



NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY  
HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

*Alexey V. Obraztsov, Irina V. Gaida*

**VASILY VASILIEVICH  
GRIGORYEV: THE PATH OF A  
RUSSIAN ORIENTALIST**

BASIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

WORKING PAPERS

SERIES: HUMANITIES  
WP BRP 72/HUM/2014

This Working Paper is an output of a research project implemented at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE). Any opinions or claims contained in this Working Paper do not necessarily reflect the views of HSE.

*Alexey V. Obraztsov<sup>1</sup> Irina V. Gaida<sup>2</sup>*

## **VASILY VASILIEVICH GRIGORYEV: THE PATH OF A RUSSIAN ORIENTALIST**

The paper outlines the life and works of the prominent Russian orientalist and rightist conservative statesman Grigoryev, the founder of Europe's first department of Oriental history, the president of 3rd International Symposium of Orientalists (St. Petersburg 1876). Grigoryev was not only a world-renowned scholar but also a top imperial bureaucrat of colonial type. In 1854-1862 he virtually ruled "the Kyrghyz" (Kazakh) steppe. This article is an output of the research project "“Minority” vs “Majority” in the Historical and Cultural Continuum of Asia and Africa " implemented as part of the Basic Research Program at the Higher School of Economics (HSE).

JEL Classification: Z19.

Keywords: Oriental Studies, Vasily Valsilevich Grigoryev, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Russian orientalist, the Kyrghyz (Kazakh), 3rd International Symposium of Orientalists.

---

<sup>1</sup> Aleksey V. Obraztsov, is an associate professor at the Department of Asian and African studies, NRU HSE, leading research fellow at the Centre for Asian and African Studies, NRU HSE. He is also an Associate Professor at the Department of Turkic Philology, the Faculty of Asian and African Studies, St. Petersburg State University, email: [aobraztsov@hse.ru](mailto:aobraztsov@hse.ru)

<sup>2</sup> Irina V. Gaida (Samsonova), is teacher of centre Conessans (group of teaching Turkish). e-mail: [samsonova\\_iv@mail.ru](mailto:samsonova_iv@mail.ru)

Vasily Vasilievich Grigoryev (15.03.1816–19.12.1881) was a prominent orientalist, specialist in the history of the East, whose life and legacy have not yet been given full credit (**fig.Obratzsov\_1**). The reason for this might lie in both his controversial life-path, his frequent changes of workplaces, his difficult character, and even his political views which he himself characterized as “religious patriotic”. Being a man of stamina and unique efficiency, he managed to complete several lives’ worth of work during the less than 66 years of his own: an imperial colonial official, an outstanding scholar and teacher, a statesman and essayist. His personality and works got an extremely reserved assessment from Bartold (1869-1930), who was the patriarch and undeniable authority of the Russian orientalists; and this could not but affect the general attitude towards Grigoryev. Only recently has a more objective opinion begun to prevail (History 1997)<sup>3</sup>.

It is safe to say that it was owing to Grigoryev's efforts and work that the Russian school of Orientalism earned recognition in the world as an integral school, characterized by its bright and peculiar nature. In the late 19th century Grigoryev was the most famous Russian orientalist, whose merits were widely known both in his home country and abroad. He was bestowed honorary memberships of the most respectful societies of orientalists: Paris Societe Asiatique (the Paris Asiatic Society) in 1866, DMG Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft in Leipzig (the Society of German Orientalists) 1867, L’Ecole Special des Langues Orientales in 1872, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1875 and others.

In 1874 in London, the 2nd International Symposium of Orientalists made the unanticipated decision to hold the next congress in St. Petersburg in 1875. Grigoryev felt proud of the decision commenting that “the others had been striving for the right to host the next congress and had been refused, while the Russian orientalists had not sought it, but were granted the right” (Veselovskiy 1887: 265-266). It is significant that Grigoryev signed his letters from London to the Russian World newspaper using the pseudonym “Russian Orientalist”.

Vorontsov-Dashkov (1837-1916) was elected the president of the next Symposium, however, soon he refused to act as such. All organizational work fell to Grigoryev and his colleagues and co-workers<sup>4</sup>. The main attention of the Symposium, according to the organizational committee, was to be focused on the exploration of the Asiatic part of the Russian Empire<sup>5</sup>. The vast amount of the preliminary arrangements and preparatory work delayed the

---

<sup>3</sup> The main biographer of V.V. Grigoryev is N.I.Veselovskiy (1848-1918), his student, follower and successor (Veselovskiy 1887). Some other facts about Grigoryev can only be found in reference literature and papers of general kind (Biography and Bibliography 1974; Kononov 1972).

<sup>4</sup> Organizational committee included: V.V.Veliaminov-Zernov (1830-1904), V.F.Girgas (1835-1887), B.A.Dorn, A.L.Kuhn (1840-1888), P.I.Lerh (1827-1884), F.R.Osten-Sacken (1832-1916), K.P.Patkanov (1883-1889), V.R.Rozen (1849-1908) and D.A.Khvolson (1819-1911).

<sup>5</sup> Four special workshops were planned: 1. West and East Siberia; 2. Middle Asia; 3. The Caucasus, Sub-Caucasus and the Crimea; 4. Transcaucasus (Works 1879-1880: 6).

opening of the Congress, and it started as late as August 26, 1876. The Congress unanimously voted Grigoryev as its president, who was then the Head of the Faculty of Oriental Languages, Head of the Department of the History of the East, Actual State Councillor and Chief Censor of the Russian Empire. Such was the apogee of his glory, which had taken Grigoryev many decades to achieve.

Grigoryev was born on March 15, 1816 in St. Petersburg. His mother, Agrippina Ivanovna Alekseeva, was the daughter of a clerk. His paternal ancestors were landowners in the Suzdal and Vladimir provinces. His father, Vasily Ivanovich, was a government official.

