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VOLKOV IN FRANCE: CULTURAL TRANSFERS IN
ANTHROPOLOGY AND PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY
AT THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY

The article is devoted to famous scientist Fedir Vovk, who was known in France, as Theodore Volkov. He was a member of the intellectual diaspora exiled from the Russian Empire mostly for political reasons, sometimes also because of the situation of higher education under the tsarist regime. Also it is devoted to his role in cultural transfers in anthropology and prehistoric archaeology in France and Russia.

K e y w o r d s: history of archaeology, personality, scientific communications, T. Volkov

Fedir Vovk was known as Theodore Volkov in France in the end of the 19th century. He was a member of the intellectual diaspora exiled from the Russian Empire mostly because of the political reasons, and also the situation with higher education in tsarist Russia. For example, in 1900 Volkov became a colleague of Joseph Deniker, author of a famous synthesis on human races in Paris [Deniker, 1900]. Deniker, who was born in Astrakhan, was studying in Saint-Petersburg. He was trained as an engineer before moving to Paris in 1876 where he became a chief librarian at the National Museum of Natural History. As an editor of the bibliographical section of the scientific journal *L'Anthropologie*, Deniker played an important role in the cultural transfers in anthropology between France and Russia. French scientists also participated in these processes. For example, Baron Joseph de Baye collaborated with the gentlemen of science in Russian Empire [Markarov & al., 2009]. An amateur archaeologist, he traveled extensively in Caucasus and promoted the broadcast of Russian archaeological discoveries in France [for example Baye, 1894]. De Baye and Volkov published a monograph in French on

the Paleolithic sites of Afontova-Gora, near Krasnoyarsk [Baye & Vokov, 1899]. Institutions also promoted the circulation of the scientific information. Russian and Eastern European scholars participated in the International Congresses in Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology (one of them was held in Moscow in 1892) and World Fairs, especially 1900 Fair, included national anthropological and archaeological sections.

Volkov arrived to Paris from Ukraine in the end of the 1880's for the political reasons. But, contrary to Deniker (in regards to historian of science Alexandre Koyre), he went back to Russia after the 1905 Revolution, where he was appointed at the Saint-Petersburg University. Ukrainian participants of this conference know Volkov's Russian and Ukrainian career after 1905 much better than I. But it is worth mentioning that he operated the cultural transfers between France and the tsarist Empire in both directions. After returning to Saint-Petersburg, Volkov introduced anthropological and archaeological techniques and theories developed in the West to archaeologists from Russian Empire. During his staying in Paris he introduced the scientific information from his homeland in France also.

This paper will focus on the French scientific groups Volkov was associated with, and the type of information he transmitted to his French audience.

A MEMBER OF MANY
SCIENTIFIC CIRCLES

If Volkov is well known for his relationship with the French Gabriel de Mortillet and with the Société d'anthropologie de Paris, it is less known that he became familiar with other scien-

tific groups during his staying in Paris. Indeed, he produced scientific papers in numerous fields. As most of his contemporaries, Volkov was not a specialized scientist, but an eclectic scholar interested in the diverse fields of folklore, ethnography, cultural and physical anthropology, archaeology, prehistory and sociology.

Volkov's activity in Parisian anthropological society is the most well-known part of the scholar's French destiny. When Volkov arrived to France, this scientific society was 30 years old and very dynamic [Blanckaert, 2001; Wartelle, 2004]. It was created in 1859 by the neurologist Paul Broca, with the agenda of studying «human races» in all their physical, cultural and historical aspects [Blanckaert, 2009]. Most of its members were physicians and physical anthropologists, especially craniometrists. But the Société d'anthropologie also was the main national institution for the studies in prehistoric archaeology and paleoanthropology before the foundation of the French Prehistoric Society in 1904. The Parisian Anthropological Society also hosted researchers in ethnography and sociology. Volkov became a member of this association in December, 1895. Paul Broca, the founder of this Society, was already dead by that time, and the Society was divided into some groups with different ideological and political agendas. The most radical group was headed by Gabriel de Mortillet. Though its label had nothing to do with Marxism, this circle was known as the «scientific materialism group». It was materialistic, fiercely anticlerical and politically radical [Hammond, 1980; Harvey, 1984; Richard, 1989].

