, social life of the city and together with French socialist Pierre Proudon tried to publish a journal "La Voix du Peuple".¹⁵⁴ Ivan Turgenev was probably the brightest example of the stated above type. In contrast to Leo Tolstoy and Fedor Dostoevsky he was a

¹⁴⁹ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), XXXII

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 54

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 82

¹⁵² Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехмо, 2011), 174

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 176-78

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 201

Westerner. He spent a considerable part of his life in France, was in love with a French opera singer Pauline Viardot. One of his closest literary friends was Gustave Flaubert.¹⁵⁵



A.S. Pushkin (1799-1837)



F.I. Tyutchev (1803-1873)



I.S. Turgenev (1818-1883)

Starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century the type of European Russian became quite common in cultural elite and became dominant by the end of the century:

As a result of enrichment of the French (European), World and Russian culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Russia was formed a type of the Russian-European... with a familiar knowledge of European languages, with the habit of the European way of life, with the European political culture and behavior.¹⁵⁶

The phenomenon of “European Russians” was based mainly on dominance of the French language. First French became the language of high society, and then the language of all personal relationships in high-born families. The Volkonskys spoke mainly French among themselves. A French governess in the Volkonsky household recalled that in fifty years of her service she never heard the Volkonsky speak a word of Russian, except to give orders to the domestic staff.¹⁵⁷ The Golitsyn children had a French governess and, if she ever caught them speaking Russian, she would punish them by tying a red cloth in the shape of the devil’s tongue around their necks.¹⁵⁸ Anna Lelong had a similar experience at the Girls’ Gymnasium, the best school for noble daughters in Moscow.¹⁵⁹ Such attitudes continued to be found in high-born families throughout the nineteenth century, and they shaped the education of some of Russia’s most creative minds. Tolstoy was instructed by the kind of German tutor and his aunt taught him French. Turgenev was taught by French and German tutors.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехмо, 2011), 192

¹⁵⁶ О.Б. Полякова, “Взаимовлияние культур России и Франции во второй половине XIX-начале XX века,” in *Россия и Франция. Вып. 4.* (Moscow, 2001), 204

¹⁵⁷ Orlando Figes, *Natasha’s Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 55

¹⁵⁸ E.Khvoschinskaiia, “Vospominaniia,” in *Russkaya starina*, vol.89 (1898), 518

¹⁵⁹ Orlando Figes, *Natasha’s Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 56

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 57

There was a strong division in linguistic usage. The use of French and Russian demarcated two entirely separate spheres: French the intellectual sphere of thought and sentiment, Russian the sphere of daily life. For example, a nobleman was supposed to write to the Tsar in Russian, and it would have seemed audacious if he wrote to him in French; but he always spoke to the Tsar in French, as he spoke to other noblemen. On the other hand, a woman was supposed to write in French, not just in her correspondence but with all officials, because this was the language of polite society; it would have been deemed a gross indecency if she had used Russian expressions.¹⁶¹

As S.G.Semenov stated, in the beginning of the nineteenth century the French language served for Russia as a mediator for acquaintance with achievements of other European nations.¹⁶² For example, in Pushkin's library the majority of books were in French. He read Shakespeare, Walter Scott, Homer, Byron in French translation. Even for making a statement of being a Russian poet he used French:

«Mais je vous jure sur mon honneur, que pour rien au monde je n'aurais voulu changer de patrie, ni d'avoir d'autre histoire que celle de nos ancetres, telle que Dieu nous l'a donnee...»¹⁶³

Some of the Pushkin's characters were also Francophones. For instance, Tatiana Larina from "Eugene Onegin" didn't know Russian quite well and wrote in French.¹⁶⁴ Although Dostoevsky was not a Francophone to the same extent as Pushkin his works were influenced by the French writers Honore de Balzac, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and George Sand. Dostoevsky even translated one of the Balzac's novels.¹⁶⁵ These examples support the following conclusion: Francophonie in the nineteenth century for the whole world, except Russia, was only a linguistic phenomenon. In Russia, it appeared in another form, based on strong cultural and spiritual ties.¹⁶⁶

It is worth mentioning that reciprocal reaction on learning Russian as well as interest in Russia began to emerge in France only after 1840, when Russia was seen as a cultural model and the object of study, which can be contrasted with the German world. Slavic Studies in France in the nineteenth century were heavily influenced by politicians and public opinion.

¹⁶¹ Y. Lotman, "Женский Мир," in *Besedy o russkoi kul'ture*, p.57

¹⁶² С.Г.Семенов, *Международная организация франкофонии в мировой политике* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2003), 140

¹⁶³ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 245

¹⁶⁴ А.С.Пушкин, *Евгений Онегин* (Москва), 3; XXVI

¹⁶⁵ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 279-287

¹⁶⁶ С.Г.Семенов, *Международная организация франкофонии в мировой политике* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2003), 136

Russian language teaching in French schools began only in the 1890s. It was due to the Russian-French alliance that was concluded in 1891 - 1893.¹⁶⁷

Though for Russia's educated elites France was still a cultural ideal, the spiritual source of civilization, it did not prevent formation of critical attitude towards it. For example, in *War and Peace* Leo Tolstoy echoed the old distinction between French as the language of deceit and Russian as the language of sincerity. His use of dialogue has a similarly nationalist dimension. It is no coincidence that the novel's most idealized characters speak exclusively in Russian (Princess Maria and the peasant Karataev) or (like Natasha) speak French only with mistakes.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, France became a travel destination and to travel to it was to make a pilgrimage. Peter the Great was the model of the Russian traveler to the West in search of self-improvement and enlightenment. The sons of the Petersburg nobility went to universities in Paris and wrote down their impressions of the visits.¹⁶⁹ Here, one may note that though France was regarded as a cultural role model, it did not prevent the Russian travelers to France from writing critical notes about it. For Gogol France had 'only a surface glitter that concealed an abyss of fraud and greed'.¹⁷⁰ Viazemsky portrayed the country of Voltaire as a 'land of deception and falsity'. The censor Alexander Nikitenko wrote of the French:

They seem to have been born with a love of theatre and a bent to create it – they were created for showmanship. Emotions, principles, honor, revolution are all treated as play, as games.¹⁷¹

Dostoevsky agreed that the French had a unique talent for 'simulating emotions and feelings for nature'. Even I. Turgenev, an ardent Westernizer, described them in *A Nest of Gentlefolk* (1859) as civilized and charming yet without any spiritual depth or intellectual seriousness.¹⁷² For other sources one may refer to diaries, memoirs and letters of countess V.N. Golovina, poet and translator V.A. Zhukovsky, and writer of political essays N.I. Turgenev.¹⁷³ The study of their works allows underline the following qualities of the French:

Common people/folk

Nobility

¹⁶⁷ V.S. Rjeoutski, "Institut français a St.-Peterbourg" (1911-1919) et le rapprochement scientifique et culturelle franco-russe, in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-eme siecles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscow: Naouka, 2006), 295

¹⁶⁸ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 104

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 61

¹⁷⁰ N. Karamzin, *Письма русского путешественника*, p. 243

¹⁷¹ A. Nikitenko, *The Diary of a Russian Censor*, ed. and trans. H. Jacobson (Amherst, 1975), 213-14

¹⁷² Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 66

¹⁷³ N.N. Ivanova, "Le caractere national français" dans les representations de la noblesse russe de Saint-Petersbourg et de Moscou dans le 1-er quart du XIX-eme siecle », in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-eme siecles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscow: Naouka, 2008), 135

1) unselfish, complaisant

2) *peculiar attitude towards language*

3) *talkative*

1) debater

2) *peculiar attitude towards language*

3) *talkative*

4) gallant

5) courteous

6) cheerful

Influence of 1812:

7) in many cases shallow

8) depraved and vicious

Such criticism became possible by a profound change that occurred in Russia in the early 19th century - the establishment of a national culture and literature. The impetus for it was the war of 1812, which still represents one of the most important moments in the history of relations between two countries.

Before starting the examination of this historical event it is useful to refer to the words of D.L. Spivak:

All key events of the nineteenth century Russian history, directly or indirectly were related to what happened in France: the Napoleonic wars led to the emergence of Russian national consciousness, the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War led to the reforms of Alexander II.¹⁷⁴

Role of 1812

War of 1812, known in Russian history as *the Patriotic War* and in French sources as *Campagne de Russie pendant l'année 1812*, became the starting point for several related phenomena. First of them was the development of Russian national consciousness, which began at the battle field and ended with the fashion for Russian style and the desire to emphasize the uniqueness of Russian culture. In addition, the exile of Napoleon served as proof of Russia's strength, which was able to defeat the invincible Corsican. The victory in formed the basis for the myth of 1812 which was maintained throughout the nineteenth century.

¹⁷⁴ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2005, 300

The war of 1812 was a watershed in the culture of the Russian aristocracy. The war provoked interest in native culture that before 1812 was hardly seen. The war stimulated the transition from the foreign conventions to new Russian principles. For example, Napoleon's invasion shook the Prince Serge Volkonsky from the pro-French views he had held in common with much of the Petersburg elite. It stirred in him a new sense of 'the nation' that was based upon the virtues of the common folk.¹⁷⁵ In 1820s in literary salon of Princess Zinaida Volkonsky no French verses were declaimed.¹⁷⁶

Although anti-French voices had grown to quite a chorus in the first decade of the nineteenth century, the aristocracy was still immersed in the culture of the country against which they were at war.¹⁷⁷ And even fashion for national crafts (china, woods, furniture) and dress (sarafan tunic, kokoshnik head-dress, kaftan, khalat) was an echo of the French interest in the Eastern style, that swept from Paris in the early 19th century.¹⁷⁸

As S.Sdvizhkov states, "victory over the invincible empire (France) brings back confidence to a winner (Russia)" and leads to the creation of a myth.¹⁷⁹ Thereby Nicholas I made a public version of the *myth of 1812* and, paradoxically, with a wide borrowing of Napoleonic aesthetics.¹⁸⁰ The twentieth anniversary of the victory over Napoleon became Russian analogue of Napoleon's victories in Europe. During the year, two triumphal arches were constructed, the Alexander Column was placed in front of the Winter Palace. It is important to note that the architect of the column was Auguste Montferrand, a former soldier of the Grand Army, Knight of the Legion of Honor, a student of Napoleon's architects Percier and Fontaine. Nicholas I designed new uniforms for the Russian army, taking as a basis Napoleon's army. His residence at Peterhof, Cottage, was decorated with paintings of Napoleonic battles. Palace architecture of the 1830s reproduced Napoleon's interiors - as in the Throne Room of Maria Fedorovna at the Winter Palace.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁵ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 74

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 93

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 101

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 105

¹⁷⁹ Денис Сдвижков, "Империя в Наполеоновском Наряде: Восприятие Французского", in *Imperium inter pares: роль трансферов в истории Российской империи (1700 - 1917)* (Moscow: NLO, 2010), 73

¹⁸⁰ Myth - "an explaining image that has only a subjective value, and that is credited with objectivity." Mythological perception is the perception, in which the subjective image for description of reality has the status of the objective. А.А. Потебня, *Слово и миф* (Moscow: Правда, 1989), 259-263

¹⁸¹ Денис Сдвижков, "Империя в Наполеоновском Наряде: Восприятие Французского", in *Imperium inter pares: роль трансферов в истории Российской империи (1700 - 1917)* (Moscow: NLO, 2010), 76



1



2



3

1 Arc de Triomphe, Paris (1806-36)

2 Arc de Triomphe, Moscow (1829-34)

3 Arc de Triomphe, Saint-Petersburg (1834-38)

The French invasion provoked the powerful upsurge in the Russian army and awakened, in the words of V. Belinsky, "the people's minds and people's pride." Partizan movement widely spread in the regions attacked by the French army. The partizans caused significant damage to foreigners. The leader of one of the partizan groups was Denis Davydov, a poet of "Pushkin Pleiad."¹⁸² To commemorate the heroes M.Y. Lermontov wrote poem *Borodino* for the 25th anniversary of the war. And *Borodino* had an influence on the Tolstoy's novel *War and Peace*.¹⁸³

Extract from the poem *Borodino* by M.Y.Lermontov

“И только небо засветилось,
 Все шумно вдруг зашевелилось,
 Сверкнул за строем строй.
 Полковник наш рожден был хватом:
 Слуга царю, отец солдатам...
 Да, жаль его: сражен булатом,
 Он спит в земле сырой.
 И молвил он, сверкнув очами:
 «Ребята! не Москва ль за нами?
 Умремте же под Москвой,
 Как наши братья умирали!»
 И умереть мы обещали,
 И клятву верности сдержали
 Мы в Бородинский бой”.¹⁸⁴

“And once the sky lit from its border –
 Formations, gleaming, pass'd in order,
 With shouts all took its berth.
 Our colonel's mettle did you feel:
 Czar's servant, soldiers' father real...
 Yea, 'tis a pity: slain by steel,
 Now sleeps he in black earth.

And eyes aflame, he spoke his mind:
 "Hey lads! is Moscow not behind?
 By Moscow then we die
 As have our brethren died before!"
 And that we'll die we all then swore,
 And th' oath of loyalty ne'er tore
 Neath Borodinian sky”.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² <http://www.notabene.ru/history/1812.html>

¹⁸³ Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Москва: Эксмо, 2011), 139

¹⁸⁴ <http://ilibrary.ru/text/2/p.1/index.html>

¹⁸⁵ <http://www.stihi-rus.ru/1/Lermontov/11-1.htm>

Another effect of the war was complexity of the image of Napoleon. In the Russian culture he is represented in two aspects – as a historical figure and as a literary character. As a literary character he is regarded either as an almighty ruler who possessed great power (like in *Crime and Punishment* by Fedor Dostoevsky) or as a man with his own weaknesses (like in *War and Peace* by Leo Tolstoy).