Grigoryev received a home education. In 1831, at the age of 15, he entered the Faculty of Philosophy of St. Petersburg Imperial University, and was admitted to the Department of Oriental Languages, where he studied Arabic, Persian and Turkish under the supervision and guidance of Sekowski (1800-1858), an orientalist, famous man-of-letters and publisher<sup>6</sup>. In those days “members of privileged classes ... could easily enrol in university courses, for there were neither specific age requirements nor those of academic background” (Veselovskiy 1887: 11).

It was at the university that Grigoryev wrote his first scholarly works<sup>7</sup>, which mainly concerned the history of peoples inhabiting Russia and the relations of the Russian Empire with the East (Grigoryev 1834a). The year 1834 marked his translation of “The History of Mongols” from Persian (Grigoryev 1834b), which was dedicated to Uvarov (1786-1855), the Deputy Minister of National Education. The same year he translated a little-known oriental novel by Moliere “Zograb, the hostage”. Both translations got recognition and the author was granted a gold watch as a gift from the tsar.

Graduates of the Department of Oriental Languages who wanted to find a job in their specialty had only two options—a diplomatic career or that of a scholar. Grigoryev chose to join the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire<sup>8</sup>.  
**(fig.Obraztsov\_2)**

He soon realized that he had made the wrong choice: science rather than diplomacy appealed to him more. He continued to pursue his historical studies, to make translations and to write numerous reviews. Invited by the publisher Pluchart, he took part in the work on the first

---

<sup>6</sup> In the XVIII century the basis to develop Russian Orientalistics was laid. The first quarter of the XIX century saw the establishment of the departments of Oriental Languages, the Asiatic museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages, a Training Department of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

<sup>7</sup> A complete bibliography of V.V.Grigoryev does not exist. He published his works under various false names, often using just his initials. His papers and sketches appeared in different editions part of which are not available even in large scientific libraries.

<sup>8</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is one of ministries established in Russia on September 2 1802. On June 23 (July 5) 1819 the Asiatic Department was set up within the Ministry. A regulation dated April 21 (May 4) 1819 stated that the Asiatic Department had «as its main aim to deal with the affairs of Asiatic peoples, subjects of the Russian Empire, as well as those with whom Russia is in commercial or any other relations » (Kulikova 1994: 234). The Russian diplomats in the East were obliged to discuss all the political issues with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, all the financial issues – with the College of Foreign Affairs, all the rest questions to solve with the Asiatic Department. After 1832, when the College was abolished, the Ministry was authorized to deal with all the activities connected with foreign policy of Russia.

original Russian encyclopedia-lexicon<sup>9</sup>. In 1834-1835 Grigoryev published several papers on the history of the Khazars (Grigoryev 1834c) under the name of Mirza Melik or Izafeti Maklub and a book about Abel-Remusat, an outstanding French sinologist (Grigoryev 1835). His publications attracted the attention of Speranskiy (1772-1839) and Uvarov, who were prominent statesmen and public figures in Russia, and they both advised him to change careers and start working at the university (Veselovskiy 1887: 20).

March 1836 saw his resignation from the Asiatic Department, and two months later Grigoryev joined the staff of St. Petersburg University to give lectures on the Persian language and to prepare for a professorship under the supervision of Sekowski<sup>10</sup>. At the same time he worked with the full member of the Russian Academy of Science, Fraehn (1782-1851)<sup>11</sup>, who was a numismatist and an expert in Arab, Iranian and Turkic studies, as well as with Charmoy (1793-1868), a specialist in Iranian studies. Sekowski encouraged Grigoryev to pursue his historical studies suggesting research issues on the Golden Horde. At the same time, Grigoryev developed a keen interest in the history of the Russian orientalists and started collecting materials for his report on St. Petersburg University, which, however, was to be completed only in 1870 (Grigoryev 1870). After the institution of professorship was abolished, and his working relationships with Sekowski worsened, having conflicts with the University rector Shulguin (1795-1869) and Pletnev (1791-1865/6), a poet, critic and professor of literature and philology, Grigoryev was compelled to accept the offer to take the position of professor of Oriental languages at the lyceum of Armand duc de Richelieu in Odessa<sup>12</sup>.

Grigoryev taught in the lyceum in 1838-1844. It was there that he worked on his master's thesis, wrote reviews based on the materials he had collected during his trip to Constantinople (Grigoryev 1840) and commentaries<sup>13</sup>. He also compiled a project on how to organize and regulate the teaching of Oriental languages in Novorossiysk region and began to be seriously engaged in numismatics (Grigoryev 1842b).

In December 1842 in Moscow, Grigoryev defended his Master's thesis on the topic of "Accuracy of the Letters of Khans given to the Russian Clergy by the Khans of the Golden

---

<sup>9</sup> Before the project failed, V.V.Grigoryev had managed to have 20 original articles and 76 translated ones published in the encyclopedia.

<sup>10</sup> On July 26 1835 Nicolas I issued an edict that a new course of "Oriental philology" would be introduced into the curriculum of the Faculty of Philosophy, including learning of the Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Mongolian and Tatar languages (Kulikova 1994: 234).

<sup>11</sup> According to his contemporaries, only those who were within the circle of Fraehn left a lasting trace in orientalistics (Kononov 1982: 159).

<sup>12</sup> The lyceum of Armand duc de Richelieu was established under the decree of Alexander I in 1817 and got its name after the governor of Odessa and Novorossiya Armand duc de Richelieu (1766-1822), who had initiated its establishing. In 1828 the lyceum opened the Oriental Institute affiliated to it for six young scholars to teach Arabic, Turkish and Persian. The first lecturer in Persian at the Institute was G.Rhasis (?-?) (Kononov 1982: 184), the author of «Vocabulaire francais-turc» and a dragoman of the Russian embassy in Constantinople. After G.Rhasis left Odessa, V.V.Grigoriev succeeded him and was appointed as professor of Oriental languages.

<sup>13</sup> In 1839 V.V.Grigoryev wrote an anonymous review of the first edition "The Turkish-Tatar Grammar" by A.K.Kazem-Beck, and in 1841 an anonymous review of "The Grammar of the Tatar Language" by M.I.Ivanov (1812-?).