During his staying in Paris, Volkov became familiar with de Mortillet's group, and mostly shared its political and philosophical radicalism. No surprise, that Adrien, Mortillet's son, was one of Volkov's referees, when he applied for the membership of the Société d'anthropologie. After Mortillet's death, Volkov demonstrated his loyalty to his mentor by becoming a member of the fund raising committee for the setting up of a memorial. Also he took part in the administration of the Parisian Anthropological Society through different committees dealing with budgetary matters and with the organization of the Society museum and laboratory. He was staying in touch with this association after his returning to Russia. For example, he was a representative of the Saint-Petersburg Anthropological Society and the Shevchenko Society at the 50th anniversary Jubilee in 1909. Therefore many articles written by Volkov in France were published in scientific journals related to the Parisian Anthropological Society, mainly its bulletin and *L'Anthropologie* that was launched in 1890 and became the prominent French journal in the field of anthropology. Volkov's first paper dealing with the customs and rituals related to wedding in Ukraine was published in *L'Anthropologie* in 1891 [Volkov, 1891].

His name was added to the main contributors' list on the front page from 1897 till 1905.

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Volkov published articles in journals related to other French scientific groups. He published a paper in *Mélusine* in 1890 [Volkov, 1890], and in *Revue des traditions populaires* in 1891 [Volkov, 1891]. These two journals contributed the emergence of the folklorist studies in France. Founded in 1877, *Mélusine* was dealing with the folk literature and legends. Henri Gaidoz (1842—1932) was an editor of this journal. He taught Celtic philology at the EPHE (Practical School for Higher Education) and ethnology at the School for Political Science in Paris [Gauthier, 2008]. The *Revue des traditions populaires* was published by the French Society for Popular Traditions since 1886. It was edited by Paul Sébillot (1843—1918), a former painter and a republican publicist, who was the main promoter of the folklore studies and national ethnography in France in the end of the 19th century [Voisenat, 2008]. French folklorists were partly overlapped with anthropologists. Many members of the Société des traditions populaires, like Paul Sébillot, also were the members of the Société d'anthropologie de Paris. But their scientific interests were partly diverged: folklorists focused on cultural anthropology and the Western world (including Russian Empire), when anthropologists were more interested in physical anthropology and the non-Western populations. Volkov became a member of the Société des traditions populaires in the beginning of the 1890's¹, and worked on folk traditions and customs in Ukraine, Russia and Eastern Europe. He published his results in scientific journals related to this Society.

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Volkov also participated in the work of a group of sociologists organized around Rene Worms. If Durkheim's name is almost solely remembered, sociology was far from being a unified field, either at the institutional or the theoretical level, in France in the end of the 19th century. Contradicting views on a nature of the social science and the type of institution which should host this science came into intense competition, resulted in the victory of the Durkheimians [Muchielli, 1998]. Rene Worms was one of the late 19th century French sociologists. Following the views of Alfred Espinas [Feuerhahn, 2011], he believed that society should be studied as an organism. «Organicism» would confer to sociology the same

1. His membership is mentioned in the *Annuaire des traditions populaires* for 1894. He is not yet a member in 1890, according to the previous issue of the *Annuaire*.

scientific ground as biology and guaranteed truly scientific analysis of the social facts. In order to develop this new social science, Worms turned into a genuine «institutional entrepreneur» [Mosbah-Natanson, 2008], and created institutions such as the *Revue internationale de sociologie* and the *Institut international de sociologie* in 1893. He also founded the *Société de sociologie de Paris*, the Parisian branch of the Institute, in 1895. According to Worms' belief that sociology should be organized on an international scale, these institutions were oriented to international cooperation, and many foreigners contributed the *Revue internationale de sociologie* work. The International Institute became a centre of the network of the prominent sociologists all over the Western world, including Russian and Eastern European scholars. Volkov found his place in this network, becoming a member of the *Société de sociologie de Paris* in 1900. He published his first paper dealing with Russian ethnography at the 1900 World Fair in the *Revue internationale de sociologie* in 1901 [Volkov, 1901].