For the Pushkin generation, cult of Napoleon and his historical deeds was typical. Pushkin described him as a rootless Corsican officer who ascended to the top of fame and power and shattered “brave shield of Europe”. For more than a century Napoleon held the imagination of Russian poets not as a national enemy but as a titanic historical figure like Julius Caesar or Alexander the Great.¹⁸⁶ In the history of Russian literature Napoleon is one of the most frequently used figures. Firstly he appeared in fable *Wolf in Kennels* in allegorical look of a wolf. As a basis for the fable, its author Ivan Krylov took the real events of 1812. After the battle at Borodino in August 1812 Napoleon tried to negotiate with Mikhail Kutuzov (Russian army commander) and got refusal.¹⁸⁷ In the fable, the historical fact transformed in the story about a wolf who strayed in kennels, was caught there by dogs, tried to negotiate with the dogs but did not succeed.¹⁸⁸



Illustration for a fable “Wolf in Kennels” by I.Krylov

Being admired as a romantic figure, as a political personage Napoleon was unpopular among the Russian elite. Conclusion of the Tilsit Treaty by Alexander I in 1807 after the defeat at Austerlitz, as well as the alliance with Napoleon, had negative appraisal inside the

¹⁸⁶ Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехмо, 2011), 92

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 75

¹⁸⁸ <http://www.stihi-rus.ru/1/krylov/4.htm>

country. Ekaterina Pavlovna (sister of the tsar) refused to Napoleon by marrying a "modest Prussian Prince in the Russian service George of Oldenburg."¹⁸⁹

Talking about Napoleon as a real figure one should keep in mind the following statement of the Russian tsar Alexander I made on 31.03.1814:

"In France, I have only one enemy, the man who has deceived me in the most disgraceful manner and abused my trust. From now on, no reconciliation between him and me is possible. But I repeat, in France, I have only this enemy. Excluding him, I have a favorable attitude towards all Frenchmen."¹⁹⁰

The citation proves a significant testimony of that time. On highest official level Russia demonstrated that the war was not against France but only against its ruler. The main reason for such position was that Russia associated France with the old regime but not with the regime of "the Corsican".¹⁹¹ Opening of monument in 1839 dedicated to all French soldiers who died while the campaign was a convincing evidence for the stated above.¹⁹²



Napoléon Bonaparte (1769-1821)



Alexander I (1777-1825)

French official attitude towards Russia was, in contrast, negative. In his memoirs "Napoleon Campaign in Russia", Armand Augustin Louis de Caulaincourt quoted Napoleon:

"My brother Alexander behaved so haughtily... He is afraid. My maneuvers downed Russian confusing. In less than a month, they will be at my feet. " "Alexander scoffs at me. Does not he think that I went to Wilno to negotiate trade agreements? I

¹⁸⁹ Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехмо, 2011), 72

¹⁹⁰ С.Г.Семенов, *Международная организация франкофонии в мировой политике* (Moscow: МГИМО, 2003), 137

¹⁹¹ В. Молодяков, *"Россия и Франция: "L'Entente Cordiale" (1889 - 1900)"* (Moscow: Просвещение, 2010), 9

¹⁹² Ibid., 9

came here to put an end once and for all to the **northern barbarian colossus**. The sword is removed from the sheath. We must **hurl them back in their ice**, so that within 25 years **they will not interfere** in the affairs of **civilized Europe**. Even in the time of Catherine **the Russians meant nothing or very little in the political affairs of Europe**. Only the partition of Poland brought them into **contact with civilization**. If he (Alexander I) wants victory, let him beat the Persians but **he must not interfere in the affairs of Europe**. **Civilization** rejects these **inhabitants of the North**. **Europe** must settle its affairs without them."¹⁹³

Napoleon's speech refers us back to the eighteenth century and philosophers – enlighteners' view on Russia as an uncivilized country. Thereby Marquis de Custine's opinion about "the centre of St Petersburg" that "was the only European part of the Tsar's vast empire", "the realm of the Asiatic barbarism" was still predominant for the French.¹⁹⁴

Another basis for the reproduction of the myth of cultural backwardness of Russia in the beginning of the nineteenth century was memoirs and diaries of prisoners of war and emigrants who returned back home.¹⁹⁵ A distinctive feature of most memoirs was that the authors were confident in the vast cultural superiority of French civilization and perceived themselves as its messengers and representatives.¹⁹⁶ From this viewpoint, memoirs of R. Vieillot, a prisoner of war, were typical. Vieillot clearly separates the Russian society into the peasants and the nobility. The latter admired French culture. Vieillot became one of those who supported strong stereotype of Russia as barbaric and unenlightened country. The image of Russian as a savage, continued to exist after the Napoleonic Wars, when the French pride was hurt.¹⁹⁷

Unlike many other Frenchmen, who wrote negatively about the Russian Empire, there was a group of those who gave positive feedback. One can find it in memoirs of Stendhal, Honore de Balzac, Prosper Merimee, Flaubert, etc.¹⁹⁸ Example of Stendhal deserves a special mention. In 1812, as an officer of Napoleon's army, he served in the campaign against Russia, where he spent about six months. The observations he made during his stay, and deep personal experience of the "Moscow Days" destroyed the illusion that primarily related to the idea of "liberating mission" of Napoleon. With remarkable subtlety and skill, he described ancient Russian towns, marked the heroic character of the Russian people who stood up to

¹⁹³ <http://www.museum.ru/1812/Library/kolencur/part03.html>

¹⁹⁴ Marquis de Custine, *Empire of the Czar: A Journey through Eternal Russia* (New York, 1989), 211

¹⁹⁵ A.V.Gladyshev, V.P.Totfalouchine, "Les souffrances d'un Francais en Russie. D'apres les souvenirs de R.Vieillot, un prisonnier en Russie durant les annees 1812-1814", in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-eme siecles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscow: Naouka, 2006), 115

¹⁹⁶ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg : Алетейя, 2005), 211-214

¹⁹⁷ A.V.Gladyshev, V.P.Totfalouchine, "Les souffrances d'un Francais en Russie. D'apres les souvenirs de R.Vieillot, un prisonnier en Russie durant les annees 1812-1814", in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-eme siecles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscou : Naouka, 2006), 136-37

¹⁹⁸ В. Молодяков, "Россия и Франция: "L'Entente Cordiale" (1889 - 1900)" (Moscow: Просвещение, 2010),

defend the homeland. Stendhal stated with regret that the predatory campaign of Napoleon's army brought "terrible barbarism" to Russia. He recalled the Moscow fire and great mansions burned during it. Stendhal called Moscow "the temple of pleasure", and identified it with all the best what he saw in his beloved Italy (in other words, European civilized part of Europe).¹⁹⁹

The Crimean War

The second considerable event of the nineteenth century for both countries was the Crimean War (1853-1856) and its consequences. One of the main ideas that Russia kept in mind was secession of the Balkan possessions, inhabited by the Orthodox, from the Ottoman Empire. Great Britain, Austria and France opposed it. They understood that in this case Russia would provide its influence over the Balkans and take control over the Black Sea straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles.²⁰⁰

Prelude to the war was the conflict between Nicholas I and Napoleon III, who came to power in France after the coup in December 1851. Nicholas I considered the new French Emperor as illegitimate because Bonaparte dynasty was expelled from the French throne by the Congress of Vienna. To demonstrate his position, Nicholas I, in the telegram addressed to Napoleon III called the latter «Monsieur mon ami» («dear friend"), instead of a protocol «Monsieur mon frère» («my dear brother.") Such freedom was seen as an affront of the new French Emperor.²⁰¹ The actual cause of the war was the issue of control over the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which led to conflict between the Orthodox Church (and Russia) and the Catholic Church, whose interests were represented by France.²⁰²

In this war, Russia suffered a defeat. The victory of the coalition, which included France, became a kind of revenge for the defeat of the uncle of Napoleon III in 1812. Not surprisingly, the signing of the peace treaty took place in Paris, where in 1814 Alexander I received the keys to the city from the French Marshal.²⁰³

Disillusionment in the West was the bitter resentment which many Russians, including Dostoevsky, felt at the West's betrayal of Russia's Christian cause in the Crimean War, when

¹⁹⁹ <http://www.litdefrance.ru/199/527>

²⁰⁰ A.M. Zayonchkovsky, *Восточная война 1853-1856*. <http://adjutant.ru/crimea/zai1-09.htm> (accessed 12 December 2011)

²⁰¹ Marjie Bloy, *The Crimean War: General Causes*,

<http://www.victorianweb.org/history/crimea/gencauses.html> (accessed 01 December 2011)

²⁰² Trevor Royle, *The Great Crimean War*,

<http://mars.wnec.edu/~grempe/courses/russia/lectures/19crimeanwar.html> (accessed 01 December 2011)

²⁰³ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2005), 200

France and Britain had sided with the Ottomans against Russia to defend their own imperial interests.²⁰⁴ In 1881 Dostoevsky told his readers in *Writer's Diary*:

Russia is not only in Europe but in Asia as well... We must cast aside our servile fear that Europe will call us Asiatic than European... This mistaken view of ourselves as exclusively Europeans and not Asians... has cost us very dearly over these two centuries, and we have paid for it by the loss of our spiritual independence... It is hard for us to turn away from our window on Europe; but it is a matter of destiny... **In Europe we were Tatars, while in Asia we can be Europeans.**²⁰⁵

In other words, the war reinforced Russian dual self-perception (not Europe, not Asia) and led to the creation of the third component that was precisely formulated above – being Europeans for Asians and Asians for Europeans.

A curious fact is that the key points of both wars were impressed in architecture and toponymy of French and Russian capitals. Rue Crimee, avenue de Malakoff, place Alma and boulevard de Sebastopole appeared after 1856 in Paris. Boulevard got the name of the city in Crimea that was surrounded by the coalition army. The Avenue got the name of Malakoff barrow, a strategically important height near Sebastopole. Place - the name of river Alma where the French defeated the Russian army led by Menshikov.²⁰⁶ In 1867 one of Paris streets was named rue de Moscou. In such way Napoleon III celebrated the 55th anniversary of Napoleon's incursion into Russia.²⁰⁷

In Saint-Petersburg the victory of 1812-1814 became an occasion for architectural boom. Marsovo Pole (Mars Field) with monument to Suvorov symbolized the victory over French arms. Kazansky Cathedral became a place of storage for 107 French army colours and by decree of Alexander I got the functions of the Pantheon of Russian Military Glory.²⁰⁸ Alexander's column was erected on Palace square in 1834 in memory of the tsar-victor. The monument was built in Empire style and resembled Vendome column that, in its turn, was a symbol of French victory at Austerlitz in 1810. On the tops of both columns are the statues of emperors: Napoleon as Roman emperor and Alexander I respectively. An architect of Alexander's column was Auguste Montferrand, officer of Napoleon's army, holder of Ordre national de la Légion d'honneur. This example demonstrates that creation of its symbols of military glory Russia could refer to the French ones.²⁰⁹ Military portrait gallery

²⁰⁴ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 415-16

²⁰⁵ F. Dostoevsky, *A Writer's Diary*, trans. K. Lantz, 2 vols. (London, 1994), vol. 2, 1369-74

²⁰⁶ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 201-202

²⁰⁷ "Русский Париж," in *Путеводитель* (Munich, 1995), 10

²⁰⁸ Соломон Волков, *История Русской Культуры в Царствование Романовых 1613 - 1917* (Moscow: Ехмо, 2011), 87

²⁰⁹ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 231-234

was opened in the Hermitage by the 15th anniversary of expulsion of “great army”. The keys from Paris were put on the gravestone of Alexander I in Peter and Paul Cathedral. ²¹⁰



Above – the Kazansky Cathedral, Saint-Petersburg
Middle - Marsovo Pole (Mars Field) with monument to Suvorov, Saint-Petersburg
Below on the left – the Vendome column, Paris
Below on the right – the Alexander’s column, Saint-Petersburg

Franco - Russian Rapprochement

The end of the nineteenth century was marked by the third key political event between the countries, namely the Russian-French rapprochement. It was promoted by Russia's refusal to renew the German-Russian pact in 1887. After the Crimean War the position of France in

²¹⁰ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2005), 238

European affairs changed considerably. It was defeated in the war with Prussia in 1870 - 1871, lost Alsace and Lorraine, was forced to pay an indemnity, and changed again the form of government (period of the third Republic). In addition, in 1875 the Russian diplomatic intervention saved France from a possible "preventive war" with the German Empire. Paris was afraid of Berlin and was looking for, if not an ally, than for a possible counterbalance.²¹¹

One of the first steps towards France was the decision of Alexander III to decorate the French president, Marie Francois Sadi Carnot with the highest award of the Russian Empire - the Order of St. Andrew.²¹² (It should be noted that the tsar's attitude towards republic was very critical, and, in his words, parliament was a "farce".) Afterwards, a French squadron sailed to Kronstadt for an official visit.²¹³ In September 1893 there was a return visit of the Russian squadron to Toulon.²¹⁴ After the death of Alexander III, his son Nicholas II continued the policy of rapprochement. In 1896 he paid an official visit to France. This visit was of great importance for France. The newspaper *Le Gaulois* wrote that the visit symbolized the return of France to the world powers and end the nightmare of isolation. It was the first visit of the Russian Emperor after the visit of Alexander II, his grandfather to Napoleon III.²¹⁵ Nicholas II laid a wreath on the grave of President Carnot, who began a rapprochement with Russia, bowed to the tomb of Napoleon. He welcomed the veterans of the Crimean War, implying that all the hostility is in the past. He took part in laying of the foundation stone of the bridge of Alexander III, and visited the French Academy, where Peter the Great had been before.²¹⁶ The following year, President Felix Faure made a return visit to St. Petersburg.²¹⁷ Nicholas II granted President Felix Faure with the Order of Saint Andrew, as his father Alexander III did to President Carnot.²¹⁸ Nicholas II journeyed to France for a second time in September 1901. Both of his visits were accompanied by return visits of the French president.²¹⁹

²¹¹ В. Молодяков, "Россия и Франция: "L'Entente Cordiale" (1889 - 1900)" (Moscow: Просвещение, 2010), 10

²¹² Ibid., 32-33

²¹³ Ibid., 36

²¹⁴ Ibid., 67

²¹⁵ Ibid., 157-60

²¹⁶ Ibid., 163

²¹⁷ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 204-206

²¹⁸ В. Молодяков, "Россия и Франция: "L'Entente Cordiale" (1889 - 1900)" (Moscow: Просвещение, 2010), 149

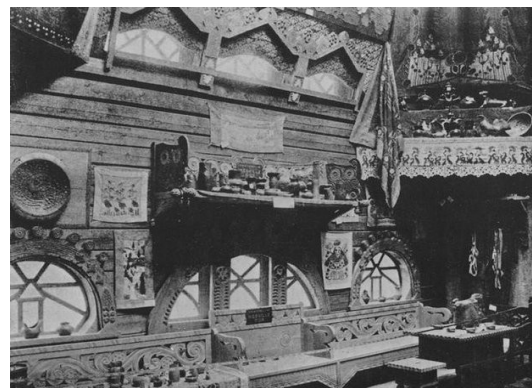
²¹⁹ Ibid., 173

Russia Exhibited

Franco-Russian rapprochement favored the development of cultural, scientific and industrial relations. In 1891 exhibition of industrial and artistic works of France was of huge success in Moscow. About 3000 to 4000 visitors attended it daily, including the emperor.²²⁰ In 1900 Paris took over the World Exhibition. For Russia this exhibition was triumphal.²²¹ At previous world exhibitions, Russia was poorly represented, but at the exhibition in 1900 the Russian government decided to demonstrate the power of the country as much as possible. Participation in the exhibition and halls' organization was held at state expense. Due to the special type of relations between Russia and France, Russia got an opportunity to allocate its department on the largest display area (24 000 m²). Russia was represented in each of 18 thematic sections (palaces), except the department of colonization. The pavilion "Russian outskirts" reproduced the architecture of the Moscow and Kazan Kremlin. Near the pavilion typical Russian mansions, cottages and rural wooden churches were built.



One of the Russian pavillions. Outside.



One of the Russian pavillions. Inside.