Horde” (Grigoryev 1842a). The thesis was so brilliant that Count Stroganov (1794-1882), the curator of the Moscow academic district, decided to set up a Department of History of the East with Grigoryev as its head. However, it was not until a year later that Grigoryev began to think seriously of moving to Moscow.

In 1843 Grigoryev returned to St. Petersburg to start working in the Ministry of Home Affairs<sup>14</sup>, and in 1846 was promoted and got the post of a 4th rank official with special duties at the Department for Ecclesiastical Affairs (Foreign Creeds). Among other things, Grigoryev had to fulfil secret missions, including those of police and repressive nature. For example, 1848 he conducted an investigation into the attitudes of the nobility and peasants to the revolutions in Europe, while in 1849 he was in charge of confiscating banned books in Riga.

Without much delay Grigoryev joined two newly established societies in St. Petersburg—the Russian Geographical Society (est. 1845) and the Russian Archaeological Society (est. 1846). Since 1846, as a full member of the former, Grigoryev had been editing “The Proceedings” and “The News Bulletin” of the Geographical Society, where he published a great many of his articles and sketches. Above all, he took part in drafting the new charter of the Geographical Society. In the Russian Archaeological Society, whose member he had been since 1848, Grigoryev became a secretary of the Oriental Department.

Though working full-time in the Ministry of Home Affairs Grigoryev did not drop either his public or scholarly activities combining these successfully. In 1847 he began to collaborate with the editorial board of the “Finnish Proceedings”<sup>15</sup>. Some time later Grigoryev undertook the publication of a journal titled “The Northern Review”, however, without much success<sup>16</sup>. During the seven years of his life in St. Petersburg Grigoryev published a great many articles<sup>17</sup> and research works (Grigoryev 1845; 1850; 1851). Service in the Ministry did not leave him much time for his academic pursuits, however no significant event or development in orientalism, particularly in turkology, went unnoticed, getting a reaction from him in the form of reviews.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> The Ministry of Home Affairs was established in 1802, a minister, according to the “Manifesto of establishing ministries”, was supposed to take care of “a universal well-being of the nation, tranquility, peace and creation of living environment in the Empire”.

<sup>15</sup> In 1847 in this journal Grigoryev published his commentary to the works by P.S.Pallas (1741-1811), an outstanding German scholar-encyclopedist, and a review of “Mongol-Russian-French Dictionary” by O.M.Kovalevskiy (1800/1-1878) (Grigoryev 1847).

<sup>16</sup> This might have been one of the “special duties” of Grigoryev (Etkind 2013: 262-263).

<sup>17</sup> Mainly in the 14-volume “Military Encyclopediac Lexicon” by baron L.I.Zeddeler (1791-1852).

<sup>18</sup> In 1847 two more reviews were published - the review of “Supplement to the Turkic Grammar” by I.N.Berezin (1818-1896), and that of Grammar by I.I.Guiganov (?-1800), the author of the first printed grammar of the Tatar language (the Tobolsk dialect) for Russians. In 1848 Grigoryev was busy with preparing for publication the “Ethnographic travels of M.C.Kastren in West Siberia” which contained a wealth of linguistic and ethnographic material on the Kizils, the Siguis, the Beltiers, and other Siberian peoples.

In 1851 Grigoryev moved to Orenburg, again carrying out “special duties” there. In 1853 as the head of a military camp office He marched out with the Russian troops under General Perovskiy<sup>19</sup> to Ak-Mosque<sup>20</sup>. For participation in this military expedition Grigoryev was promoted to the rank of Actual State Councillor and on 12th January 1854 he took the post of the chairman of the Orenburg boundary commission. Until 1862 he served as governor of the region of Orenburg Kazakhs (Kirghiz), as its ruler “The Chief Executive Officer of the Internal Horde of Orenburg Kirghiz”. More often than not Grigoryev applied tough measures, forcing the proud and wilful steppe peoples to submit and obey. Although a civilian officer, he was inclined to use even more severe measures than the military commanders. As he himself wrote, “The Kirghiz steppe thrills with horror at me: I put sultans under arrest, remove them from their posts, catch villains, but, alas, much to my regret, I am not authorized to have them hanged” (Veselovskiy 1887: 134). Needless to say, Grigoryev’s activities lay not exclusively in repressions, he was also responsible for health care, education, tried to end the abuse of power by local authorities. In a private letter he wrote, “I am not at all sure how much good I will be able to do in my current job. It is very hard to do good, as it is much easier to harm, but I try and will do my best to do only good” (Veselovskiy 1877: 135). Let us recall, that it was Grigoryev who opened the first scientific library in Orenburg and he was the first to introduce the Kyrghyz (Kazakh) language into the sphere of business communication instead of the Tatar language used before. Until some time the Povolgie Tatars played a role of intermediaries between the Russian administration and the Eastern peoples. However, with the spread of the idea of Pan-Islamism and the increase of the Muslim population, this role of Tatars began to be considered a threat to the integrity of the Russian Empire and Grigoryev came up with the initiative to forbid “Bashkir mullahs” even dwell among the steppe peoples. **(fig.Obraztsov\_3)**

From 1851 to 1860 Grigoryev’s works rarely appeared in print. Only in 1852 he submitted a paper called “Regional Russian words of Oriental origin” (Grigoryev 1852) to the Academy of Sciences. This work made him a corresponding member of the Academy<sup>21</sup>.

In 1859 the control over the Orenburg boundary commission was transferred from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of Home Affairs. In 1861 after the managerial personnel changed Grigoryev sent in his resignation “due to frail health”. Bezak (1800-1868), Governor General of the Orenburg Governorate, tried to convince Grigoryev to remain in office, but on 20th March he, nonetheless, resigned. It was probably because of that episode that

---

<sup>19</sup> V.A.Perovskiy (1795-1857) – hero of Napoleonic and Russian-Turkish wars. In the 1870-s Leo Tolstoy intended to make him a main character of one of his novels.