Volkov also took part in another venture related to the social sciences in the beginning of the 20th century: the creation of the *Ecole russe des hautes études sociales* [Russian School for Higher Social Education], which delivered lectures in Russian and French in Paris between 1901 and 1906. It is mostly known for the conferences on the agrarian problem organized by Lenin in 1902 [Gutnov, 2002]. This school was linked to the French *Ecole des hautes études sociales*, founded by disciples of Frederic Le Play in order to promote higher education in the new social sciences in Paris in 1900 [Prochasson, 1985]. Following one of Le Play's idea, the founders of the School believed that education in political science, economics and sociology was necessary in order to enhance efficient, science based decision-making among economic managers and politicians. Another agenda was the pacification and moralization of the French society, through the education of its elite at the time when it was deeply divided by the Dreyfus Affair. They existed with different ideological agendas, similar schools, independent from the State and outside the traditional university system, as elsewhere in Europe, such as in Brussels the *Ecole des sciences sociales* (1891) or in Britain the *London School of Economics* (1895).

The main founders of the Russian School, historian and economist Maxime Kowalewski and positivist sociologist Eugene de Roberty also taught at the French *Ecole des hautes études sociales*, and promoted the same ideal of the new scientifically trained elite for their homeland. The classes at the School included epistemology, political science, economics, sociology, law, criminology, history of religion, moral philosophy, literature, art history, and anthropology. Volkov held classes in general anthropology and comparative ethnography. Also he was in charge of a tutorial class on

these matters. Through the school and the *Institut international de sociologie* Volkov participated in the intellectual and institutional foundation of the modern sociology in Russia.

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Living in Parisian neighborhoods populated by numerous Russian emigrants, Volkov was inserted in different scientific networks, related to his intellectual interests, national origin and political affinities. Though these networks may appear separate, in fact they were overlapped and united by the science they intended to promote. Indeed, in the end of the 19th century, sociology, anthropology, ethnography and prehistoric archaeology were not considered as completely separate fields of knowledge. As we will see, the content of Volkov's papers in French scientific periodicals demonstrates this statement.

CULTURAL TRANSFERS

During his staying in Paris, Volkov published papers related mainly to three topics: folklore or national ethnography, physical anthropology and archaeology. Among these papers only a minority dealt with original research, based on the first hand data collected and interpreted by Volkov himself.

Before coming to France, Volkov was studying at the Odessa and Kiev Universities, and was already an amateur archaeologist and anthropologist, member of scientific and charitable associations such as Hromada of Kiev, the Southwestern Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society and the Shevchenko Society. But in order to avoid too close a police watch in France as a political refugee, he enrolled as a student in natural sciences at Sorbonne. He wrote a doctoral dissertation on the comparative anatomy of human and primate foot. This work was presented to the Anthropological society, published in its bulletin and as a separate volume in 1905 [Volkov, 1905]. It was Volkov's main original contribution to the *Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, awarded with the Godard Price. During the first half of the 20th century it was often quoted as a methodological model in physical anthropology.

Some papers on Ukrainian cultural ethnography published in *L'Anthropologie* and in the *Revue des traditions populaires*, for example, those on wedding and death rituals [Volkov, 1891; 1896], also contained first the hand information collected by Volkov before he came to France. In 1903, 1904 and 1905 the Anthropological Society awarded him with the grants for anthropological expeditions to Galicia, Bucovina and the Carpathian Mountains (now Hungary, Poland and Romania). But he published only a short report in the Society bulletin before leaving to Saint-Petersburg [Volkov, 1905]. Indeed, most of his origi-

nal ethnographic research was published in Kiev and Saint-Petersburg, where he edited collective volumes of the Russian and Ukrainian «ethnographic material». The same conclusion holds for Volkov's work on archaeology. No equivalent of his study on Mezine can be found among his French publications before 1905.