During the exhibition the Russian exposition received 1589 awards: 212 higher, 370 gold, 436 silver, 347 bronze medals and 224 honorable references. Gold medal of the exhibition by a special committee headed by Gustave Eiffel was awarded to a Russian engineer L. Proskuryakov for the construction of Krasnoyarsk railway bridge. Visitors and specialists were impressed by the exposition of the Ministry of Transport - Trans-Siberian Railway Panorama. The audience got into the wagon with imitation of the train movement, and enjoyed the Russian landscape, changing with the help of a special mechanism. At the end of the "route" visitors alighted from wagon and found themselves in the China Pavilion. This attraction was awarded the Grand Prix. The press spoke enthusiastically of the Russian section. In the end of the exhibition French newspaper *Liberte* wrote:

²²⁰ В. Молодяков, "Россия и Франция: "L'Entente Cordiale" (1889 - 1900)" (Moscow: Просвещение, 2010), 38

²²¹ Ibid., 93

We are still under the influence of a sense of wonder and admiration that we have experienced while visiting the Russian department. In a few years Russian industry and commerce developed considerably. This development affects all those who have the opportunity to form an idea of the path traveled by so fast. The development is so large, that leads to a lot of thoughts.²²²

The exhibition vividly reflected the general trend in the development of culture, science and industry in Russia in the nineteenth century. In the course of the century Russia from a collector of European (French) experience turned into its copyist and later became an independent entity that had something to show to Paris, and thus to the whole Europe.

The Cultural interaction between France and Russia

Scientific and art exchange

In the nineteenth century there was a qualitative change in the nature of educational scientific and art exchange. If at the beginning of the century Russians traveled to France to be educated, in the second half of the century already educated professionals went to Europe including France for training and work experience. In the second half of the 19th century institute for professor fellowships was opened. The institute stimulated the mass exodus of Russian students to France to acquire a diploma of a doctor, an engineer, a teacher of French. The microbiologist and I.I. Mechnikov and the mathematician S.V. Kovalevskaya participated in this program.²²³ Mechnikov, Nobel laureate in medicine and physiology in 1908, played a huge role in the scientific and cultural cooperation between Russia and France. In 1888 he accepted Paster's invitation to work in his Bacteriological Institute in Paris. By the late nineteenth century French and German science was among world leaders. If one wanted to gain professional recognition, one should begin with the publications in professional journals in these countries.²²⁴

The same tendency to perfect professional skills had an equivalent in the art exchange. Russian painters, like Kramskoy, Repin, Vasnetsov, Vereschagin, Polenov, continued to go to France to practice their skills and to organize the exhibitions of their works there. On the

²²² Н.П.Овчинникова, "Россия на Всемирной выставке 1900 года в Париже," in *Жилищное строительство* 7 (1990), 27-29, <http://www.prometeus.nsc.ru/biblio/wex1900/ovchin90.ssi> (accessed 30 November 2011)

²²³ С.Г.Семенов, *Международная организация франкофонии в мировой политике* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2003), 142

²²⁴ В. Молодяков, "Россия и Франция: "L'Entente Cordiale" (1889 - 1900)" (Moscow: Просвещение, 2010, 94

other hand, French artists started to be interested in Russian art. For example, Henri Matisse studied Ancient Russian art.²²⁵

Theatre

Since the era of Catherine II performances of French troupes began to contribute to cultural life of the Russian capital. The French company worked in the Mikhailovsky theatre since 1830s.²²⁶ Until the final decades of the nineteenth century the influence of the French theater - drama, opera and ballet - to the Russian was in fact one-sided. Gradual changes occurred in the last quarter of the century. They were particularly noticeable in the field of ballet. In 1864 French choreographer Saint-Leon staged a ballet *The Humpbacked Pony*. Libretto of the ballet was based on the fairy tale by Petr Ershov. A special feature of the production was that it was the first ballet on the Russian national theme with usage of popular Russian melodies. Maurice Petipa in 1869 took a position of a chief choreographer in the Mariinsky theatre where he staged *The Sleeping Beauty*. This ballet was a "product" of French-Russian "intermix". At the heart of the production was a fairy tale by Charles Perrault. Authors of the libretto were I. Vsevolozhsky and Marius Petipa, and a composer – P.I.Tchaikovsky, one of the prominent European Russians. Premiere was in 1890. And 30 years later, S. Diaghilev showed *The Sleeping Beauty* in his *Russian Seasons* as a masterpiece of Russian ballet.²²⁷

The impact of the French literature on the Russian literature. The emergence of French interest in the Russian literature.

The examination of the literature provides us with the following results. The French language continued to play an important role as a "bridge for transfer of ideas and cultural values from Europe to Russia".²²⁸ The French literature had a great influence both on readers and writers in Russia. Lermontov, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky grew up reading French literature in the original and at the same time they were those writers who created Russian literature that became an equal partner among other European literatures.

By the definition of contemporaries, the authenticity of Russian literature lies in the fact that it does not imitate European literary models and mores. Russian novels create a

²²⁵ N.O.Shiraliyeva, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 32

²²⁶ В. Молодяков, "Россия и Франция: "L'Entente Cordiale" (1889 - 1900)" (Moscow: Просвещение, 2010), 110

²²⁷ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg : Алетейя, 2005), 215-222

²²⁸ Ю.М.Лотман, "Русская литература на французском языке," in *Избранные статьи в 3 т.* (Tallin, 1992) vol. 2, 368

national culture and at the same time became its product, using its language (Slavic roots, not Gallicisms), genres (a form of folk poetry, not Alexandrine verse), scene (Saint-Petersburg, not Paris) and theme (moral, philosophical search, and not sensual entertainment).

Novels as *A hero of our time*, *Crime and Punishment*, *Anna Karenina* used French subtexts.²²⁹ For example, in *Anna Karenina* one of the main subtexts is the *Madame Bovary*.²³⁰ Russian writers used elements from the high and low French culture, from fiction and the essay genre. Lermontov appreciated the fatalism of Diderot, but would like to strengthen it. Dostoevsky honored Balzac as an artist of description, but would like to remedy the lack of spiritual dimension in his novels. Tolstoy liked a serious attitude toward marriage in the works of Alexandre Dumas-fils, and so he aimed to develop this topic in his work. The given above examples demonstrate positive response on French subtexts. But it can be also negative. Lermontov parodied the sublime attitude of George Sand to the romantic fairy tale, and downplayed the latter. Dostoevsky extolled the spirituality of a prostitute and opposed it to the French reliance on sensuality. Tolstoy felt aversion to Zola, and even to Flaubert's aestheticism, whose works in general he highly appreciated.

Among the sources for the French subtext one may find works of the most significant French writers (de Vigny, Diderot, Balzac, Flaubert, Sand), popular writers and those whose names are forgotten. These subtexts represent France during transitional historical moments, from the late 1820s until the 1870s. Dostoevsky and Tolstoy included French material to emphasize the decline of France from the Russian point of view. The triumph of bourgeois culture and the gradual loss of faith, beginning with the time of Louis Philippe, should be taken as a warning to Russia, where the idealism of the 1840s was replaced by materialism of 1860s.²³¹ In 1831, in St. Petersburg, the first issue of French magazine *Revue etrangere de la litterature, des sciences et des arts* appeared. The magazine published short stories, poems and novels of the French authors. Journal played an important role in early years of its existence, when Pushkin, Gogol and Lermontov drew the material for their works in it.²³² Pushkin had in his library the first eight issues of the journal. In the first issue was published an essay, *Flooding in the city of Nantes*. A little-known French text provided the impetus for creating *Bronze Horseman* that became a symbol of the mythology of St. Petersburg.²³³

²²⁹ Присцилла Мейер, *Русские читают французов. Лермонтов, Достоевский, Толстой и французская литература* (Moscow: Три квадрата, 2011), 18

²³⁰ Ibid., 22

²³¹ Ibid., 24

²³² Ibid., 34

²³³ Ibid., 36

Splash of French realist fiction in the 1830s provided food for the creation of modern Russian prose language and the emergence of genres that can display the city's life. In the magazine, Russian authors found the material for the transition from poetry to prose, from romanticism – to realism and from story – to novel.²³⁴

Besides, in the end of the nineteenth century republican France seemed to be a land of freedom for the Russian.²³⁵ Progressive social and philosophical doctrines of positivism, socialism and anarchism, original literary trends and schools, from naturalism to symbolism, came from this direction.²³⁶ Russian symbolism of Valery Bryusov was formed from the translations of French poets that he made.²³⁷ His translation of *Romance without Words* by Paul Verlaine was the first separate edition of Verlaine in Russia and the first outside of France (English translation would be a year later).²³⁸

An important feature was also the emergence of the interest in Russian literature in France in the second half of the nineteenth century. The interest was in many respects due to the personality of Ivan Turgenev. In 1847 a promising Russian writer arrived in Paris. Four years earlier he had become acquainted with Pauline Garcia-Viardot during her tour in St. Petersburg, organized by her husband the writer, journalist and director of the Italian Theatre. Turgenev remained connected to the Viardots his entire life and thanks to them acquainted with many personalities of Parisian cultural life. French writers such as Prosper Merimee, Gustave Flaubert, Theophile Gautier, Emile Zola, Alphonse Daudet, Alexandre Dumas, father and son, the brothers Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Guy de Maupassant and the philosopher Hippolyte Adolphe Taine became Turgenev's friends and were to display aspects of his influence. Prosper Merimee learnt Russian at the age of 44 and together with Turgenev translated works by Pushkin, Gogol and Lermontov into French. Half of Turgenev's *A Sportsman's Sketches* was also translated by Merimee and ready for publication in France by 1853.²³⁹

It would be fair to say that the Crimean War probably ignited the burning curiosity of the French to get to know something about the Russian enemy and his unknown culture. Thereby Merimee became known in 1854 with the publishing of Turgenev's *Tales*, in which

²³⁴ Присцилла Мейер, Русские читают француз. Лермонтов, Достоевский, Толстой и французская литература (Moscow: Три квадрат, 2011), 27-28

²³⁵ В. Молодяков, "Россия и Франция: "L'Entente Cordiale" (1889 - 1900)" (Moscow: Просвещение, 2010), 12

²³⁶ Ibid., 23

²³⁷ Ibid., 137

²³⁸ Ibid., 139

²³⁹ Eckart Lingenauber, *Russian and French cultural-political relations up to 1881 and a Russian painter in Paris*, 50, http://www.harlamoff.org/Seite_Russians_in_Patris.html (accessed on 20 December 2011)

the French reader discovered the depths of the Russian soul and the vastness of its land. Furthermore while the Crimean War raged, extracts from Dostoevsky's early epistolary short novel *Poor Folk* had been translated and published under the title *La Brodeuse* in a compilation *Le Decameron russe* (1855).²⁴⁰

In 1857 Leo Tolstoy visited Turgenev in Paris. The *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which in 1856 had begun to publish Turgenev's Tales, continued in 1863 with Tolstoy's early novel *Childhood* (1852). In 1879 Turgenev persuaded an editor to publish Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1868) in Paris. Similarly he promoted Dostoevsky and introduced him to the French art-critic Durand-Greville who journeyed in Russia to report on the prominent literary Russian world. Victor Hugo, president of the *International Congress of Literature*, and Turgenev, its vice-president, invited Dostoevsky in 1879 to participate in it, but health reasons prevented Dostoevsky from traveling.²⁴¹

Architecture

The architecture in nineteenth century Russia was still under the influence of European (French, German and Italian) masters and styles. Style of Louis XVI appeared in the middle of 1850s and flourished in 1870s in Petersburg.²⁴² In addition to the well-known artists Auguste Montferrand and K. Rossi (who was formed as an architect in Napoleonic France and Italy on probation in 1802 - 1805), basic engineering and city planning decisions belonged to the Frenchman Antoine Francois Modouit.²⁴³ Egyptian style spread in the time of Alexander I, and was rooted in French interest in Orient that, in its turn, sprang from the Egyptian campaign of Napoleon.²⁴⁴

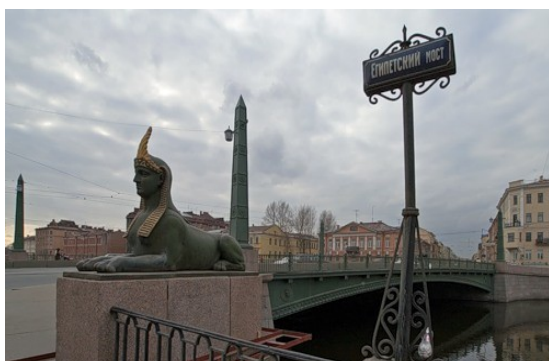
²⁴⁰ Eckart Lingenauber *Russian and French cultural-political relations up to 1881 and a Russian painter in Paris*, 50-1, http://www.harlamoff.org/Seite_Russians_in_Paris.html (accessed on 20 December 2011)

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 51

²⁴² Пунин А.Л., *Архитектурные памятники Петербурга: Вторая половина XIX века* (Leningrad, 1981), 199-207

²⁴³ Денис Сдвижков, "Империя в Наполеоновском Наряде: Восприятие Французского", in *Imperium inter pares: роль трансферов в истории Российской империи (1700 - 1917)* (Moscow: NLO, 2010), 81

²⁴⁴ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2005), 230



Egyptian bridge, Saint-Petersburg



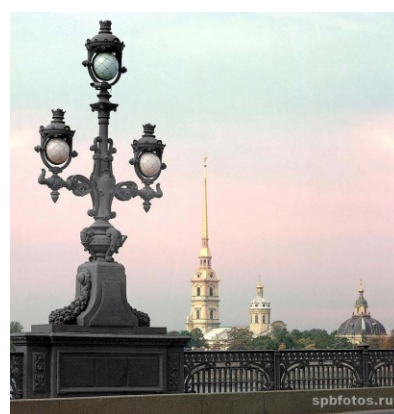
Sphinx. University Embankment, Saint-Petersburg

In the ensemble of St. Petersburg appeared Empire style traits that correlated with Napoleonic in detail, and meaning. Theatre street with the Alexandrinsky theatre by Rossi echoed rue Imperiale, (Rivoli - since 1802) in Paris. What is important is the delay of the loan: the rise of the Empire style in Russia was when the era of Napoleon completed already.²⁴⁵ In this period Russian students started to compete with their French instructors and teachers for the projects. The architect of the third reconstruction of the Admiralty Andrian Zakharov was a student of Jean-François Chalgrin, an architect of Arc de Triumph in Paris.

