



**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

Kelsey Rice
PhD Candidate, Department of History
University of Pennsylvania

Identity Formation in the Borderlands: Enlightenment Societies and Literary Assemblies in 19th
and Early 20th Century Azerbaijan

August 27 2014-May 17 2015
Baku, Azerbaijan

Research Abstract

My dissertation investigates the history of enlightenment societies and literary assemblies in Azerbaijan from the mid-nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. I argue that these societies were the primary means through which Azeri intellectuals implemented their projects of cultural and social reform. These projects reflected the shifting cultural influences in nineteenth century Azerbaijan and expressed the anxieties about progress and identity held by Azeri intellectuals. I locate cultural innovation in Azerbaijan within a broader nineteenth century trend in which culture played an integral role in the evolution from local to national identities, illustrating how Azeri cultural activities interacted with similar movements in both Europe and the Middle East. By considering the role of the turn of the century Azeri middle class in the creation of a literary, theatrical, and musical culture through the means of these societies I expand the historiography of bourgeois popular culture outside the West.

I argue that as a result of Azerbaijan's location at the intersection of the Ottoman, Iranian, and Russian empires it was uniquely positioned to play a central role in the development of secular intellectual culture in the Middle East. By repositioning Azerbaijan at the center of cultural innovation in the Middle East I



**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

challenge the traditional geographic bounds of the region and propose that Central Eurasia, an important ground of Persian, Turkic and, increasingly, Russian, exchange, be considered as an important location of cultural and intellectual development in the Middle East.

Research Goals

I came to Baku with a clear idea of what documents I needed for my dissertation and where I would find them. I had conducted preliminary research in Baku the previous summer, which enabled me to identify the archive collections most relevant to my work. Thus I arrive in Azerbaijan in late August with the goal of conducting 9 months of research in the Azerbaijan State Archive of History, the Institute of Manuscripts, the Akhundov National Library, and the Academy of Sciences Art and Architecture Archive. In the holdings of these archives I hoped to find documentation of the activities of the turn-of-the-century Azeri enlightenment societies that form the focus of my dissertation. I was specifically seeking documents relating to the most prominent societies of the era: *Neshri-Maarif Cemiyyeti* (the Publication-Enlightenment Society), *Nicat-Maarif Cemiyyeti* (the Salvation-Enlightenment Society), *Sefa Cemiyyeti* (Joy Society), *Seadat Cemiyyeti* (Happiness Society) and *Musulman Cemiyyeti Kheyriyessi* (The Muslim Charitable Society). I also intended to look at documents relating to specific individuals from this period who were cultural and intellectual leaders within the societies, or who were important predecessors to the Azeri intellectuals who formed them.

My documents consist of letters, petitions to the government, petitions received by society leadership, account books, meeting minutes, founding charters, literary publications, and extensive press coverage of the activities of enlightenment societies and their members. Through these documents it is my goal to construct a clear picture of the activities and preoccupations of these societies, how they went about

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

implementing their ideas about cultural reform and progress, and what obstacles they faced in their efforts. Since I was supported by a Combined Language Training and Research Fellowship, it was also a goal of mine to increase my ability to comfortably read literary Azerbaijani at a quick pace, allowing me to tackle literary sources (the literary efforts of early twentieth century Azeri intellectuals being an important source base for my research) with greater ease.

Familiarizing myself with the press of Azerbaijan was also an important research goal. A certain number of early twentieth century Azeri periodicals are available on microform in the United States, however these represent only a fraction of the Azeri press of the era. Thus I wanted to dedicate time to truly immerse myself in the Azeri-language press of the era by reading as many of the newspapers and journals from that time as possible.

As the vast majority of sources relevant to my research are held in collections in Baku, it was my goal to complete all necessary research for my dissertation in my nine months supported by American Councils.

Research Activities

I initially dedicated my research time to the Azerbaijan State Archive of History, as this is where the majority of the documents pertaining to turn-of-the-century enlightenment societies are held. I spent approximately six of my nine months going to this archive regularly to look at documents from a number of collections. The archive has an entire fond dedicated to the documents of the *Neshri-Maarif Cemiyyeti* as well as many other collections possessing documents relating to the era's enlightenment societies. Through my work at this archive I was able to locate several years worth of meeting minutes for the *Neshri-Maarif Cemiyyeti*, the founding charters of the *Neshri-Maarif Cemiyyeti*, *Nicat-Maarif Cemiyetti*, and the *Seadat Cemiyyeti*, yearly accounts, membership lists, lists of donations, and numerous letters,

2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT

petitions, and other miscellaneous documents that will help me build a clear picture of the work of these societies. I was also able to expand the scope of my research outside of Baku when I found a collection of documents relating to the Ganja Muslim Charitable Society, as well as various references to the Tiflis Muslim Charitable Society.

My other two main research sites were the Institute of Manuscripts and the Akhundov National Library. I ultimately did not pursue working at the Academy of Sciences Art and Architecture Archive as the documents there exclusively pertained to mid-nineteenth century music assemblies. While I originally intended for these societies to play an important role in my research it became increasingly clear that it was the literary assemblies of the mid-nineteenth century, which were surprisingly separate from music assemblies, that were the true precursors to early twentieth century enlightenment societies, and that, as a historian not trained in music or musicology, I would have little to contribute on the topic of music assemblies in Azerbaijan. Documents relating to mid-nineteenth century literary assemblies are held by the Institute of Manuscripts and became the main focus of my research in my final two months in Baku.