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Thus, Volkov was not a field archaeologist or anthropologist in France. At the same time he was not a real «armchair» scientist, bringing together and interpreting data collected by others. His contribution to the science was of a different kind. Volkov circulated information and objects, and helped to establish contacts between the East and West. In this respect, his activities are better defined as the «cultural transfers» in the meaning given to this notion by the French historians Michel Espagne and Michael Werner [see their manifesto article, 1987].

As usual for the cultural transfers, Volkov acted primarily as a translator. If French was still spoken among aristocratic circles in Russian Empire, the reverse was not true, and most French anthropologists and archaeologists in the end of the 19th century did not speak Russian or any other Eastern European language. This was the case, for example, of Joseph de Baye, who was able to travel in Russia and collect information because of his aristocratic, French speaking connexions. Therefore, Volkov's primary goal was to summarize and comment publications, events and debates from the East, sharing this information in the scientific circles he associated with. The volumes of the Materials for Russian ethnography he edited since 1910 in Saint-Petersburg demonstrate that he was aware of the importance of bridging the language gap. They contained abstracts in French, a feature the reviewer in *L'Anthropologie* found worth mentioning to his non-Russian speaking audience:

«Formerly a very active member of our society, the distinguished curator of the Emperor Alexander III's Museum knows from experience how important a careful summary in French of the Russian content can be, for such a beautiful publication to reach its audience» [Capus, 1910] ¹.

Therefore Volkov wrote mostly book reviews for French scientific periodicals, and his main contribution was given to their bibliographical sections or sections dealing with the scientific news. Sometimes he published more than 20 reviews a year in *L'Anthropologie* dealing with the publications in Russian, Ukrainian and other Slavic languages (for example in 1896).

Reviewing books often implied more than a mere summary of their content. At the meetings of the *Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, presen-

tations of books on behalf of their authors gave Volkov the opportunity to depict more broadly these scholars' scientific activities, to summarize their research and to introduce scientific debates taking place in the East. This was the case, for example, on the 21st of July, 1898. Volkov presented a volume on the quaternary geology of the Lublin area on behalf of Nikolai Krichtafovitch, an editor of the geological and mineralogical yearbook of Russia. He commented this donation by giving information about Kristafovitch's excavations and discoveries of fossil bones associated with Madgalenian flint implements. Then he compared the prehistoric tools found in Poland with those found in Kiev and summarized debates taking place among Polish, Ukrainian and Russian scholars about dating these remains in relation to the glaciations [Volkov, 1898].

Together with the books, Volkov also circulated genuine archaeological and ethnographical artifacts or reproductions. At the 16th of June, 1896 meeting of the *Société d'anthropologie de Paris* he presented 14 photographic plates of the prehistoric tools, sent to the *Ecole d'anthropologie* by the secretary of the Troitzkossavsk-Kiathka section of the Russian Geographic Society [Présentations..., 1896]. In 1900 he gave craniums and painted eggs from Bohemia on behalf of Jindrich Matiegka, one of the founders of physical anthropology in Prague. He also handed over ethnographic objects from Siberia and Turkestan given by the Russian section at the Paris World Fair. His activities as a go-between also included human beings. Volkov facilitated contacts and introduced fellow citizens to the Parisian groups he was associated with. For instance he was a referee for the scholars from Russian Empire who wished to enter the *Société d'anthropologie de Paris*. In 1897 he supported the application of anthropologist Nikolai Mogiliansky, who later played an important role in the Ethnographic Division of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society and participated (as well as Volkov) in the Commission for the Study of the Tribal Composition of the Population of the Borderlands of Russia set up in 1917.

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These activities imply that Volkov's contribution to French scientific journals were mostly of a descriptive nature and very rarely expressed his own interpretations. But they still conveyed a message to their French audience. Volkov's papers gave information about research taking place from Eastern Prussia to Bosnia, from the Northern and Asiatic borders of the Empire to Austria. Therefore he has shown quite intensive scientific activity provided in the East to his French colleagues.