In the late nineteenth century architecture became an important symbol of bilateral relations. In 1896, Nicholas II laid stone in the construction of the bridge of Alexander III in Paris. In 1897 the Troitsky bridge was founded in St. Petersburg. Construction of the bridge became a political event. At this time, Russia and France began the rapprochement, so the ceremony both the Emperor Nicholas II and French President Felix Faure participated in it. It is worth mentioning that in an international competition for design and construction of the Troitsky Bridge the first prize went to the firm run by Gustave Eiffel.²⁴⁶



Pont Alexandre III



Troitsky Bridge

²⁴⁵ Денис Сдвижков, “Империя в Наполеоновском Наряде: Восприятие Французского”, in *Imperium inter pares: роль трансферов в истории Российской империи (1700 - 1917)* (Moscow: NLO, 2010), 94

²⁴⁶ С.Г.Семенов, *Международная организация франкофонии в мировой политике* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2003), 153

An important cultural and political event was also the opening of the Orthodox Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in 1861 in Paris. Funding for construction was carried out mainly on donations made by the Russian in Russia and around the world. The project was of great interest in France. Catholic and Protestant also contributed to it. In addition, since the 1890s, negotiations for the construction of an Orthodox church in Nice started. The active construction began in 1903.²⁴⁷



Orthodox Alexander Nevsky Cathedral. Cathedral of Saint Nicholas

In this context, it is interesting to note that the Eglise Saint Louis des Français à Moscou was built in 1791 with the approval of Catherine II.²⁴⁸ At first it was a wooden temple. In the XIX century a construction of a modern building of the temple was made at the site of the former. Construction was completed in 1835.²⁴⁹ Until the end of the nineteenth century in Moscow there was another catholic temple - temple of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul. In 1894 a decision to erect a new church affiliated to the parish of Sts. Peter and Paul was made. The third Catholic church was named the Moscow Immaculate Conception Catholic Cathedral.²⁵⁰



Church Saint Louis des Français. Temple of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul. Moscow Immaculate Conception Catholic Cathedral

²⁴⁷ С.Г.Семенов, *Международная организация франкофонии в мировой политике* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2003), 151

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 152

²⁴⁹ <http://saintlouisinmoscow.ru/>

²⁵⁰ <http://catedra.ru/index.php?page=catedra>

Chapter Summary

During the nineteenth century cultural relations between France and Russia underwent qualitative changes. Starting the century from continuation of the absorption of French culture (a typical process for the eighteenth century), Russia passed into the active form of formation of its own national culture. It was facilitated by the political events (war of 1812, the Crimean war). By the end of the century there were evident results of this formation, expressed in literature, social thought, etc. These results allowed Russia to become appreciable not only in political but also in cultural scene of Europe, having reached a certain degree of recognition. It should be noted that this recognition was not an easy task for France. Like a century ago, Paris was more interested in preserving the myth about Russia as uncivilized country that was a strong point in the concept of “self” and “other”.

It is important to note that, although the French culture was still prevalent in the stated period in Russia (the phenomenon of European Russian can prove it), it did not prevent the formation of national culture that had the following peculiarity. With a basis of European experience (often French), it created phenomena that were in demand and of interest in France. This suggestion allows make a conclusion about the emergence of a full-fledged cultural dialogue between Russia and France.

CHAPTER IV. Change of the character of French-Russian cultural dialogue in the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first century

This chapter reflects the major events and trends that influenced the development and the changing nature of cultural relations between Russia and France in the course of the twentieth century. The study is based on the analysis of three historical periods that are distinguished by the political events (Russian revolution 1917, collapse of the USSR in 1991). In each period the main peculiarities of French-Russian cultural dialogue, as well as new tendencies is singled out and examined.

Before 1917

The beginning of the twentieth century demonstrated two significant events in the cultural interaction between Russia and France. One proves the continuation of interest in French art among Russian elite. The second is connected with the name of Sergey Diaghilev who made an export product from the Russian art that, in its turn, influenced French and European culture in various ways.

Russian magnates Mamontovs, Morozovs, Riabushinskys played a special role in the promotion of French art in Russia. They did want to belong to the cultural elite, and they knew that their acceptance depended on the public service and philanthropy – above all, on their support for the arts.²⁵¹ So S.I.Schukin started to collect Impressionists since the 1890s. He was the first to bring Claude Monet to Russia. In his collection one could find works by Renoir, Camille Pissarro, Edgard Degas, Paul Sezanne, Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, Pablo Picasso.²⁵² Savva Mamontov became an opera impresario and a major patron of the World of Art, out of which the Ballets Russes emerged.²⁵³

Before talking about the role of Diaghilev's ballet and opera seasons and the reasons of their popularity, we need to refer to the time of their emergence. In the end of the nineteenth - beginning of the twentieth century Europe had an endless fascination for 'the primitive' and 'exotic'. The savage of the East was regarded as a force of spiritual renewal for the tired cultures of the West. Diaghilev spotted this trend. His instincts were confirmed in 1900 when Russia's arts and crafts made a huge splash at the Paris Exhibition. The centre of

²⁵¹ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 195-196

²⁵² <http://bibliotekar.ru/avanta/134.htm>

²⁵³ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 195-196

attention was Korovin's *Russian Village*, a reconstruction of the wooden architecture, complete with an ancient teremok, or timber tower, and a wooden church, which was built on site by a team of peasants brought in from Russia. The Parisians were enchanted by these "savage carpenters", with their "unkempt hair and beards, their broad, child-like smiles and primitive methods", and as one French critic wrote, "if the objects on display had been for sale, there would not be a single item left."²⁵⁴

Diaghilev's first step was as it follows. Together with the artist Leon Bakst Diaghilev established the World of Art movement, which arranged concerts, exhibitions and lectures on artistic themes, and founded a magazine of the same name (1898 – 1904). On a trip to Moscow in the 1900s Diaghilev remarked that in the visual arts Moscow produced everything worth looking at. Along with Paris, Berlin and Milan, it became a major centre in the world of art, and its collection of avant-garde artists were as much influenced by trends in Europe as they were by Moscow's heritage.²⁵⁵ Being subsidized by Russian magnates Maria Tenisheva and Savva Mamontov, the magazine came to feature the folk-inspired artists alongside modern Western art. This combination would later be repeated by Diaghilev and Alexander Benois in the Ballets Russes.

The World of Art made a cult of eighteenth century culture one of its peculiarities. Among the brightest symbols for them were Versailles and Petersburg. Benois, who visited Versailles in 1896, produced series of prints and lithographs depicting city scenes in the reigns of Peter and Catherine the Great, as well as the last decades of "l'ancien regime" and last days of "le roi du soleil."²⁵⁶ Benois and his followers regarded the residence of the French king as a refined, sublimated, spoiled, tempting world but not as a baroque masterpiece that attracted Peter the Great by its brilliance and magnificence.²⁵⁷ In addition, Benois later would use Versailles as a scene for the last act of the *Sleeping Beauty* in the Mariinsky theatre.²⁵⁸

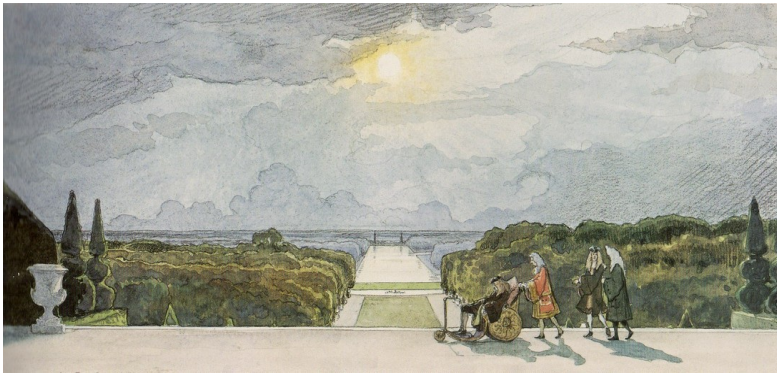
²⁵⁴ M. Normand, "La Russie a l'Exposition," in *L'Illustration* (5 May 1900), 282, 283

²⁵⁵ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 211

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 268-69

²⁵⁷ I. Svirida, "Versailles et la culture russe: entre realite et myphe", in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-eme siecles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscow: Naouka, 2006), 35

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 36



A. Benois, *Versailles. King's stroll*, 1897



K. Somov, *Harlequin and Lady*, 1921

Diaghilev started his work in Paris from the *Salon d'Automne* in 1906, where he opened an exhibition of the Russian art of the eighteenth - twentieth centuries with a special part dedicated to Russian icons.²⁵⁹ By this project he got his first popularity in Paris but he obtained a real recognition by his second project that gained European cultural acceptance. There were Russian Seasons, ballet and opera performances held in Paris.

Diaghilev and Saisons Russes

It was not a coincidence for Sergey Diaghilev to choose Paris as a stage for his performances. At this time, the governments of both countries were on good terms. Organizational support came from the Russian embassy in France and financial support was partly from private sponsors and partly from the imperial court. Diaghilev started with opera performances. Among the first performances were opera *Boris Godunov* by M. Musorgsky in 1908 and opera *Prince Igor* by N. Rimsky-Korsakov.²⁶⁰ Operas, describing the events of the Russian history of the sixteenth and the twelfth centuries correspondingly, harmonized with the interest of the French to the history and the exotic East.

²⁵⁹ Александр Васильев, *Красота в изгнании. Королевы подиума* (Moscow: Slovo, 2008), 17

²⁶⁰ *Видение танца. Сергей Дягилев и Русские балетные сезоны*, ed. John Boulton (Moscow: ГТГ, 2009), 102, 114



F. Shaliapin as Boris Godunov.



Theatre set for Prince Igor

Ballet appeared one year later.²⁶¹ In 1907 Benois staged a production of Nikolai Cherepnin's ballet *Le Pavillon d'Armide* (based on Gauthier's *Omphale*) at the Mariinsky Theatre in Petersburg. It was set in the period of Louis XIV and was classical in style. The production made a deep impression on Diaghilev. As he declared, "it must be shown in Europe."²⁶² *Le Pavillon* became the curtain-raiser to the 1909 season in Paris, alongside the *Polovtsia dances* from Borodin's *Prince Igor*, in a mixed program of Russian classical and national works.



Le Pavillon d'Armide, 1909

The exotic "otherness" of these mises-en-scene caused a sensation. The *Firebird*, patched together from various folk tales, its aim was to create what Benois called a "mysterium of Russia" for "export to the West."²⁶³ In *Petrushka* Stravinsky used the sounds of Russian life to overturn the entire musical establishment with its European rules of beauty

²⁶¹ N.O. Shiraliev, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 38-39

²⁶² A. Benois, *Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet* (London, 1941), 266

²⁶³ A. Benois, "Khudozhestvennye pis'ma; russkie spaktakli v Parizhe: Zhar ptitsa," in *Rech'* (18 July 1910)

and technique.²⁶⁴ In *the Rite of Spring* he idealized the rituals of prehistoric Slavs as a pantheistic realm of spiritual beauty where life and art were one, and man and nature lived in harmony. The ballet's scenario was nothing like those of the romantic story ballets of the nineteenth century.²⁶⁵ The French loved 'our primitive wildness', Benois later wrote, "our freshness and our spontaneity."²⁶⁶

About one of his first ballets Diaghilev in his letter to the composer Anatoly Lyadov wrote the following:

"I need a ballet and a Russian one – the first Russian ballet, since there is no such thing. And that is precisely what I need – to perform in May of the coming year in the Paris Opera. It is *The Firebird* – a ballet in one act and perhaps two scenes."²⁶⁷



The Firebird, 1910

Petrushka, 1911

The Rite of Spring, 1913

The importance of the ballet as a source of artistic innovation in the twentieth century is something that no one would have predicted before its rediscovery by Diaghilev. In much of Europe it was disregarded as an old-fashioned entertainment of the court. But in Russia it lived on in St Petersburg, where the culture was still dominated by the court.²⁶⁸

Diaghilev's idea was simple: to return to Paris what was created and lost in France but then restored in Russia. Diaghilev began with classical ballets (*Le Pavillon d'Armide*, *Les Sylphides*), then used Russian flavor, and from 1912 began to seek new forms of production and staged jointly with the French artists. For example, for the ballet *the Blue God* Diaghilev invited choreographer M. Fokin and Jean Cocteau who wrote libretto. The latter case brought the idea of co-production, which became a new stage of cultural exchange, a symbol of closeness and mutual understanding of cultures.

²⁶⁴ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 279

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 279

²⁶⁶ A. Benois, "Russkie spaktakli v Parizhe," in *Rech'* (25 July 1909), 2

²⁶⁷ Quoted in *Сергей Дягилев и русское искусство* (Moscow, 1982), 109-10

²⁶⁸ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 273



Curtain by Pablo Picasso and costumes by Chanel for ballet Blue Express, 1924

One should admit an important feature that France did not give the right to Diaghilev for innovation and experiment in the genre. In other words, French audience was interested in traditional ballet performances but not in modern dance with experimental elements. Thus the *Games* with music by C. Debussy and Stravinsky's the *Firebird* caused indignant reaction of the audience and critics. There was Nijinsky's shocking choreography - the real scandal of the Paris premiere of *The Rite of Spring* at the Theatre des Champs-Elysees on 29 May 1913. Dancers' movements were opposite to what the principles of classical ballet.²⁶⁹ But even some of the negative effects did not prevent to demonstrate the triumph of art over politics when newspaper *Illustration* appeared with the article “Dancer Nizhinsky, which has attracted more attention than the debate in Parliament” on a front page.²⁷⁰

The Ballets Russes were the centre of cultural life in Paris. Besides, they served as a culmination of cultural approachment between France and Russia.²⁷¹ It was a sort of Parisian embassy of the Petersburg renaissance headed by Diaghilev.²⁷² Since Diaghilev era the ballet, as an art form, enjoyed enormous kudos in the West as quintessentially “Russian”.²⁷³ The seasons had an influence on the following generations of French choreographers like Rolan Petit and Maurice Bejart.²⁷⁴ The Ballets Russes had a great influence on the fashion of the twentieth century. It began in the 1900s and continued until the 1930s.

²⁶⁹ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 281

²⁷⁰ Serge Lifar, *Diaghilev* (Saint-Petersburg: Compositor, 1993), 32

²⁷¹ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2005), 380

²⁷² Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 560

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 574

²⁷⁴ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2005), 391

It should be mentioned that the impact of Russian art on the European culture is divided into two areas: the impact of the actual Russian Slavic motifs and elements of non-Slavic origin which were introduced by the artists of the Russian Seasons, for example, oriental, antique, Iberian motifs.²⁷⁵ For example, ballet *Scheherazade* introduced the fashion for the Persian-Ottoman costumes and interiors.²⁷⁶ House *Paquin*, the oldest and most respectable fashion company in France, invited Leon Bakst, the decorator of the ballet, for cooperation in 1911-1913.²⁷⁷ The Parisian couturier Paul Poiret was inspired by the Slavic motifs of the Diaghilev's ballets and traveled to Russia in 1912 to buy peasant garb.²⁷⁸

Prince Peter Lieven in his book the *Birth of Russian ballet* wrote:

One could feel the influence of this style [Bakst style] far beyond the theater. Creators of fashion houses in Paris included it in their creations. Poiret and Callot began to model clothes under the influence of Bakst painting. Turbans and pillows a la ballet russe became fashionable, even trendy fabrics began to be produced in the same style.²⁷⁹



Portrait of the empress Alexandra Fedorovna, 1830. Tamara Karsavina in Russian costume. Jeanne Lanvin with one of models in dress *a la Russe*

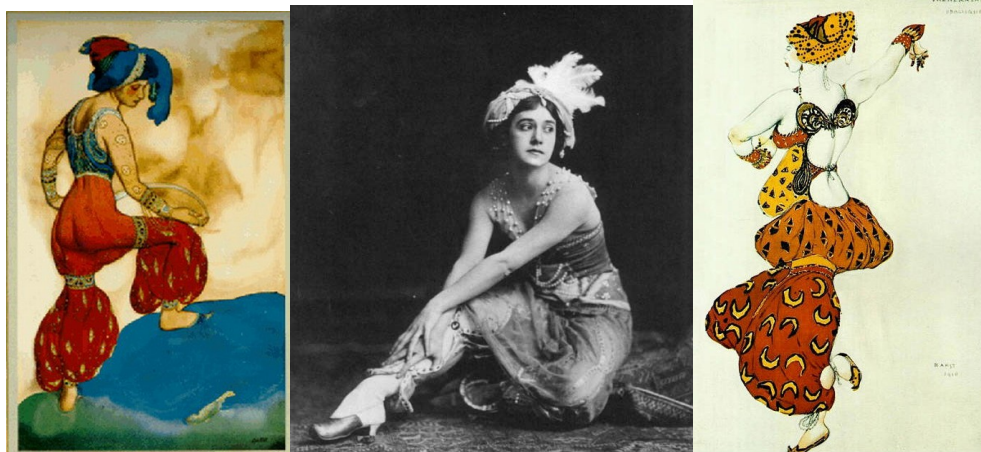
²⁷⁵ Александр Васильев, *Красота в изгнании. Королевы подиума* (Moscow: Slovo, 2008), 11

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 22

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 30

²⁷⁸ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 270

²⁷⁹ Александр Васильев, *Красота в изгнании. Королевы подиума* (Moscow: Slovo, 2008), 29



Costumes by Bakst for ballet *Scheherazade*



Works by French couturiers Paul Poiret, Callot and fashion house Paquin

After 1917

France diplomatically recognized the USSR in 1924. A number of unresolved issues did not favor the acceptance. Among the issues that delayed the recognition were: the debts of the tsarist government that the USSR did not recognize and did not intend to return, the nationalization of an industry that affected French companies in Russia. In addition, Russia considered the Brest peace treaty as a betrayal. At the same time, France participated in the intervention on the territory of Russia, helped the White movement, and assisted in evacuation of General Wrangel troops from the Crimea. And it is clear that different ideologies, liberal democracy and socialism, did not contribute to the rapid convergence. So the recognition of the Soviet Union was due to the change of government in France (government of Herriot).²⁸⁰ But there was also a third part - the Russian emigration in France.