<sup>20</sup> Modern city of Kizilhorde in Kazakhstan. The city belonged to Khokand, and the local Kirghiz (Kazakhs) often complained of suppressions, oppressions, attempts to levy illegal taxes and artificial obstacles to their caravan trade.

<sup>21</sup> In 1856 as instructed by the Academy of Sciences Grigoryev wrote several reviews and papers including “T.N.Granovskiy before he held a professorship in Moscow” (Grigoryev 1856), which caused much indignation on the part of liberal intelligentsia. Boris Chicherin (1828-1904), a legal scholar in Moscow, even called him “the lowest of the low” (Etkind 2013: 265).

Grigoryev, who had resigned at the rank of general, to use the military ranks for reference, received a laughable retirement allowance<sup>22</sup>. However, he did not concern himself much with that misfortune, apparently. Again, he ventured to Saint Petersburg, took residence near the Academy of Sciences and the University on Vasilyevsky island and began to work actively.

First of all, he paid tribute to the memory of Savelyev (1814-1859), his friend and associate in the Archaeological and Geographical Societies, by publishing his biography (Grigoryev 1861a). Published next were his “Notebooks of Mirza Shemsa Bukhari” (Grigoryev 1861b), “Report on the Khanate of Khiva” (Grigoryev 1861c) and numerous articles on the goings-on of the Orenburg Governorate which appeared in the periodicals. In 1862 in Kazan he published “On the transcription of sounds of the Kyrghyz [i.e. Kazakh] language using the letters of the Russian alphabet”, an article quite revolutionary at that time (Grigoryev 1862)<sup>23</sup>. It is worth remembering that in the same year Ilminskiy (1822-1891), also an Orientalist and an officer of the Orenburg Boundary Commission, published his own Cyrillic “Spelling book for converted Tatars” in Moscow. Obviously, Grigoryev and Ilminskiy, who were, incidentally, friends, were motivated by strictly practical purposes, that is, to weaken the influence of the Tatar elite over other Turkic peoples of Russia (Miller 2006: 168-169). Ilminskiy was extremely outspoken: “If, because of the fears of individual ethnic groups, we do not allow the use of a ‘foreign’ language in minority schools, then in this case all the non-Russian ethnicities will assimilate into one tribe with one language—Tatar and one religion—Islam” (Ilminskiy 1895: 398-399)<sup>24</sup>. On the other hand, however, both orientalists were fully aware that the Arab orthography was completely unsuited for the Turkic vowel system and that situation called for reform.

On August 27, 1855 the formal opening ceremony of the Department of Oriental languages<sup>25</sup> was held. By the late 1860s Russian oriental studies had acquired a defined and well-organized form and orientalism was comprehensively taught in full correspondence with the requirements of the well-known projects of 1733 by Ker (1692-1740), of 1810 by Uvarov and of 1829 of “the complete class of Oriental languages” by Fraehn, Sharmoy and Sekowski. The first dean of the faculty was Kazem-Beck whose vision of the faculty’s function consisted only in training specialists for various ministries and agencies of the Russian Empire. This view did not find support of the greater part of the teaching staff, which led to the dean’s resignation on November 24, 1858. Mukhlinsky (1808-1877) was elected as the new dean on January 29, 1859

---

<sup>22</sup> In similar cases the average allowance was from 1000 to 1400 rubles a year. Grigoryev received mere 285 rubles 90 kopecks.

<sup>23</sup> Later these ideas were in high demand in the course of the spelling reform for the non-Russian ethnicities of the USSR at the end of 1930s-beginning of the 1940s. In particular, S. Amanjolov(1903-1958) was in control of the initiative to create the Kazakh writing system based on the Cyrillic alphabet.

<sup>24</sup> More on this, see (Geraci 2001).

<sup>25</sup> The intention to establish a leading Russian center of the Oriental studies in St. Petersburg resulted in abolishing the departments of Oriental studies in Kazan and Odessa.

and remained in office until 1866, yet in reality the reins of power over the faculty belonged to Berezin and later Grigoryev. The struggle between the “theorists” and “practitioners” continued up to 1870 when the “theorists” finally emerged victorious<sup>26</sup>. Later on, in 1873 Grigoryev was elected dean of the Department of Oriental languages and remained in this position until 1878.

It was in the 1860s that Grigoryev's dream came true. Under the decree of 1863 by Alexander II “on establishing a general statute of the Russian imperial universities” (Kulikova 1994: 235) two new departments in St. Petersburg were created to study Sanskrit philology and the history of the East. Of note is that this was the first stand alone department to study the history of the East ever established. A contemporary wrote, voicing the opinion supported by many others, that “of all the countries in the world, this department was meant to be created in Russia. No one is so close to the East and no one has so many connections with it both in the past and the present as Russia” (Veselovskiy 1887: 231). In 1837 Grigoryev addressed that question to the University board. He argued then: “The best countermeasure to curb western influences is to resort to studying the East” (Veselovskiy 1887: 33). Naturally, Grigoryev was the perfect candidate to head the new department. According to his views, the history of the East was meant to become the subject gluing together all others taught at the faculty. In 1863 the University board awarded Grigoryev with “honoris causa”, a doctor’s degree in Orientalism, and he became a full professor. In February 1864 the head of the new Department gave an introductory course of lectures, which served as a primer to Oriental studies, historical geography, ethnography and the socio-political history of the East<sup>27</sup>.

Grigoryev continued to work for both the Russian Geographical Society where he was in charge of the Oriental department and for the Russian Archaeological Society where was a Board member from 1866. The academic periodicals published by those societies featured many of his articles on history and numismatics.