Volkov's papers highlighted some individuals by periodic reports on their researches. He regularly reviewed the research in archaeology and

1. Author's translation.

anthropology of Lubor Niederle, author of a handbook of the Czech archaeology in 1910 and one of the founders of the State archaeological Institute in 1919 [for example Volkov, 1893]. Also he gave accounts on the activities of Dmitry Anuchin, stressing his role as an organizer of the anthropological research in Russia in the Ethnographic Division of the Imperial Geographic Society [for example, Volkov, 1895]. In Bosnia-Herzegovina Volkov commented the achievements of Vclav Radimsky at the National Museum and the Neolithic sites around Sarajero [for example Volkov, 1896]. In Moravia (now Czech Republic), he described the advancement of Martin Kriz excavations on the site of Predmost [for example Volkov 1897]. Many of Volkov's reviews dealt with his homeland, and prominent Kiev's scholars were also introduced to their French counterparts. For example, this was the case of Vladimir Antonovich, Professor of Russian History at the Kiev University. Volkov considered him as «the dean of Russian archaeologists» [Volkov, 1903, p. 114], and highly praised his archaeological maps of Kiev and Volynia Provinces [Volkov, 1896; 1904]. Volkov published few obituaries in the *Revue des traditions populaires*. For example, readers learned about the work of Kharkov philologist Alexander Potebnja on popular Ukrainian poetry and songs in 1892 [Volkov, 1892].

Beyond individuals, Volkov stressed the role of organisations that helped to organize archaeology and anthropology in the East. He gave the picture of a booming scientific field in the institutionalisation process and professional network of the museums and scientific societies, despite a largely inadequate university system. Volkov described Eastern museums or museum sections dealing with archaeology and anthropology. For example, he informed his readers about the existence of important collections at the National Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovia in Sarajevo. This museum displayed more than 20,000 prehistoric implements and 250 craniums in 1900 [Volkov, 1900, p. 63–64].

Volkov also depicted the activities of the scientific societies. Some were already well established, such as the Moscow Society of Friends of the Natural Sciences, Anthropology and Ethnology (founded in 1863), and the Imperial Geographical Society (founded in 1845) [see Bradley, 2009, p. 128–210]. In 1895 Volkov informed readers of *L'Anthropologie* about the creation of a new Troitzkossavsk section of the Geographical Society on the Chinese border, and the restoration of its Southwestern section in Kiev, after 20 years of a political ban which had badly disrupted ethnographic research in Ukraine [Volkov, 1895]. At the *Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, Volkov also described the Shevchenko Scientific Society, founded in 1873 in Lviv, as a «kind of national academy», publishing works in Ruthenian, a common language understood both in Austrian

Galicia and Russian Ukraine in March 1899. He introduced more precisely the work of the Ethnographic Commission, he was one of the co-founders in 1898 [Volkov, 1899]. Volkov also informed his readers about foundation of the new associations, such as the Medical-Anthropological Society of the Military Medical Academy in Saint-Petersburg founded in 1892 [Volkov, 1895].

Also he gave the information on scientific congresses or their specialized sections. He commented the creation of the statistics section at the 1894 Moscow congress of Russian naturalists and physicians that, with the absence of a State statistical department, started to gather the important data on Russian demography [Volkov, 1895]. Russian Archaeological Congresses, organized since 1869 by the Moscow Archaeological Society, provided the topic for longer memoirs. The 1899 Kiev session gave Volkov the opportunity to mention the «great number of scientists dealing with archaeology» and the «remarkably abundant recent discoveries» made in his homeland, as well as the rich public and private collections in Kiev [Volkov, 1900, p. 59]. In a presentation at the 1903 Kharkov Congress, Volkov insisted on the structuring influence of such meetings not only for advancement of the scientific discussions, but also for the invigoration of the archaeological researches in different parts of the Russian Empire. He compared their impact to the congresses of the *Association pour l'avancement des sciences* founded in 1872 in French provinces [Volkov, 1903, p. 113].