²⁸⁰ A.V.Lavrenova, "L'établissement des relations diplomatiques franco-soviétiques en 1924 et l'émigration russe en France," in *La Russie et la France XVIII-XX-ème siècles*, ed. Piotr Tcherkassov (Moscow: Naouka, 2008), 267

Its presence makes the cultural relations between the two countries particular. Thus, the exchange took place at the official level (France-USSR) and at an informal level (the influence of Russian immigrants on French culture).

Russian Emigrants in France

In the early twentieth century, about 1,500 Russian students studied in French universities. Only in the electro-technical institute Nancy number grew from 7 in 1903 to 450 - in 1908.²⁸¹ Prominent Russian poets and writers like N.Gumilev, Marina Tsvetaeva, M. Voloshin studied at the Sorbonne. Anna Akhmatova, prominent Russian poet, in 1911 went to Paris, where she became friends with the painter Amedeo Modigliani. Her early poetry was influenced by the French Symbolists. The end for such cultural and educational exchange was over in 1917. Some of those who where in France stayed there, others returned.²⁸²

The first stream of Russian emigration was formed largely from those who collaborated with the Ballets Russes: Fedor Chaliapin, Mikhail Fokin, Leon Bakst, Nikolay Benois, Natalia Goncharova, Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, Tamara Karsavina, Vaclav Nijinsky.²⁸³ Paris was not so much a “little Russia” as a microcosm (and continuation) of the extraordinary cultural renaissance in Saint-Petersburg between 1900 and 1916. Diaghilev, Stravinsky, Benois, Bakst, Shaliapin, Goncharova, Prokofiev – they all made Paris home. The effect of the arrival of such émigrés was to accentuate facets of Russia’s cultural image in the West. One of them was a renewed appreciation of the European character of Russian culture as manifested in the so-called “neoclassical” style of Stravinsky, Prokofiev and the Ballets Russes.²⁸⁴

Members of the nobility and even members of the large Romanov family accounted for a significant portion of Russian emigrants in Paris. Many of them, as the Diaghilev Seasons, contributed to the development of French fashion. So Princess Mary Aristova was a model of Chanel house where prince S.A. Koutouzov was a manager. Countess Vorontsova was a model who frequently appeared in Vogue magazine. Ksenia Kouprina, daughter of a prominent Russian writer, was model of Poiret. Natalie Paley whose father was an uncle of Nicholas II became wife of famous French couturier Lucien Lelong and one of his favorite models who was one of the most popular Russian models for Vogue. The Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna, granddaughter of Alexander III, established her own fashion house KITMIR

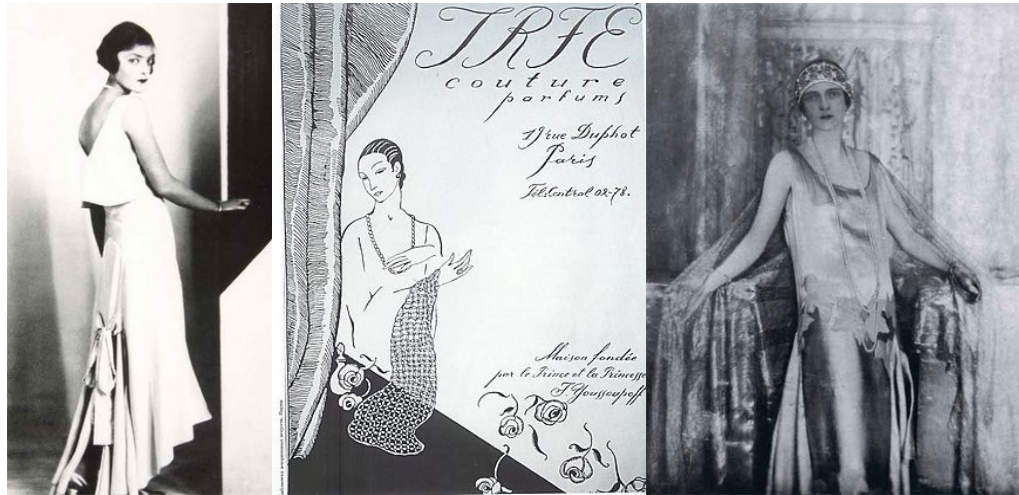
²⁸¹ N.O.Shiraliyeva, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 143

²⁸² Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 435

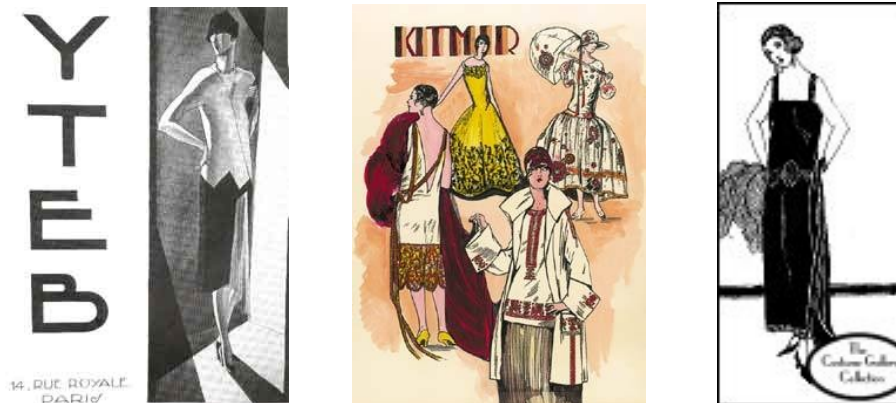
²⁸³ N.O.Shiraliyeva, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 66

²⁸⁴ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 557

and had a contract with Chanel. Three Russian princesses M.S.Trubetskaya, M.M.Annenkova and L.P.Obolenskaya founded TAO fashion house. The maid of honor of the last Russian empress was an owner of Yteb, one of the most popular places for Paris women of fashion. And probably the most notable of all of them was IRFE, whose founders were Irina Romanova, granddaughter of Alexander III, and her husband Felix Youssouppoff, representative of one of the richest families in Imperial Russia and one of the murderers of G. Rasputin.²⁸⁵



Princess Mia Obolenskaya in a dress by IRFE Couture, Paris, 1930. Advertisement IRFE in Vogue, 1926. Princess Youssouppoff in a dress by IRFE Couture, Paris, 1920.



Russian fashion houses in Paris: YTEB, KITMIR and Paul Caret

Between 1917 and 1929 three million Russians fled their native land. Major centers of Russian cultural life were Berlin, Paris and New York. At first Berlin was the cultural centre of Russia abroad.²⁸⁶ Paris became a full-fledged cultural centre of Russian emigrants in the

²⁸⁵ Александр Васильев, *Красота в Изгнании. Русские Дома Моды* (Moscow: Slovo, 2008), 35, 151, 163, 211

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 423

beginning of the 1930s when Russians fled to the French capital from Hitler's Germany.²⁸⁷ Population of the Russian colony was up to 50,000.²⁸⁸ The literary and artistic life flourished in the cafes of the sixteenth arrondissement, where artists such as Natalia Goncharova and her husband Mikhail Larionov, Benois, Bakst and Alexandra Exter mixed with Stravinsky and Prokofiev and writers like Ivan Bunin, Merezhkovsky and Khodasevich, who had moved from Berlin in 1925.²⁸⁹ They created their own versions of the "good Russian life" before 1917.²⁹⁰ As Bunin said, it was "the Mission of the emigration" to act for the "True Russia" by protecting this inheritance from the modernist corruptions of left-wing and Soviet art.²⁹¹

Paris was an outlet to the West, a door through which exiled Russians reached a new homeland. Most of those who made their home in Paris in the 1920s ended up by fleeing to America as the threat of war approached in the 1930s like I. Stravinsky.²⁹² Some stayed there and some returned back to France. One of those who returned was Marc Chagall. Chagall spent four years in Paris before the Revolution. Then in 1922 he migrated from the Russian Empire to France and stayed there till 1941. Till the end of World War Two he was in the USA and came back to France in 1945. His contribution to the French art can scarcely be overestimated. Chagall's works are housed in the Opera de Paris, the Metz Cathedral, Notre-Dame de Reims. His admirers from all over the world may enjoy his works in the National Museum of Marc Chagall in Nice.²⁹³

²⁸⁷ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 431

²⁸⁸ Хитрова Е.В., "Русская диаспора во Франции в период между двумя мировыми войнами," in *Россия и Франция* (Moscow, 2001), 257

²⁸⁹ Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 532

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 538

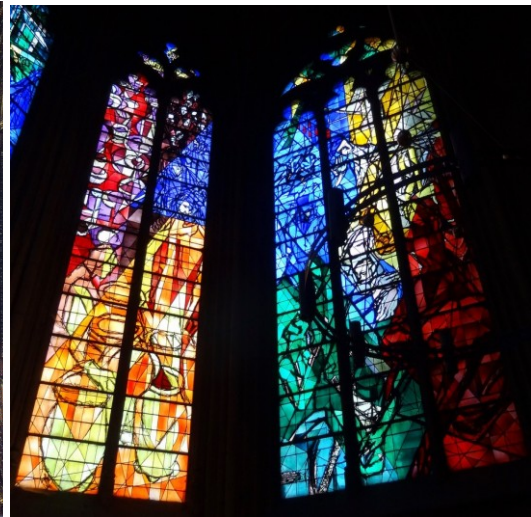
²⁹¹ Ibid., 540-42

²⁹² Ibid., 560

²⁹³ <http://www.marc-chagall.ru>, <http://www.musees-nationaux-alpesmaritimes.fr/chagall/>



Plafond of the Opera de Paris



Stained-glass windows in the Metz Cathedral

Official cultural dialogue between France and USSR

After the revolution and the recognition of the USSR by France, the cultural exchange between the two countries was carried out mainly by two state organizations. In the USSR it was VOKS (All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries), and in France - New Society of Franco-Russian friendship. Each published its own journal. The first was called *The East and West*, the second - *New Friendship*. The first organization provided the Soviet citizens with information about France, the second - the French about the Soviet Union. It is a remarkable fact that both organizations were Soviet. Their aim was direct propaganda of Soviet ideology.²⁹⁴ In 1927 the anniversary of the revolution was celebrated in USSR. Soviet government invited in Moscow 947 delegates from 43 countries, 180 were from France. This event led to the creation of Society of Friends of the Soviet Union and the issue of the journal *Russia Today* in France.²⁹⁵

In 1942 -1945 Association du rapprochement Franco-Sovietique in France and Association France-USSR in Russia were founded. 1950s were marked by the work of organization *Russia - France* in Moscow.²⁹⁶ In 1959 during the national congress of the society, the idea that the Russian-French cultural ties should be formed without the influence of the political regime was proclaimed. In 1960 N. Khrushchov visited France and introduced into practice the system of French-Russian sister cities, for example Bordeaux-Leningrad,

²⁹⁴ N.O.Shiraliyeva, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 50-51

²⁹⁵ Е.С. Белогловский, *Очерки истории советско-французских культурных связей. 1924-1939 гг.* (Sverdlovsk: Издательство Уральского университета, 1988), 42

²⁹⁶ N.O.Shiraliyeva, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 158

Toulouse-Kiev, Marseilles-Odessa. Such practice established permanent friendly relations between the cities for mutual acquaintance with the life, history and culture. The cooperation of cities was reflected in the exchange of delegations, artistic and athletic teams, exhibitions, literature, film and photo exhibitions and information about the experience in urban economy.²⁹⁷ In 1982 and 1984 year of Russian language in France and year of French language in Russia were held. The result of the work of all friendship societies was the organization of Initiative 1987 and Dialogue 1989. While the first project, 370 French public and political figures, scientists visited Moscow and while the second 320 Russian public and political figures, scientists came to Paris.²⁹⁸

Cultural events between France and USSR

In 1922 in Paris, the Moscow Art Theatre toured with *Brothers Karamazov* by Dostoevsky, *Three sisters*, *Cherry Garden* by Anton Chekhov. It was a success, mainly because of the school of Stanislavsky that made Russian psychological theatre an export product. Meyerhold then brought to France *Inspector* by Gogol and *The Forest* by Ostrovsky. The Russian classics were again successful. And then Tairov (Moscow Chamber Theatre) came with *Phaedra* by Racine, *Adriana Lecouvreur* by Eugene Scribe and French operetta but failed. Thus, the French public displayed conservatism in their expectations from Russian art and stereotyping, encouraging only those performances which were the works of Russian classics in a familiar for French viewers Russian interpretation.²⁹⁹

In 1925 USSR participated in World Expo and presented works in theater and decorative, artistic, graphic, architectural departments and received 183 awards.³⁰⁰ In 1926 exhibition Revolutionary Western Art with French works was held in Moscow. The same year State Museum of Modern Western Art bought works by Amadeo Modigliani, Fernand Leger, Maurice Utrillo.³⁰¹ In 1925-1929, France has purchased 19 Soviet films, including *Battleship Potemkin*. In 1930 Eisenstein, the director of the film went to Paris to lecture and learn about technological innovations.³⁰²

From the 1930s to the mid-1950s there were no significant events that influenced the interaction between two countries. In 1954 Comedie Francaise toured in Moscow and ballet

²⁹⁷N.O.Shiraliyeva, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 79-80

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 159

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 52-56

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 62

³⁰¹ СССР-Франция. Из истории политических, экономических и культурных отношений. Сборник. (МГИМО, 1960), 61

³⁰² N.O.Shiraliyeva, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 62

of Igor Moiseev, Moscow Circus - in Paris. In 1958 the Bolshoi theatre and MAT showed their works in Paris.³⁰³ The same year, the Paris Opera, National Symphony Orchestra, the exhibition of Picasso, the exhibition *Living in Paris* took place in Moscow.³⁰⁴ At the International Cannes Film Festival 1958 Soviet film *The Cranes Are Flying* got the “palme d'or”.