All in all, from 1864 to 1881 Grigoryev published over 60 research papers. During that period he wrote his fundamental works on the history of Central Asia: “Kabulistan and Kafiristan” (Grigoryev 1867), “On the Saka, a Scythian tribe” (Grigoryev 1871), “The Karakhanids in Mawarannagr [sic]” (Grigoryev 1874). The first paper deserves some commentary since it was a pioneering work in Afghan studies by Russian orientalists<sup>28</sup>. Initially, the work was intended to be a translation of one of the volumes of *Die Erdkunde*, a fundamental work by Ritter, a German geographer<sup>29</sup>. However, in the final version the translation accounted

---

<sup>26</sup> In 1886-1870 Kazem-Beck again held the dean’s office. Later he was replaced by Berezin who, in turn, was succeeded by Grigoryev.

<sup>27</sup> Bartold mistakenly maintained that the course was limited to the history of encounters between the European and Oriental cultures (Bartold 1977: 200-201).

<sup>28</sup> B. Dorn (1805-1881) offered free of charge teaching of the Afghan language (Dari?) at the University in the late 1855.

<sup>29</sup> The original title: *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen*.

for only one fifth of the contents. The rest of the book contained notes, many of which were small full-fledged articles in their own right and appendices that summarized the materials published after Ritter's work had been out, including the review of the first Anglo-Afghan war (1838-1842).

In December 1868 Grigoryev was appointed a member of the Board of the Ministry of Home Affairs without allowance. In addition to that, he worked closely with various state and ministry committees, such as those concerned with trade with Asian countries, and he had supervision over the students and penitentiaries.

In 1869-70 Grigoryev was editor-in-chief of the "Pravitelstvenniy Vestnik", a state-owned daily. He also was a prolific columnist having left a noticeable heritage in conservative opinion-based journalism of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (**fig.Obraztsov\_4**)

In winter 1871-1872 Grigoryev met Dostoyevsky. The congeniality of their views on Russia as both a European and Asian power and their shared opinion on the "Oriental Question" encouraged the further development of their friendship. In the essay collection for "A writer's diary" Dostoyevsky made a mention of their friendly talks, so, it is no surprise that Grigoryev, who since December 1874 had held the position of the head of the Main Directorate for the Press, authorized the printing of "A writer's diary" without preliminary censorship (Etkind 2013: 266). Actually, Grigoryev was the Censor General of the Empire, however, as pointed out by Veselovskiy, "prohibition orders issued while he was in office were dictated by circumstances that were out of his reach" (Veselovskiy 1887: 264). Of note is his resentment about publications in Ukrainian. He treated them as possible beginnings of separatism (Veselovskiy 1887: 265).

In 1878 Grigoryev quit his position at St. Petersburg University "due to poor health", though remaining the head of Main Directorate for the Press.

In March 1880 Grigoryev retired completely, and this time he was given a generous pension. He was preoccupied with scholarly works for 3rd Congress of Orientalists, he also wrote a number of reviews and published obituaries for Brosse (1802-1880) and Dorn, his colleagues in Oriental studies. His own health was deteriorating at an alarming rate. Moving to his house in Gatchina brought no relief whatsoever. Grigoryev died in Pavlovsk, a suburb of Saint Petersburg on December 19, 1881. His last major work was "On the campaigns of Alexander the Great in Western Turkestan" (Grigoryev 1881).

Grigoryev's fundamental works, still of admirable merit, laid a foundation for an independent branch of Oriental studies in Russia—the history of the East, which developed because of his talents and those of his followers. Grigoryev's authority and creative effort promoted the advances and achievements made by the Russian Oriental researchers and made them recognized among their European counterparts. As a teacher, he was incredibly generous

with his students, paying no regard to time, effort or expenses. One of his students wrote in the obituary: "...the door of his house was always open to any young man who sought his advice or guidance" (Veselovskiy 1887: 082). His bright personality and unquestionable talent for teaching found another life in the works of his students and those published by the followers of his school of thought.

The list of abbreviations:

JMVD Jurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennih Del (The Journal of the Ministry of Home Affairs - JMHA).

JMNP Jurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvetsheniya (The Journal of the Ministry of Public Education - JMPE).

TVOIGO Trudi Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva (Proceedings of the Oriental Department of the Imperial Geographic Society – PODIGS)

The list of illustrations:

1. Portrait of Vasily Vasilievich Grigoryev. Poltoratskaya L.K. 1876

2.3.4. Types of Kazakhs. Poltoratskaya L.K. 1876

References

-Bartold V.V. (1977) Obzor deyatelnosti fakulteta: 1855-1905, sostavlenniy prof. Bartoldom. S prilozheniem obzora istorii vostokovedeniya v Rossii do 1885 g. / Soch. T. IX. Moskva: Nauka. S. 23-196. (Overview of the Faculty's Activities: 1855-1905, compiled by prof. V.V.Bartold. With supplemented overview of the history of orientalistcs in Russia before 1885. Works, V.IX. Moscow: Nauka. Pp.23-196)

- Biography and Bibliography (1974)

Biobibliograficheskiy slovar otechestvennih turkologov. Dooktyabrskiy period. Pod redaktsiey i s vvedeniem A.N. Kononova. Moskva: Nauka. (Bibliographic Dictionary of Russian Turkologists. Pre-Revolutionary Period. Under the editorship and with the Introduction of A.N.Kononov. Moscow: Nauka)

- Etkind A. (2013) Vnutrennaya kolonizatsiya. Imperskiy opit Rossii. Moskva: NLO. (Etkind A. Internal Colonization. Russia's Imperial Experience. Moscow: NLO )

- Grigoryev V.V. (1834a)

Zograb zalojnik: perevod s angliyskogo // Sin otechestva. T. XLV. SPb. (Zograb-the Hostage// The Son of the Motherland. Vol. XLV. SPb) (trans. From English)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1834b)

Istoriya mongolov ot drevneyshih vremen do Tamerlana: perevod s persidskogo. SPb. (The History of Mongols from Ancient Times till Timurlane. Trans. From Persian. SPb)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1834c)

Ob obraze pravleniya u hazarov // JMNP Ch. III. SPb. (On the Administering Style of the Khazars.// JMPE. Part III. SPb)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1834d)

Obzor politicheskoy istorii hazarov // Syn otechestva. T. XLVIII. SPb. (The Overview of the Political History of the Khazars // The Son of the Motherland. Vol. XLVIII. SPb)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1835) O jizni i uchenih trudah Abel Remuza // JMNP. Ch. VI. SPb. (The Life and Works of Abel Remuza. // JMPE. Part IV. SPb)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1840) Poezdka v Konstantinopol // Odesskiy almanah na 1840 g. Odessa. (Travels to Constantinople // Odessa Almanac of 1840. Odessa)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1842a) O dostovernosti yarlikov, dannih khanam Zolotoy Ordi russkomu duhovenstvu. Moskva. (Accuracy of the Letters of Khans given to the Russian Clergy by the Khans of the Golden Horde. Moscow)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1842b) O kuficheskikh monetah, nahodimih v Rossii i pribaltiyskih stranah kak istochnikah dlya drevneyshey otechestvennoy istorii // Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey. T. I. Odessa.