Volkov included publications to the instruments of institutionalization. He praised the completion of the archaeological maps. A map of the Kiev Province published in 1895 by the Moscow Archaeological Society was deemed of an «exceptional importance» and of the «high value for archaeology of the Eastern Europe» [Volkov, 1896, p. 348]. He reviewed the first volume of the *Materials for the ethnography of the Rutheno-Ukrainians* published by the Ethnographic Commission of the Shevchenko Society at the *Société d'anthropologie de Paris* in 1899. In May, 1902 he drew his French colleagues' attention to the *Journal of Russian Anthropology* launched in 1900 by the Society of Friends of the Natural Sciences, Anthropology and Ethnology [Bulletins de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris, 1902, p. 546]. In the 1892 issue of the *Revue des traditions populaires* he described a new Czech ethnographical journal, *Cesky lid* (The Czech People) [Volkov, 1892].

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Thus readers of *L'Anthropologie* and the *Revue des traditions populaires* became familiar with the exotic names of their Eastern colleagues through Volkov's papers. Some of these scholars met each other in Paris or at the international meet-

ings. Other scholars from the East were known because of the translations published in French periodicals. For example, this was the case of Vicentiy Khvoika, the excavator of the Saint-Cyril Street prehistoric sites discovered in Kiev in 1894 [Volkov, 1894]. He came to Paris in 1900 and attended the International congress of anthropology and prehistoric archaeology, held during the World Fair. He presented a paper, published in *L'Anthropologie* as well as in the proceedings of the conference [Khvoika, 1901].

French readers also learned about the important archaeological discoveries and knew the names and locations of the important sites such as the Kiev site of St Cyril Street, or the Siberian site of Afontova-Gora, near Krasnoyarsk. Discovered in 1884, it was presented to the international community by its excavator, I.T. Savenkov at the 1892 Congress of prehistoric archaeology in Moscow. Then this site was visited by baron de Baye [Baye & Volkov, 1899; see Makarov and al., 2009]. French scholars learned about the growing number of the Palaeolithic sites excavated in Central Europe and Russia, about the extraordinary (and then unaccounted for) amount of mammoth bones and tusks at some of these sites, about the flint tools and art works they contained, etc. They also learned about the debates around these remains rouse among Eastern scholars: some of them thought that evidence was too scarce to conclude that man and mammoth coexisted; the others held the contrary view and discussed the age of the sites in relation to the geology of glaciations. French archaeologists also understood the potential of the kurgan archaeology from Volkov's papers. They were informed about the materials dating from Neolithic to Medieval times, traces of the death rituals and anthropological types contained in these mounts, as well as about numerous hypotheses generated by these remains; about early settlements, migrations and cultural diffusion in Eastern Europe. Finally, French readers learned about the ethnographic and cultural diversity of the present populations of Russian Empire and Slavic regions, a diversity they could also witness in the Russian and Austrian anthropological sections of World Fairs [Volkov, 1901], as well as in more specialized exhibitions, such as Parisian exhibits of the material collected during State sponsored Scientific missions [for example Hébert, 1896].

**CONCLUSION:
AN APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE FOR
A REFORMED RUSSIAN EMPIRE**

Besides new knowledge and the sense of a booming research activity, what conclusions could the French readers draw from Volkov's publications in scientific journals? Partly because of close police watch on political refugees in Paris, Volkov was cautious to not express too clearly his reform-

ist and patriotic political ideas. But his readers could still guess his opinion from his writings, and became aware of the limited freedom experienced by scholars in tsarist Russia.

Between the lines of the papers dedicated to seemingly purely scientific matters, French readers learned about tsarist repressions against national academic communities and institutions. They also understood better how scientific and patriotic movements in the Eastern Europe were closely related, how polemical were the national idioms problem and the researches in these languages. French educated elites were already familiar with this issue. Many of them followed the episodes of Poland's misfortune, and became aware of the patriotic value of Polish language and literature through the lectures given at the *Collège de France* by Adam Mickiewicz in the 1840's. Among others, Volkov brought into focus that in many respects Ukraine underwent a similar situation.