Battleship Potemkin, 1925.

The Cranes Are Flying, 1957.

Tehran 43, 1981

The period of the 1970s - 1980s was the heyday of French Culture in the USSR. It was promoted by the fashion for French singers (Yves Montand, Joe Dassin, Charles Aznavour, Mireille Mathieu), French cinema, joint projects like movie *Tehran 43* with Alain Delon and the love affair of popular Soviet actor and singer Vladimir Vysotsky with French cinema star Marina Vlady.³⁰⁵ At the same time this period provided Russia with stereotypes about France, which exist today:

Even in Soviet times Russia raced by inertia. Did not allow to go abroad, then one would sit for translation. Russia carried loyalty to the French fashion through the entire Soviet system and translated all that she could... Russia loved Edith Piaf, Yves Montand, the waiter from the restaurant, oysters, onion soup, flowerbeds of the Luxembourg Gardens, the Moulin Rouge, Versailles, existentialism, cafe, impressionism, Madame de Stael, Brigitte Bardot, champagne, china, Proust, Molière, the Marais, the Eiffel Tower, Guy de Maupassant, Rabelais.³⁰⁶

³⁰³ N.O. Shiraliev, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 71-72

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 76

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 83

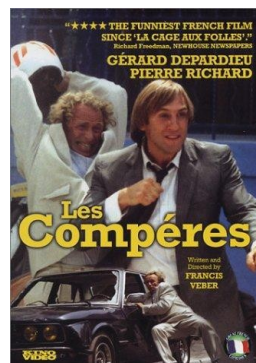
³⁰⁶ Ерофеев В., “Галлюмания,” in *Общая газета* 7 (1999), 10



Sorceress, 1956



Fantomas, 1964



Fathers, 1983

The analysis will not be full without mentioning a new position of French language in USSR. First of all, the number of the French and French-speakers during and after the revolution in Russia diminished: some of them returned to France, others remained in the USSR, many became victims of political repressions.³⁰⁷ French stopped its functioning as a language of the cultural elite in Russia. Foreign language studies became the matter of state concern and were strictly regulated by the government. But at the same time French books were leaders for translation into Russian in the USSR. From 1918-1959 4519 editions of the French works were published with total circulation of 173 521 000 copies. Only *Les Miserables* by Hugo were reprinted 30 times. Circulation of the French classics was very large. Among the most popular authors were: Balzac (1,732,000 copies), Anatole France (1,847,000 copies), Hugo (3,544,000 copies).³⁰⁸ The library of foreign literature in Moscow was constantly replenished with French books in the original.³⁰⁹ Since the mid 1960s there had been a growth of popularity in the French language studies in Russia. In the mid-1960s French was taught in 10% of schools and in 1967 - already in 25%. At the same time, interest in the Russian language in France was supported mainly through school exchange.³¹⁰

After 1991

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the cultural exchange between France and Russia is carried out in three ways: by means of state regulation at the level of government programs, through the exchange based on private initiative, and through festival exchange.³¹¹

³⁰⁷ Д.Л. Спивак, *Метафизика Петербурга Французская Цивилизация* (Saint-Petersburg: Алетейя, 2005), 368

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 452

³⁰⁹ N.O. Shiraliev, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 78

³¹⁰ Suzanne Balous, *L'action culturelle de la France dans le monde* (Paris: 1970), 148

³¹¹ Ibid., 132

In February 1992 two agreements were signed. One was about the development of cultural cooperation and mutually beneficial partnership between France and Russia. The second was between Moscow and Paris. Results of an agreement between Moscow and Paris in 1996 were: exchange exhibitions, unveiling of a bust of A.S. Pushkin in Paris and V. Hugo in Moscow, foundation of the French University College in Moscow.³¹²

In 1989 the French Cultural Centre was established in Moscow. It was one of 150 French Institutes abroad. Only in 1992-1993, the Centre organized more than 100 events. At the same time, the Russian Cultural Centre, was not as active as French. Therefore Russian projects were brought to France by private arrangement, or as events at the state level, arranged directly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Culture and the Committee for Culture. At the same time, Russian projects, organized on a private basis, were of more success.³¹³

It is important to note that museum exchanges almost always were the prerogative of the states.³¹⁴ In 1994-1995, the Russian season in Paris and the French season in Moscow took place. They were largely the result of individual initiative of the director of the French Cultural Centre in Moscow.³¹⁵

In the 1990s, theatrical projects, Russian in France and French in Russia, were actively implemented. Russian spectacles were shown at the Avignon Festival, including works by famous Russian directors Leo Dodin, Kama Ginkas, Valery Fokin in France.³¹⁶ Talking about private and festival tours, one should mention the MDT (Maly Drama Theatre, Saint-Petersburg) that is the most frequently touring and invited Russian theater in France.³¹⁷ Since 1998 the number of French troupes to perform at the Chekhov Festival in Moscow has grown considerably and has enhanced the prestige of the latter. The Chekhov Festival in 2009 was, from the point of French -Russian cultural interaction, the most prominent: France was an honored guest of the fest and demonstrated more theatrical productions than any other foreign troupes.³¹⁸

France was an active participant of the celebration of the 300th anniversary of St. Petersburg. In 2003, Research Center of the Enlightenment was opened in the Voltaire hall of

³¹² N.O. Shiraliev, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 160

³¹³ www.lessaisonsrusses.fr

³¹⁴ N.O. Shiraliev, *Cultural Relations Between Russia in France in XXth century* (Moscow: MGIMO, 2004), 88-90, 105-106

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 102

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 110

³¹⁷ <http://www.mdt-dodin.ru/tour/?7>

³¹⁸ <http://chekhovfest.ru/fest/2009/>

the Russian National Library, and in the city centre, at Sennaya Ploschad (Haymarket Square) a World tower was erected.³¹⁹ Both events were the presents of France for the anniversary.



Opening of the bust of A.S.Pushkin in Paris. Bust of V.Hugo in Moscow. World Tower, 2003

The last but not the least question to take up is recent state of the French language in Russia and the Russian language in France. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the French language in Russia has not disappeared but its influence diminished. He was replaced by English and German that are considered more useful for a career. In the early 1990s, according to the Russian Ministry of Education, 55% of students studied English, 34.9% - German and only 8% studied French (compare with 20% in 1960). According to the French Embassy that used the data of the Federal Ministry of Education and Science, in 2009, in Russia there were 410,000 people who studied French at the elementary and middle school, 344,000 - at the universities, and 6,250 French teachers in elementary and middle school, and 5,750 in higher institutions.

In addition, the observed reduction in Russian language teaching is represented in France. Alexander Orlov, Russian Ambassador to France, confirmed that this decline in 2010, the exchange year between France and Russia. In 2008, in France 14,000 students studied Russian: for 48% of them it was the third language, for 29% - the second. It should be noted that for 20 years, the number of students decreased by 50%. The number of teachers is also declining: only 22 from 85 French universities offer Russian language teaching (compare with 25 in 2005). There are approximately 260 certified teachers who teach the Russian language today in French high school (compare with 487 in 1989). This decline in interest in the Russian language studies in France is partly due to negatively propagated image of the country by the media over the past ten years.³²⁰ In addition, according to the Russian ambassador in France, the decline in learning Russian can be explained by the budget

³¹⁹ Le Journal de l'Ambassade de France en Russie. 2003. № 4. [http://www.ambafrance .ru/journal/n4/6-3.html](http://www.ambafrance.ru/journal/n4/6-3.html)

³²⁰ http://www.alexandreletsa.ru/2011/04/blog-post_09.html

economy of the French authorities, as the Russian is not among the most popular languages to study. At the same time, Orlov is sure that the Russian authorities may contribute to the popularization of the Russian language in France. As a solution to the problem he suggests to send teachers of Russian language to France to work in high schools and colleges. He underlines that such project, as well as Russian language studies abroad, should be a matter of public policy and strategic issue of the state. In France, the Russian takes the fifth position among foreign languages to study, after English, Spanish, German, Chinese.³²¹

In the beginning of 2011 it became known that seasons of the Russian language and literature in France and the French language and literature in Russia would be hold in 2012.³²² Goal of the seasons remained unchanged - to promote a comprehensive partnership and dialogue between the two countries.³²³

Chapter Summary

History of the twentieth century brought dramatic changes in the nature and intensity of cultural cooperation between France and Russia/ Soviet Union/ Russian Federation. Although these changes were caused by events in Russia, they significantly influenced both the European and world history. Among them were: the revolution of 1917, which led to the creation of a new state with new Soviet communist ideology and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, which became the basis for the formation of the Russian Federation. These political changes were the basis for distinguishing three periods in the cultural dialogue between the two countries: up to 1917, from 1917 to 1991(Soviet period) and after 1991. Besides, they modified a character of the interaction. The predominance of private capital and initiative in tsarist times was replaced by full government control in the Soviet period, and only since 1992 a cultural dialogue has functioned both on public and private level.

The first period confirmed the presence of full-fledged cooperation and demonstrated the influence of Russian culture on the French one. But here it should be noted that French interest was rooted in a regular fashion on the exotic, which is associated with non-European and uncivilized countries. Special feature of the second period is the presence of only state interaction with the strong ideological implication from the Russian (Soviet) side. Another important thing during this period was the formation of stable cultural stereotypes on both sides, which are still relevant. Full recovery of the cultural interaction both on state level

³²¹ http://www.gramota.ru/lenta/news/france/8_2612

³²² <http://www.epochtimes.ru/content/view/53481/3/>

³²³ <http://www.e-novosti.info/blog/25.01.2007>

without Soviet ideological influence and on private level of organization became possible after 1991.

CHAPTER V. The Role of Cultural Exchange Programs in Amendment of “Self”-perception and Perception of “Self” by the “Other”

Cultural exchange programs play a significant role in the promotion of eagerness to experience other culture and in the promotion of intercultural communication. They assist in helping one’s “self” experience to include the movement in and out of different cultural worldviews. So in this part of the work we examine how the stated above works in practice. The chapter starts with the examination of the emergence and development of cultural exchange programs between France and other countries. In the next part a summary analysis of French program of *L’annee France – Russie 2010* is given and its content is compared with the analogous projects between France and other countries (Brasilia, Argentina). The third part demonstrates a set of Russian stereotypes about France that are taken from two TV projects dedicated to the exchange year 2010.

As one may note, France plays a leading role in this chapter. There are several reasons for it. First of all, French organization of cultural exchange programs that has been held on regular annual basis since 1992 serves an example of successful policy in the field of cultural International relations. Russia, in its turn, does not have integrated and articulate state program in this sector. Though since 2007 (year of China in Russia) Russia has been interested in the participation in such kind of programs, its collaboration with other participants is still based mainly on periodical but not regular basis and is not supported by the creation of long-run programs of cultural self-promotion in other countries. The examination of the web-sites of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Department of International Cooperation of the Russian Ministry of Culture as well as functioning of Russian Centre of Science and Culture in Paris prove the stated above.³²⁴

The second point that needs an explanation is the following. France is an object of the examination on the next two parts of the chapter because in the course of cultural interaction with other countries it clearly demonstrates the ability to correct its auto and projected auto-stereotypes. France also demonstrates a longing for getting rid of cultural stereotypes by the introduction of modern cultural phenomena. From this point of view, Russian program of the events is characterized by a higher level of steadiness and does not demonstrate the same level of mobility as the French side. The main reason for it can be an insufficient level of

³²⁴ <http://mkrf.ru/>, <http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/sitemap.nsf>, <http://www.russiefrance.org/ru/nous.html>

organization of such kind of events. Thereby French experience and the way of conduct of International cultural exchange can be regarded as useful for the Russian side.

Cultural Exchange Program as a Part of International Relations between countries

Cultural relations are directed towards finding common between countries or towards the creation of a positive and at the same time realistic image of the country. One of the most prolific forms of implementation of cultural relations on the International level is organization of exchange cultural programs between countries. It is worth mentioning that the form of dialogue is an optimal form for such events.

According to original idea, the establishment of a cultural exchange program is based on the strong will of both governments - participants and aims to highlight and strengthen interchanges in various fields, e.g. culture, areas of innovation, technology, economy and tourism. Today there are three main forms of cultural exchange programs that are organized by France: festivals for short formats, seasons (approximately six months), and years (approximately one calendar year). The exchange program is run by teams from both countries headed by commissioners, and are made possible by the assistance of public and private institutional world, business and media.³²⁵

The French Government regards the programs as a result of bilateral diplomatic commitments made at the highest level for the support of cultural diversity. They help to achieve the following aims by the countries-participants: to enhance and renew the image of the country; to promote knowledge and mutual understanding; to highlight the vitality of exchanges in cultural, educational, academic and also technological, scientific, industrial and commercial spheres; to attract new people and initiatives for expanding the dialogue and cooperation between countries.³²⁶

Since 1985 France started to arrange cultural exchange years/seasons, though on regular annual basis they have been promoting since 1992. It was not a coincidence that the project started in 1985. The period of the 1980s was characterized as a cultural boom in France. Since that time private companies started to finance cultural events. This initiative

³²⁵ Institut Francais. *Presentation of Cultural Seasons*, <http://www.institutfrancais.com/cooperation-et-ingenierie-culturelle/saisons-culturelles/po15.html>

³²⁶ France Diplomatie. *Les Echanges Culturels*, http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/entrees-thematiques_830/cooperation-culturelle-medias_1031/les-echanges-culturels_20119/les-saisons-culturelles_80869.html (Translation is made by the author)

was supported by the law *Initiative et liberté* (1987). According to it, tax deduction of funds committed to the defense of the artistic or cultural environment was granted to private business. In 1988 law on *Protection of heritage* came into force. Its aim was to rehabilitate and preserve historical monuments and buildings and to give them “second life” through the organization of various festivals and exhibitions there. Among the most notable cultural projects of the 1980s the reconstruction and reorganization of the Louvre Museum and the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution in 1989 should be mentioned.³²⁷ In 1983 François Mitterrand proposed a plan for renovation of the museum and relocation of the Ministry of Finance that also was in the building. Architect I. M. Pei, an American architect of Chinese origin, won the project and proposed a glass pyramid to stand over a new entrance in the main court. The pyramid and its underground lobby were inaugurated on 15 October 1988. The second phase of the plan was completed in 1993.³²⁸ It is significant that by this project France also demonstrated its desire to enhance and renew its image: through reconstruction of one of its National symbols it also showed the openness to the experiments and perception of the modern art and architecture. Bastille Day celebration, in its turn, was not only internal affair of France - world leaders were also invited by François Mitterrand to participate in it.³²⁹

Through arranging various types of cultural exchange programs France demonstrated a high level of diversity in choosing the partner.³³⁰ From 1985 – 2011 France organized 37 considerable exchange programs that were organized in the forms of years, seasons, festivals and other forms not specified. Seasons are the most popular form of conduct of such events, whereas forms of years are much rarer. It should also be mentioned that ten programs were of unknown status so it was not possible to clarify their form of organization. But it can be stated that the majority of these ten corresponds more with the structure of festival or season program rather than year.