(On Kufic coins found in Russia and Baltic countries as a source for the Russian history from ancient times // Proceedings of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquity. Vol. I, Odessa)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1845)

O mestopoloženii Saraya, stolitsi Zolotoy Ordy // JMVD. № 2-4. SPb. (On the Location of Sarai, the Capital of the Golden Horde // JMHA № 2-4. SPb)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1847) Mongolsko-russko-frantsuzskiy slovar, sostavlenniy O. Kovalevskim. Kazan, 1844 // Finskiy vestnik, Kn. oktyabr. 1847. S. 1-13. (Mongol-Russian-French Dictionary compiled by O.Kovalevsky. Kazan, 1844 // Finnish Review. Book October. 1847. Pp. 1-13)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1850) O pravopisanii v dele russkoy nomenklaturi chuzhemykh mestnostey i narodov // Geograficheskiye izvestiya. SPb. S. 175-201. (On Spelling Foreign Toponyms and Ethnonyms in Russian Nomenclature // Geographical Review. SPb. Pp. 175-201)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1851) Tsari Vosfora Kimmerijskogo, preimuschestvenno po sovremennim emu pamyatnikam i monetam // JMVD Ch.36. SPb. S. 110-146, 267-296, 413-483.  
(The Kings of the Bosphorus Kimmerian according to the contemporary monuments and coins // JMHA. Part 36. Pp. 110-146, 267-296, 413-483)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1852) Oblastniye velikorusskiye slova vostochnogo proishojdeniya // Izvestiya Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk po otdeleniyu russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti. T.1. SPb. (Regional Russian Words of Oriental Origin // the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Department of the Russian Language and Literature. Vol. I. SPb)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1856) T.N. Granovskiy do ego professorstva v Moskve // Russkaya beseda. Kn. III-IV. SPb. (T.N.Granovskiy before he held a professorship in Moscow // Russian Conversation. Books III-IV. SPb)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1861a) Jizn i Trudi P.S. Savelyeva. SPb. (Life and Works of P.S.Savelyev. SPb)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1861b) O nekotorykh sobytiyah v Buhare, Kokande i Kashgare. Zapiski Mirzi Shemsa Buhari, izdanniye v tekste s perevodom i primechaniyami V.V. Grigoryeva. Kazan. (On Some Events in Bukhara, Khokand and Kashgar. The Notes by Mirza Shemsa Bukhari published in the text with translation and commentaries of V.V.Grigoryev. Kazan)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1861c) Opisaniye Hivinskogo hanstva i dorogi tuda iz Saraychikovskoy kreposti // Zapiski Imperatorskogo Rossiyskogo Geograficheskogo obschestva. Kn. II. SPb.

S.105-108. (The Description of the Khanate of Khiva and the Way there from Saray-Juk Fortress // the Proceedings of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society. Book II. SPb. Pp. 105-138)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1862) O peredache zvukov kirgizskogo yazika bukvami russkoy azbuki // Uchenye zapiski Kazanskogo universiteta po otdeleniyu istoriko-filologicheskikh nauk. Vyp. 2. Kazan. (On the transcription of sounds of the Kirghiz (i.e. Kazakh) language using the letters of the Russian alphabet // the Proceedings of Kazan University, Department of History and Philology. Number II. Kazan)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1870) S-Peterburgskiy Universitet v techenii pervih pyatidesyati let yego sutshestvovaniya. SPb. (St. Petersburg University during the First Fifty Years of its Existence. SPb)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1871) O skifskom narode sakah // TVOIGO. T. XVI. SPb. S. 91-294. (On the Saka, a Scythian Tribe. PODIGS. Vol. XVI. SPb. Pp. 91-294)

- Grigoryev V.V. (1874) Karahanidi v Maverannagre po tarihi Munedjim-bashi // TVOIGO. T. XVII. SPb. S.189-258. (The Karakhanids in Mawarannagr according to Tarih-i Munedjim-bashi// PODIGS. Vol. XVII. SPb. Pp. 189-258)