For example, French readers learned from his papers that Ukrainian (Southwestern) Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society had been suspended in 1876, disrupting national ethnographic research for 20 years [Volkov, 1895]. In the obituary of Pantaleimon Kulich, they were informed that this well known specialist in Ukrainian folklore was arrested in the 1840's for his association with the patriotic circles, imprisoned because of his republican and federalist ideas, and for a while forbidden to publish. Volkov explained that Ukrainian language was banned for the institutional use in the Russian part of Ukraine, rendering research on national literature more or less dangerous depending on fluctuations of the tsarist politics [Volkov, 1897]. He also explained that Ukrainian intellectuals in Russia had resigned themselves to adopt Russian, a language their compatriots from Galicia on the other side of the Austrian border did not understand. At the Kiev Archaeological Congress, Ukrainian language had not been recognized and leading scholars from Galicia, who did not speak Russian and refused speaking either German or Polish had to boycott the conference [Volkov, 1901, p. 59–60].

Volkov's paper on Ukrainian popular traditions and material culture showed that conclusions drawn from linguistics and philology were reinforced by national ethnography. These sciences demonstrated that Ukraine formed «a complete whole from an ethnographic point of view» [Volkov, 1891, p. 160], distinct from other neighboring Slavic entities, Polish, Belarussian or Great Russian [Volkov, 1891, p. 405]. Archaeology and history added to these arguments, showed that Ukraine was «the first among Eastern Slavic nations to enter the history» [Volkov, 1891 p. 160]. Such statements obviously provided arguments for tacit claims of the reunification and home rule.

They also provided a basis for further reflection on the nature of prehistoric archaeology and national ethnography. Volkov's scientific contributions may seem eclectic, but he did not consider them so. In his view, folklore, anthropology and prehistory were the same field, on which a true science of society could be based. In turn this science was intended as a political tool for a radical reform, liberal and federal, in Russia. «Ethnography and other anthropological sciences» were, after Volkov, the «very basis» of sociology [Volkov, 1901 p. 39]. In the same way he linked prehistoric archaeology to ethnography, taking up the French neologism of «palethnology» in its full implication [Volkov, 1903, p. 114]. For this reason a rigorous and thorough survey of ethnographic peculiarities and of discrepancies in the level of development among the populations of the Russian Empire, as well as a complete historical and archeological account of the formation of these peculiarities, was badly needed. The knowledge provided by this survey would be necessary in shaping a new liberal and federal Russian State, uniting truly national entities with adapted political autonomy. Volkov shared this encompassing and utilitarian conception of anthropology with his French mentor Gabriel de Mortillet, who pursued a political career as well as a scientific one during the Third Republic. The similar understanding of the applied social science also shaped the expectations of the scholars who founded the Russian School for Higher Social Education in Paris. It was Volkov's agenda for the anthropological lectures he gave in this institution.

This belief in the reformist power of science, conveyed by his French papers, probably helps understand Volkov's state of mind when the news about the 1905 revolution came to Paris. Volkov decided to go back to Saint-Petersburg in order to pursue his scientific activities in prehistoric archaeology and ethnography.

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**ВОЛКОВ ВО ФРАНЦИИ:
КУЛЬТУРНЫЙ ВЗАИМООБМЕН В
АРХЕОЛОГИИ И ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ
АНТРОПОЛОГИИ В КОНЦЕ XIX ст.**

Статья посвящена роли Теодора Волкова в научном и культурном обмене между Францией и Россией. Представлен анализ научной деятельности ученого в период жизни во Франции, участия в научных обществах, контактов и совместной деятельности с коллегами антропологами и преисториками. Освещены научные публикации ученого, подготовленные и выпущенные во французских изданиях в этот период. Представлены также сведения о преподавательской деятельности Теодора Волкова в различных учебных заведениях. Анализируется его деятельность в качестве переводчика и работа по аннотированию для французской научной общности славяноязычных научных изданий. Делается вывод о том, что для научной коммуникации между учеными различных стран наибольшее значение имела деятельность Т. Волкова по обзору, комментированию и представлению французским ученым российских научных изданий, а в последствии — французских в России.