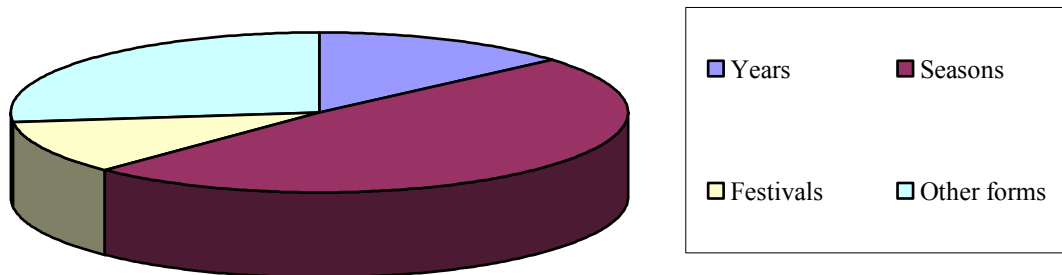
³²⁷ Georges Duby, *Histoire de la France de 1852 a nos jours* (Paris: Larousse, 1994), 597

³²⁸ http://www.greatbuildings.com/buildings/Pyramide_du_Louvre.html

³²⁹ <http://bastille-day.com/>

³³⁰ France Diplomatie. *Les Echanges Culturels. List of Cultural Exchange Programs*, http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/actions-france_830/cooperation-culturelle_1031/les-echanges-culturels_20119/historique-saisons-culturelles_80870.html (Translation is made by the author)

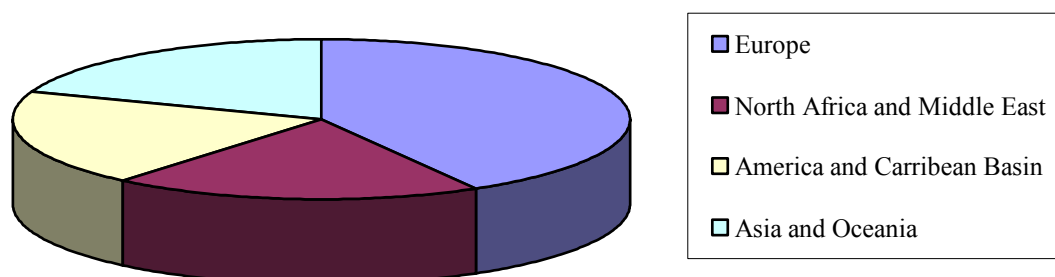
Forms of Organisation of Cultural Exchange Programs between France and Other World Regions from 1985 to 2011



Cultural exchange years are not such frequent events comparing with cultural seasons. It can be explained by the fact that organization of cultural exchange year demands more profound preparation both on event and financial levels. Another important fact is that during the exchange year France should focus mainly on one country for quite a long period, while shorter formats allow the arrangement of several projects with different countries in the same space of time. By 2012 France has five exchange years: with India, China, Brasilia, Russia and Mexico (was cancelled). At the same time only programs with China, Brasilia and Russia were bidirectional and provided France both with the role of host and guest. Programs between France and India, Mexico are of unidirectional character. In the latter two cases France performed as a platform for events organized by another country-participant.

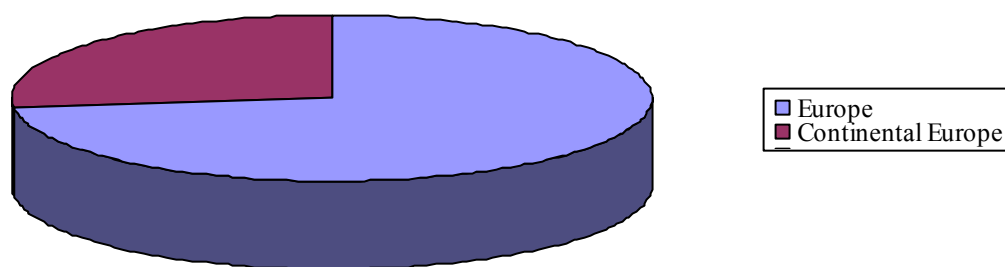
Geographically cultural exchange programs, promoted by France, cover all significant World regions, including North and South America, Asia, Africa, Middle East and of course various regions inside Europe. The given above diagram demonstrates the distribution of projects according to geographical principle. The majority of programs took place inside the European continent. Portion of events organized between France and such World regions as North Africa and Middle East, America, and Asia and Oceania is almost equal.

Cultural Exchange Programs between France and Other World Regions from 1985 to 2011



Inside the European framework France classifies its partners into two groups: Europe and Continental Europe. To Continental Europe, according to the classification, France attributes such countries as: Armenia, Georgia, Russia, Ukraine. By the definition of European countries France means the countries of the European Union and Turkey.³³¹

Cultural Exchange Programs between France and Other European Countries from 1996 to 2010



In the end, it can be said that cultural exchange programs are one of the most developed components of Foreign Politics of France. Organised in the form of dialogue (two partner – countries) and varying in time of implementation (from a season to a year) it successfully serves for spreading the image of modern France outside its borders and for development and maintenance of decent cultural relations with other countries.

³³¹ Resultats Premiere Commission des Appels a Projets 2011 (pdf)

Analysis and Comparison of “Self”- image of France in Exchange Programs

As it was stated above, the idea of cultural exchange program is inseparably linked with the desire of a country to enhance and renew its image, to promote knowledge about itself and make mutual understanding between two states possible and evident. Through analysis of the French program in the projects *L’annee France – Russie* (2010), *L’annee de la France au Bresil* (2009) and *TANDEM: Paris – Buenos-Aires* (2011) we’ll try to answer the following questions:

- Did France show its different images (often, stereotypical) in the course of these programs?
- Was the program of French events and activities changed depending on the partner – country? If yes, why was it necessary?

After examination of official presentations of the stated above programs the following conclusions are made. In all programs France was interested in promotion of its modern image. In the program *TANDEM: Paris – Buenos-Aires* this factor is dominant. Projects *L’annee France – Russie* and *L’annee de la France au Bresil* present more complex structures. On the web-site of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, yearning for promotion of a modern and at the same time diverse and open image of the country in *L’annee de la France au Bresil* is given.³³² In project *L’annee France – Russie* development of the idea of Modern France cooperates with the promotion of its cultural heritage and demonstration of French – Russian cultural interaction in the course of history.³³³ Resumed information about country’s objectives is given in the table below.

L’annee France – Russie ³³⁴	–	L’annee de la France au Bresil ³³⁵	TANDEM ³³⁶
1) Modern France:		1) Modern France:	1) Modern France:
contemporary creation		contemporary creation research and innovation.	contemporary creation.

³³² Official Program of Events “L’Annee France - Bresil”. http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/actions-france_830/action-culturelle_1031/colonne-droite_1695/evenements_14032/annee-france-au-bresil-2009_65761.html

³³³ http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/diplomatie.tv_17108/divers_19585/lancement-annee-france-russie-2010-25-janvier-2010_79269.htm; <http://www.france-russie2010.fr/>

³³⁴ Official Program of Events “L’Annee France - Russie”. <http://www.russia-france2010.ru/presentation/20100113/187795019.html>

³³⁵ Official Program of Events “L’Annee France - Bresil”. <http://www.institutfrancais.com/evenement/En-2009-une-Annee-de-la-France-au-Bresil/evpg530.html>

³³⁶ TANDEM 2011, avant-program, <http://agendabsas.wordpress.com/2011/03/14/tandem-paris-buenos-aires/>

research and innovation.

2) **Past of France:** cultural and historical heritage of the country.

3) **French-Russian interaction** in the course of history. Continuation of joint programs between countries.

2) **Diverse France:** cultural pluralism, regional diversity.
3) **Open France:** ideas discussion and debates, openness to the World.

The events proposed for each project are different not only according to their objectives but also according to sphere of activities. In *TANDEM: Paris – Buenos-Aires* the French side mainly focuses on the representation of its modern image through theatrical, music projects, art and photo expositions and several cinema festivals. In *L'annee France – Russie* and in *L'annee de la France au Bresil* French side added a significant number of scientific, educational and sport activities. Besides, in 2010 France actively participated as an honored guest in various economic events including Saint-Petersburg International Economic Forum, Intermarket Moscow, Agro-Industrial Exhibition, Salon of Innovations and Investment, etc. Inclusion of this component helps in creation an image of France as an active business partner of Russia.³³⁷ Events of similar character also accompanied *L'annee de la France au Bresil*.

The analysis of *L'annee France – Russie* showed that France followed certain rules in creation of the program. All cultural events, organized by the French side demonstrated three main tendencies: promotion of common foreign stereotypes about France, promotion of Russian simple hetero-stereotypes about France and development of new French image that can be either the evolution of an old stereotype or can represent an absolutely new phenomenon.

Festivals of *haute gastronomie francaise*, fashion exhibitions are among common foreign stereotypes promoted about France that one can find both in events 2009, 2010.

Events like concert of Patricia Kaas, guest performances of Comedie Francaise and ballet troupe of Opera National de Paris in Siberia, exhibition *Napoleon and Louvre* in Historical Museum in Moscow serve as examples of Russian simple hetero-stereotypes about France.³³⁸ Patricia Kaas since the 1980s is regarded in Russia as one of the most

³³⁷ http://www.russia-france2010.ru/in_russia/

³³⁸ Ibid.

popular French singers and one of symbols of French music (though in reality it is not so). French ballet is definitely a forefather of Russian ballet that in its turn is included in Russian simple and projected auto-stereotype. Comedie Francaise serves as a symbol of traditional theatre (like Maly Theatre in Moscow) and place for staging French classic literature that had and has great impact on Russian culture. Napoleon is probably one of the most complex foreign figures in Russian culture: though he was a Russian enemy during the campaign of 1812, but in cultural perception he was more likely an embodiment of great power and self-made man, whose image appeared in the novels of F. Dostoevsky and L. Tolstoy.

It is remarkable that, though France uses the same cultural objects, it always changes the topic or the way of object's representation depending on a project. Both exchange years (2009, 2010) demonstrated a virtuosic usage by French side of both its simple auto-stereotypes and foreign simple hetero-stereotypes about France in process of implementation of such kind of events. Both for *L'annee France – Russie* and *L'annee de la France au Bresil* France arranged exhibition from Louvre, quest tour of modern ballet troupe of Angelin Preljocaj, exhibitions of the great French painters, etc. Making Louvre exhibition in Brasilia, France chose Jean-Antoine Houdon, “famous for his portrait busts and statues of philosophers, inventors and political figures”, as a topic, while for Russia the figure of Napoleon was taken.³³⁹ Especially for Brazilian program Preljocaj created his new ballet, underlying a strong link between his troupe and Brazil, both as a place for his guest performances and as a source of inspiration.³⁴⁰ While for 2010 he brought to Russia ballets *Le Sacred du Printemps* and *Marriage* that became symbols of Diaghilev's *Russian Seasons* in Paris, and underlined by this a strong link between two national ballet schools. For both projects France also organized an exposition of one of its greatest painters of the twentieth century: Matisse was chosen for Brasilia and Picasso – for Russia. It was a first exhibition of Matisse in Brasilia, as well as it was a first complete and free from any kind of political or ideological pressure exhibition of Picasso in Moscow and Saint-Petersburg (the very first exhibition was held in 1956 in Moscow). The choice of painters was not a coincidence: Matisse is an example of openness to other cultural experiences (influence of Eastern, non-European art on his pictures), as well as Picasso is a strong association with the prohibited contemporary art in the Soviet Union.

³³⁹ http://www.artcyclopedia.com/artists/houdon_jean-antoine.html

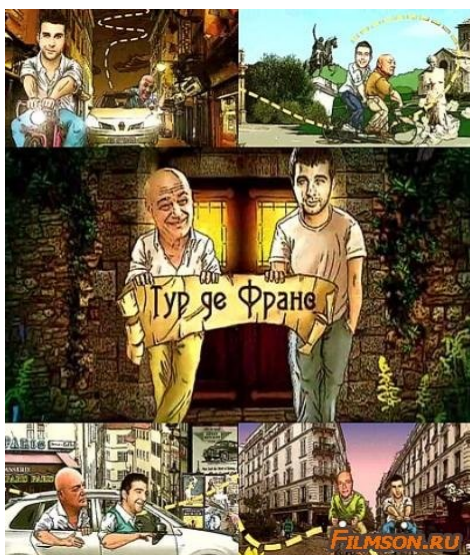
³⁴⁰ Official Program of Events “L'Annee France - Bresil”,
<http://www.aveva.com/news/liblocal/docs/FICHIERS%20PDF%20BR/BR-2009-04-21-02-FR.pdf>

Development of new French image based either on the evolution of an old stereotype or represented by absolutely new phenomenon is the third tendency. Modern French ballet is an example of this evolution type, while festival of *bd (bande desinee)* and great popularity of comics in France is an opening for Russian side.

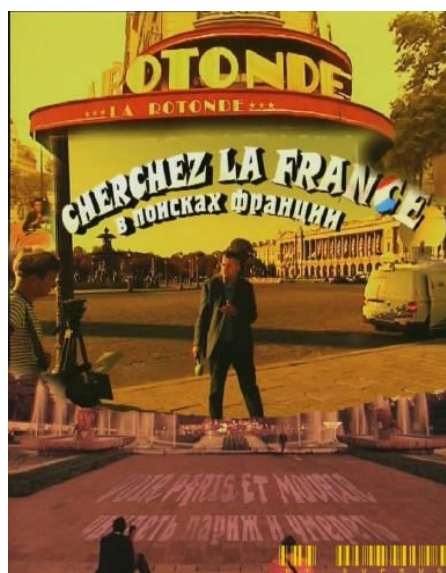
The given above examples demonstrate a virtuosic usage by French side of its simple auto-stereotypes, common foreign and singular country's simple hetero-stereotypes about France for country's promotion in cultural exchange programs. France demonstrates a strong longing for change and evolution of its stereotypes by adding actual events into its modern image. Having quite often the same structure of the program, in each certain case France varies its stuffing depending on the second country-partner.

Russian Perception of France through the Analysis of Russian TV Projects Dedicated to the Year 2010

After examining peculiarities of French self-promotion through the official events of cultural exchange year, it is worth looking at the way another country percepts France. As an object of analysis, two Russian TV projects were taken: *Tour de France* (1 channel) and *Cherchez la France* (NTV). First project was included in official program of the year *L'annee France – Russie*, the second wasn't in the list but was also dedicated to this event.



“Tour de France” (1 channel)



“Cherchez la France” (NTV)

Titles of the programs are popular French set of words. In the first case the title is the name of the most famous French and World cycle race. The name of the second program is a modified version of the phrase *cherchez la femme*. Judging by the titles one may think that the

programs are based only on some stereotypical perception of France by Russia. But it is true only partially.