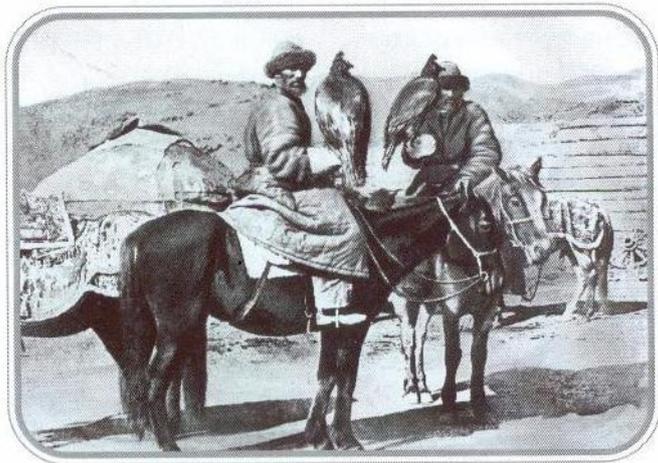
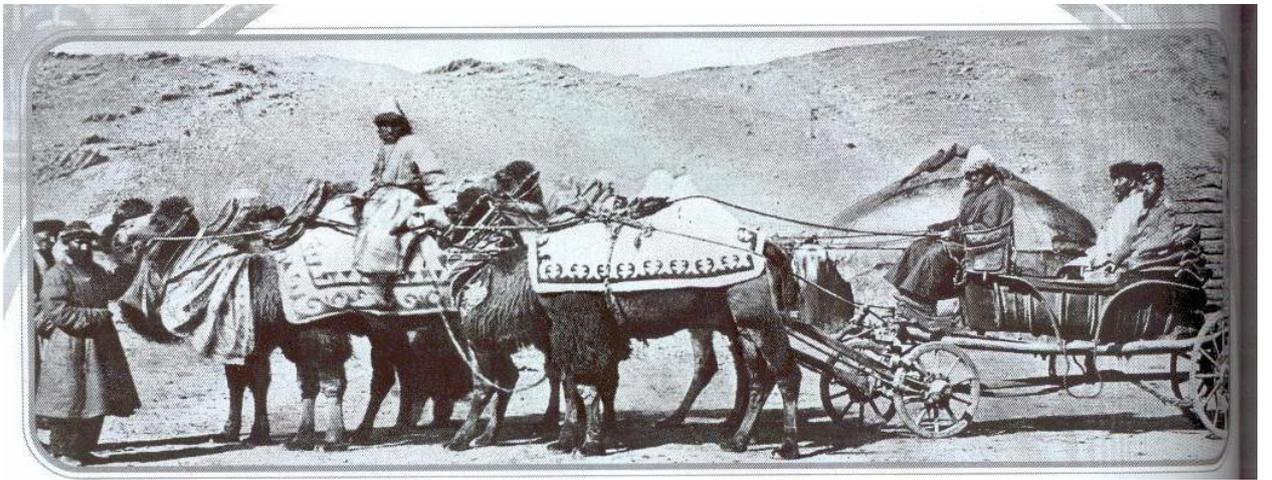
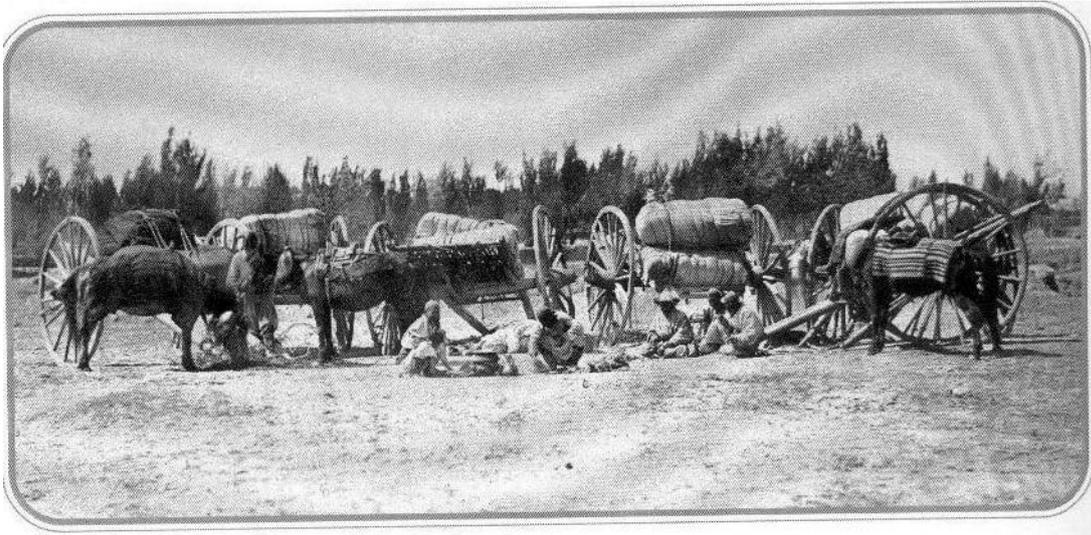
- Grigoryev V.V. (1881) O pohodah Aleksandra Velikogo v Zapadniy Turkestan // JMNP. Kn. Sentyabr-oktyabr. SPb. (On the Marches of Alexander the Great in West Turkistan // JMPE. Book September-October. SPb)