Both programs were led by professional journalists. The host of *Tour de France* is a famous French-born Russian and Soviet journalist. That fact made it possible to provide the program not only with stereotypical content, based on historical and cultural perception, but also with personal vision of France by a man who is also part of French culture. His co-host is a young TV host, actor who does not know much about France, except clichés. Such arrangement adds important contribution to the content: representative of the young generation is interested in revealing the modern vision and image of France and its culture. The author of the second program is a special correspondent of NTV in France for the last 13 years, “through his eyes the viewers of NTV see and percept France.”³⁴¹

Though both programs have definitely some common features (Russian and common foreign simple hetero-stereotypes about France), they are essentially different in the presentation of material and structure. *Tour de France* is based on geographical principle of construction. The route of hosts resembles the route of racing cyclist and includes both big cities and small unknown villages all around the country. Thereby, being in one region, in the frame of one episode the hosts managed to show various aspects of France. For example, while staying in Marseille, they talked about the history of French hymn, about African emigrants and their role in modern France, visited a family of French citizens of Algerian origin, and tasted the traditional dish of Marseille fishermen called bouillabaisse. Such principle of program’s structure allows to include in one episode historical and contemporary notions, mix new for Russian perception vision of France (emigrant’s question) and at the same time one of simple hetero-stereotypes about it (its gastronomy).³⁴²

The second program, on the contrary, is based on theme principle. It includes episodes about gastronomy and French Riviera, wine and perfumery, French fashion and freemasonry, French cinema and close interaction between French and Russian men of culture in the twentieth century. It should be noted that the author easily injected Russian tracks in each of nine series that made a program not only a source of Russian stereotypical view of France but also a handbook in French-Russian cultural and even political relationships in the course of history.³⁴³

³⁴¹ <http://www.ntv.ru>

³⁴² *Tour de France* (on-line database. 2009), <http://www.1tv.ru/documentary/fi=6666>

³⁴³ *Cherchez la France*, (on-line database. 2009), http://www.ntv.ru/peredacha/Cherchez_la_France/

On the whole both programs provide the viewer with four types of stereotypes of France: common foreign hetero-stereotypes about France, common foreign hetero-stereotypes about France with Russian component, Russian hetero-stereotypes about France, forming Russian hetero - stereotypes about France or the events that can become stereotypes in future. Among common foreign hetero-stereotypes are: French gastronomy, wine, perfumery, French cinema, Paris and the French Riviera, fashion, Impressionists. This group is closely connected with the second one. For example, wine topic is one of the dominant in *Tour de France*, and in *Cherchez la France* one of nine parts is dedicated to it. The wine study includes stories about champagne, cognac, armagnac, cahors, and numerous visits to vineyards or shots from wine festivals. Such conception is not unique – the same shot can be done by Americans or Germans or by any other foreign crew. But in the presented projects the idea of stereotype description and development goes further by showing how these typical French products were intertwined into Russian history and reality. It turned out to be that the appearance of cahors in Russia is a direct result of Peter the Great stay in Holland: in eighteenth century France supplied this sort of wine to Holland where Russian tsar tasted it, liked it and brought into Russia where it became the wine for the Eucharist. The similar story can be told about French champagne Veuve Clicquot that is definitely considered by Russians to be the best one in the World. Appearance of this statement goes back to the year 1812 when Russian soldiers tasted the beverage in France while famous anti-Napoleonic march. They liked it so much that in two years Russia became the main destination for the Veuve Clicquot export (70 % of total export production). Thus what makes the projects different from other TV travel-guides is that in every World stereotype, including stereotype about France as a wine World capital, the hosts could easily find a Russian trace or could show how a certain French actual influenced the Russian side.

The following examples also confirm the above stated. Paris and the French Riviera in Russian perception are not only the most popular and well-publicized parts of the country but also the parts that are strongly associated with Russian intellectuals and nobility who since the nineteenth century enjoyed staying there and with a great flow of Russian emigrants (representatives of tsar's family, nobles, actors, writers, painters, etc.) right after the Revolution of 1917. For example, while traveling in the French Riviera region, journalists made reportages not only about the Cannes Festival or perfumery production (two inalienable symbols of Riviera) but also about Russian places in Nice like Orthodox Church of Saint Nicolas, and the tragedy that happened with the tsar family there, they look for the villa Belvedere where famous Russian writer, poet and Nobel laureate Ivan Bunin lived after the

exile from Russia. They went to Monte-Carlo not only for playing in Casino but also for visiting Opera de Monte Carlo where ballet troupe of S. Diaghilev performed and Russian Ballet of Monte-Carlo was established. This stereotype about Russian French Riviera can be regarded as a positive but it is not the only one. Modern Russian perception of the French Riviera is getting to have a kind of ambiguous treatment where contemporary events are placed on historical ones. So in recent time Cote d'Azur is mostly associated with Russian "oligarchs" who buy the most expensive villas and organize endless parties there. This "fresh stereotype" has definitely a strong negative nuance and can be even considered as a part of Russian auto-stereotype.

Other example is fashion topic. Coco Chanel – a symbol of French vogue and fashion, a woman whose name is strongly associated with the world famous perfume – can serve such example. This is not a secret that Chanel was in close relationships with the cousin of the last Russian tsar Grand Duke Dmitry Pavlovich, who in turn introduced Chanel to a Russian emigrant Ernest Beaux. The meeting took place on the French Riviera in early 1920. Before the exile from the Russian Revolution, Beaux had been known as master perfumer at A. Rallet, the official perfumer to the Russian royal family. It was Beaux who invented world famous perfume and eo ipso immortalized the name of Chanel.³⁴⁴ In addition, the first models, dressmakers and embroideresses in Chanel fashion house were Russian emigrants – noblewomen, including Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna (sister of Dmitry Pavlovich).

In general, existence of this group of stereotypes is not a matter of pure accident. Mixture of Russian simple auto-stereotypes with Russian simple hetero-stereotypes about France has a long story. It goes back to the question whether Russia belongs to Europe or Asia. In the course of history France was considered by Russia as the most European of all European countries. Thereby, by finding numerous points of contact on cultural level in the course of history Russia can easily determine itself as a representative of Europe.

Sometimes it is quite difficult to differentiate common foreign hetero-stereotypes about France with Russian component from the third group (Russian hetero-stereotypes about France). Thus French cinema is definitely a world phenomenon. It is considered as an intellectual opposition to the American block-busters, but in Russian perception, besides this image, there is another one: French cinema is definitely linked with the light comedies of 1960 – 1980 with Pierre Richard and Louis de Funes, etc. This fact has the following explanation: French comedies were not regarded by the Communist officials as opposed to

³⁴⁴ Tilar J. Mazzeo, *The Secret of Chanel No. 5* (NY: Harper, 2010), 52, 55.

Soviet ideology and thus, in contrast to American capitalistic pictures, they could quite easily appear on Soviet screens, be admired by millions and became a face of French cinema.

Besides promotion of common foreign or Russian stereotypes about France, the authors of *Tour de France* also included a number of modern social occurrences. Special attention was paid to the problem of emigrants in France. *Tour de France* starts with an image that would remind more New-York, Rio or Beijing but there are just non-tourist districts of Paris. The hosts go to the 18 and 19th districts that became famous owing to the disturbances in 2005. In Marseille, that gained a reputation of a city with one of the highest crime rates in the country, they drove by through the emigrant blocks for having an interview with a family from Algeria. And later they attended a religious feast of French gypsies in Camargue.

Another new vision of France is based on the demonstration of its scientific and industrial strength. Film crew visited CNES (the Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales), ENAC (l'Ecole Nationale de l'Aviation Civile), plants AirBus, TGV, and plant for processing nuclear fuel near Mont Saint-Michel. Here it is important to state that in Russian mass perception France was never considered as an industrial giant. Starting from Soviet times it was more typical to regard the USA, Germany or Japan as industrial leaders but not France.

In toto, according to the programs, Russian image of France includes the following components: savoir faire (art, handicraft, preservation of traditions), art de vivre (as French way of life), cultural and historical heritage, intercultural interaction between France and Russia in the course of history, modern occurrences (cultural, social, economic).

In conclusion, it can be said that on the one hand, TV projects consolidate and develop traditional perception of France. On the other, a tendency for inclusion modern elements of reality is evident. It is significant that, though old common foreign stereotypes are inseparably linked with Russian hetero-stereotypes about France, new forming hetero-stereotypes are free from this tie. This inference corroborates the necessity of promoting up-to-date image of France.

Chapter Summary

It goes without saying that every country is interested in creating its positive and at the same time realistic image for the other countries. It is evident that in the process of cultural interaction with the others each country faces the clash between the way it sees itself (simple auto-stereotype), the way it wants other countries to see it and the way it is interpreted by the others (hetero-stereotype). Implementation of cultural exchange programs can help in changing or improving this clash. Festivals, seasons or years give a chance for the country-

participant to promote the desired image of itself. Bilateral form of organization allows the country to change or to correct its image depending on its country-partner.

Cultural exchange programs between France and other countries demonstrate a virtuosic usage by French side of both its simple and projected stereotypes in process of implementation of such kind of events. *L'annee France – Russie 2010* serves as an example of the stated above. As TV projects dedicated to this event show, Russia has deep-rooted stereotypes about France and its culture. These stereotypes originated and developed in the course of the centuries-old relations between two countries and are characterized by high level of steadiness. The recent state of affairs shows that modern image of France in Russia is still based mainly on the stereotypes coming from the course of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries and almost does not include up-to-date cultural events as a background for formation of new image of France. Thereby the French side of the exchange program demonstrates a yearning of the country to improve this situation and, besides the traditional and stereotypical vision of it, demonstrate its' another part that was not available or widely presented before.

CONCLUSION

Cultural relations have an impact on the perception of “self” by “other” and “other” by “self”. The cultural interaction between France and Russia in the course of the last three centuries may serve as a confirmation of this statement. In the eighteenth century Russia was in process of intensive absorption of the French cultural experience. At the same time France demonstrated its cultural superiority over yet uncivilized state. By the middle of the nineteenth century France cultural attitude towards Russia remained the same. The first changes occurred in the second part of the century. They were due to the growing interest of the French intellectuals in contemporary Russian literature and were formed by the end of the nineteenth century that symbolized also the beginning of French – Russian political rapprochement. The attitude of Russia towards France also changed in this period. And though the impact of French culture was still strong, from the second decade of the nineteenth century actively developed Russian cultural self-awareness started to supplant it. In the beginning of the twentieth century there was a bloom of Russian culture that was appraised and perceived in France. The events of 1917 that led to the change of political regime in Russia had double effect. On the one hand, the revolution provoked migration of Russian intellectuals and nobility to Europe, in particular to France. Thereby work of many of them was since that moment the part of French culture. On the other hand, France and Russia supported official cultural relations that were based mainly on the functioning of various state French-Soviet organizations with strong pro-Soviet ideological component. This period, characterized by the closeness of the USSR influenced on the formation of cultural stereotypes about each other. The last twenty years demonstrate a qualitatively new era in cultural dialogue between the countries. This dialogue is based both on state cultural projects and the projects supported by private initiative.

In general, the historical development of cultural relations between France and Russia finds its reflection in the *Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)* by Milton J. Bennet. In the centre of his model there are two terms: *ethnocentrism*, the experience of one’s own culture as “central to reality”, and *ethnorelativism*, “the experience of one’s own beliefs and behaviors as just one organization of reality among many viable possibilities.”³⁴⁵ Each of the types of cultural experience consists of three stages: *ethnocentrism* - of *denial*, *defense* and *minimization*, and *ethnorelativism* - of *acceptance*, *adaptation* and *integration*.

³⁴⁵Milton J. Bennet, “Becoming Interculturally Competent,” in *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education*, ed. Wurzel, J. (Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation, 2004), 62

In this way each of the stages of the model corresponds to a certain historical period of French-Russian relations. So the state of *denial* corresponds to the analysis of relations between France (self) – Russia (other) in the eighteenth century when Russia’s appearance on the Western political scene called the French construction of division into civilized and non-civilized world with bounds Stockholm – Warsaw – Istanbul in question. At the stage of *defense* the world is organized into “us and them,” where one’s own culture is superior and other cultures are inferior. In addition, these “superior cultures” “are likely to have many negative stereotypes of other cultures.” *Defense* is expressed by “helping” non-civilized culture to succeed by bringing the latter into the assumedly superior civilized culture. The stated above corresponds to the position of France as an envoy of culture to Russia in the 18th century. *Reversal*, as a variation of *defense*, is characterized as a stage when an adopted “other” culture is experienced as superior to the culture of one’s primary socialization (native culture) and is not regarded as a threat.³⁴⁶ So here one can have an example of Russia in the end of the eighteenth – beginning of the nineteenth centuries when French culture was regarded as dominant for the Russian nobility and cultural elite. At *minimization* level dominant culture (culture that influences other countries) is still unable to appreciate other cultures.³⁴⁷ Here one may refer to the memoirs “Napoleon Campaign in Russia” by Armand Augustin Louis de Caulaincourt with quotations from Napoleon or memoirs and diaries of French prisoners of war 1812. An important point for our survey is what Bennet calls “the missing piece in *minimization*.” In his view, “the issue that needs to be resolved to move into ethnorelativism, is the recognition of one’s own culture (cultural self-awareness).”³⁴⁸ The French-Russian relations in the nineteenth century demonstrated that this issue was not missed and was represented by the consequences of the War 1812 mainly and by the Crimean War partially.

Acceptance of cultural difference, “the state in which one’s own culture is experienced as just one of a number of equally complex worldviews,” corresponds to the entrance of the Russian culture on the European stage in the first decades of the twentieth century.³⁴⁹ At this stage “self” is able to experience “other” as a different but equal subject. This statement finds its confirmation in the change of French perception of Russia that was based on the political and military approach in the end of the nineteenth – beginning of the twentieth centuries, the

³⁴⁶ Milton J. Bennet, “Becoming Interculturally Competent,” in *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education*, ed. Wurzel, J. (Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation, 2004), 66

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 67

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 68

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 68

Ballets Russes, World Expo 1900. Besides, on the level of *acceptance* “self” might have positive attitudes toward “other” culture without having the ability to experience the “other” culture with much depth. So the *Ballets Russes* influenced the changes in the French fashion, interior design, ways of spending spare time (oriental balls), but did not lead to a better understanding and deeper study of Russian culture by the French.

The analysis of the content of the next two stages of the model, *adaptation* with its curiosity about cultural difference and eagerness to experience “other” culture and *integration*, “the state in which the experience of “self” is expanded to include the movement in and out of different cultural worldviews,” correspond with the main objectives of modern cultural exchange programs.³⁵⁰ They aim to reach these targets by the fulfillment of the following functions: promotion of “self” culture to “other” and introduction and acquaintance with the culture of the “other”. Besides, on the example of *L’annee France – Russie 2010* one may single out a positive influence of exchange program on correction and change of stereotypes as well as on the image of “self” and “other”.

³⁵⁰Milton J. Bennet, “Becoming Interculturally Competent,” in *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education*, ed. Wurzel, J. (Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation, 2004), 74

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