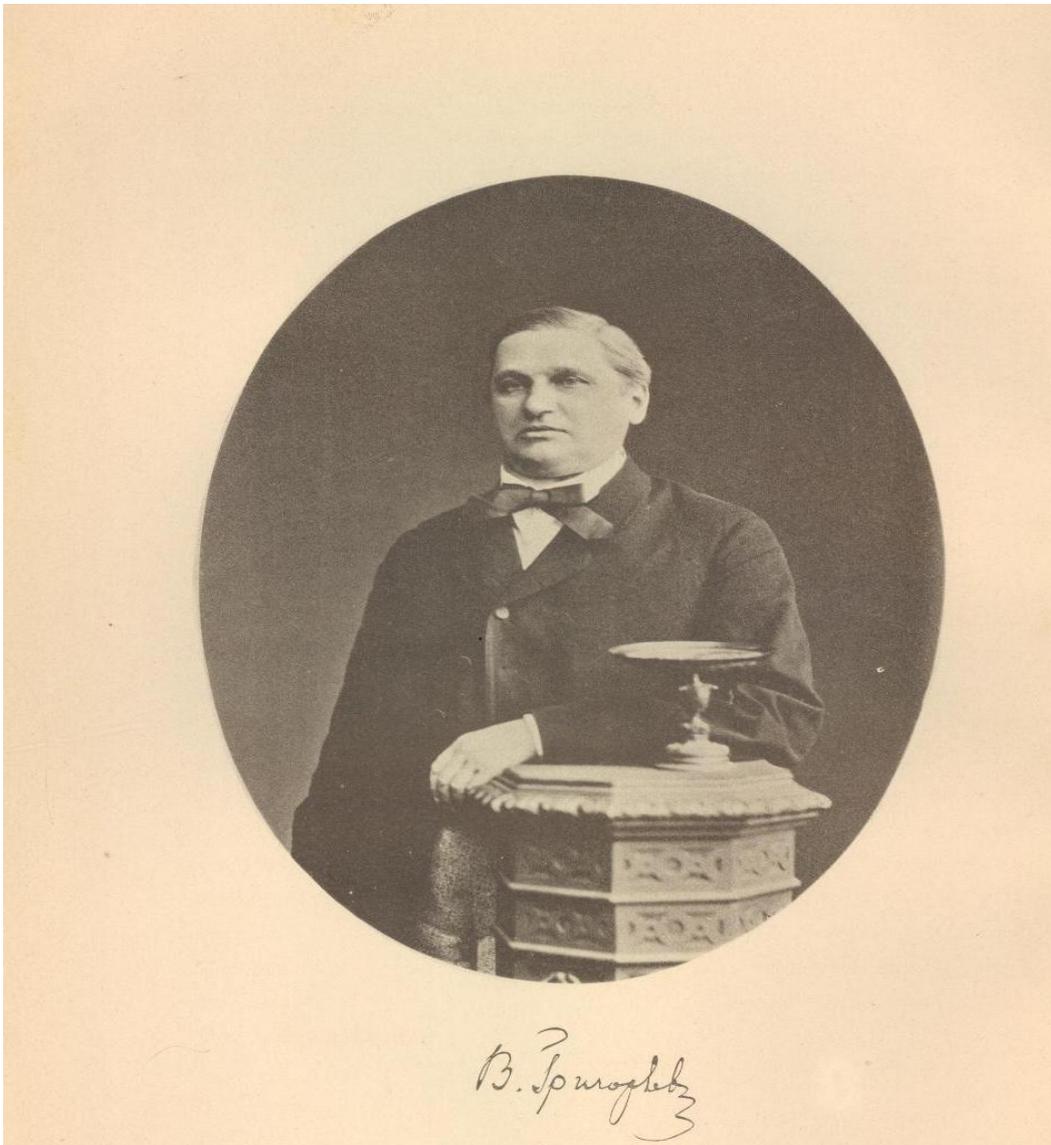
- Geraci R.P. (2001) Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in late Tsarist Russia. Ithaca and London: Cornell UP.

- History (1997) Istoriya otechestvennogo vostokovedeniya s seredini XIX veka do 1917 goda. Moskva: Vostochnaya literatura. (The History of Russian Oriental Studies from mid XIX century till 1917. Moscow.)

- Ilminskiy N.I. (1895) Pisma N.I. Ilminskogo k ober-prokuroru Svyateyshego Sinoda Konstantinu Petrovichu Pobedonostsevu. Kazan. (The Letters of N.I. Ilminskiy to Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev, the Attorney-General of Holy Synod. Kazan)

- Kononov A.N. (1960) Nekotorige voprosi izucheniya istoriyi otechestvennogo vostokovedeniya. Moskva: Vostochnaya literatura. (Some Issues of Studying the History of Russian Orientalistics. Moscow)
- Kononov A.N. (1982) Istoriya izucheniya turskich yazykov v Rossii. Leningrad: Nauka. (The History of Turkic Studies in Russia. Leningrad)
- Kulikova A.M. (1994) Vostokovedeniye v rossiyskikh zakonodatelnykh aktakh (konets XVII v. – 1917 g.). SPb.: Nauka. (Oriental Studies in Russian Legislation (late XVII century – 1917). SPb: Nauka)
- Miller A. (2006) Imperiya Romanovih i Natsionalizm: Esse po metodologii istoricheskogo issledovaniya. Moskva: NLO. (The Russian Empire of the Romanovs Dynasty and Nationalism: an Essay on Methodology of Historical Research. Moscow, NLO)
- Ritter K. (1867) Zemlevedeniye. Geografiya stran Azii, nahodyaschihsya v neposredstvennykh snosheniyah s Rossiyeyu. Kabulistan i Kafiristan. Perevel s prisovokupleniyem kriticheskikh zamechaniy i dopolnil po istochnikam, izdannim v techenii poslednykh tridtsati let, V.V. Grigoryev, ordinarniy professor Imperatorskogo S-Peterburgskogo universiteta po kafedre istorii Vostoka. SPb. (Geosciences. Geography of Asian Countries Having Direct Contacts with Russia. Kabulistan and Kafiristan. Translation supplemented according to the sources published in the past 30 years and a commentary by V.V. Grigoryev, professor in ordinary of St. Petersburg University, Department of History of the East. SPb)
- Veselovskiy N.I. (1877) V.V. Grigoryev po yego pismam i trudam. 1816-1881. SPb. (V.V. Grigoryev as seen in his letters and works. 1816-1881. SPb)
- Veselovskiy N.I. (1879) Svedeniya ob ofitsialnom prepodavanii vostochnykh yazykov v Rossii. SPb. (Information on Official Teaching of Oriental Languages in Russia. SPb)
- Works (1879-1880) Trudy Tretyego Mejdunarodnogo syezda oriyentalistov v Sankt-Peterburge, 1876. T. 1-2. SPb.-Leiden. (Proceedings of III International Symposium of Orientalists in St. Petersburg, 1876. Vol I-II. SPb-Leiden)





Aleksey V. Obraztsov, is an an associate professor at the Department of Asian and African studies, NRU HSE, leading research fellow at the Centre for Asian and African Studies, NRU HSE. He is also an Associate Professor at the Department of Turkic Philology, the Faculty of Asian and African Studies, St. Petersburg State University. email – [aobraztsov@hse.ru](mailto:aobraztsov@hse.ru)  
Tel. +7-921-974-6856

Irina V. Gaida (Samsonova), is teacher of centre Conessans (group of teaching Turkish). e-mail: [samsonova\\_iv@mail.ru](mailto:samsonova_iv@mail.ru)

**Any opinions or claims contained in this Working Paper do not necessarily reflect the views of HSE.**

© Obraztsov, Gaida, 2014