At the Akhundov National Library I focused on the library's extensive collection of newspapers and journals from the early twentieth century. Nearly every Azeri intellectual and artist from this period was involved to some degree with at least one Azeri enlightenment society, thus almost every newspaper editor, and the majority of the contributors, were members of Azeri societies. In the pages of the press I was able to find extensive coverage of Azeri enlightenment societies as well as numerous articles by prominent members of the societies. Reading the press from the era was also a window into the realities of turn-of-the-century Baku. An industrial boomtown filled with poor migrant workers, Baku was a dangerous city. While this was something I knew and understood on an intellectual level, reading the crime reports in the local newspapers, filled with murder, banditry, jailbreaks, and unidentified bodies,

2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT

helped me better understand the reality of the urban landscape in which these societies functioned.

I also spent time acquainting myself with the work of Azerbaijani historians and cultural scholars whose work relates to my own. These secondary sources can be hard to find outside of Azerbaijan, however they are all available at the National Library. I was particularly pleased to discover the work of the late Nasreddin Qarayev, formerly a researcher at the Institute of Manuscripts, who wrote an excellently researched history of 19th Century literary assemblies in Azerbaijan. I also read the work of theater scholar Ilham Rehimli, historian Nasiman Yaqublu, and others. There is a dearth of research by Western scholars on the period I study in the South Caucasus, so the opportunity to read Azerbaijani scholarship from both the Soviet and Post-Soviet era was invaluable.

At the Institute of Manuscripts I worked with the personal archives of Jalil Mammadguluzade, founder and editor of the famous satirical journal *Molla Nasreddin*, and Hasan bey Zardabi, an educator and the founder and editor of the first ever Azeri-language periodical, *Akinci*. I also looked at the many memoirs, autobiographies, and *tazikras* (essentially a poetic memoir, a Persianate Sufi literary form) of numerous other literate Azeris from the mid-nineteenth century onward. This was particularly important for my interest in the intellectual activities of Azeris in the mid-nineteenth century, as it is my goal to show that the turn-of-the-century Azeri societies were not simply a result of European influence, but also had roots in preexisting Persianate literary traditions. I was able to locate a rich collection of sources relating to mid-nineteenth century literary societies held by the Institute of Manuscripts.

In addition to my research I spent six hours a week studying Azerbaijani with my tutor, Eltac Hasanova. Eltac and I met three times a week and primarily focused on reading, and I would bring in newspaper articles, short stories, and other sources encountered in my research (published primary sources that had

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

been transliterated into the Latin script, as Eltac unsurprisingly could not read Azerbaijani in the Arabic script) for us to read together. We also focused on my writing, since my Azerbaijani had been learned primarily in an informal manner before and I wanted to be able to correspond in Azerbaijani in a grammatically sound and professional manner. Eltac also proved utterly unwilling to allow any of my lazier approaches to pronunciation continue and my accent improved dramatically under her tutelage. After a productive six months Eltac left to study in South Korea and I reduced my weekly hours to four hours and began studying with a new tutor, Vefa Abdullayeva. I was fortunate with tutors again and had an excellent time working with Vefa, again focusing on reading and writing.

Important Research Findings

My most important research findings related to the projects undertaken by Azeri enlightenment societies. As I argue that these societies were the primary means through which Azeri intellectuals mobilized their projects of cultural reform, the activities of the societies and the manner in which they allocated their resources is integral to my thesis. Although I knew before commencing my research that education was one of the primary concerns of enlightenment societies, it became clear through actually working with the societies' documents just how significant the energy and resources put into the founding and/or financing of schools were. I have a number of documents relating to the schools founded *Neshri-Maarif* and *Nicat-Maarif*, including lists of students by grade for each school, details on teachers hired, and correspondences on concerns over the lack of qualified teachers for the schools. In the annual budgets I can also see the amount spent each year on maintaining these schools. The *Neshri-Maarif Cemiyeti* built dozens of schools between 1906 and 1918, and also developed teacher training programs as the society struggled to find teachers to teach the hundreds of students it was enrolling. Educating young Azeris was not limited to the domain of schools, and also linked into other cultural projects funded by the societies.

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

The *Nicat-Maarif Cemiyyeti*, which regularly funded and produced theater performances, had special theater events for schoolchildren.

While the *Neshri-Maarif Cemiyyeti* did more than any other society to educate the youth of Azerbaijan, the *Nicat-Maarif Cemiyyeti* focused more energy on educating the adult Azeri population. The society obtained permission to start offering night classes in 1909 and was soon training groups of men, mostly laborers, to read and write Azeri and Russian, as well as offering courses on geography and the sciences. I was also surprised to find how much of *Nicat's* budget was dedicated to the building of *qiraetkhanas*, or reading rooms. Typically but not always attached libraries, *qiraetkhanas* were a space not only to read, but for readings to be held. As most Azeris were at this time illiterate, these spaces were an important way to spread information and allow the enlightenment societies to promote their ideas about culture and Azeri identity to the many Azeris who could not personally read the press and literature they were producing. While I had previously known that building and maintaining *qiraetkhanas* was among the projects undertaken by enlightenment societies, I had not realized what a high priority they were. The high priority placed on *qiraetkhanas* also points to the development of the public sphere among the Azeri population. These were educational and social spaces that encouraged the exchange of ideas in a way that had not previously existed.

In addition to the wealth of information I obtained on the activities of enlightenment societies I also found a great deal on the obstacles they faced in successfully carrying out their projects. I was surprised to find that it was less governmental restrictions and interference that impeded enlightenment societies' ability to function, though this was certainly a factor. In fact the primary two obstacles faced by these societies were the interlinked issues of finances and corruption.

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

The main income for societies came from membership fees and the generous patronage of a handful of millionaire industrialists (notable Zeynalabdin Taghiev, Musa Naghiev, and Murtuza Muxturov.) I was surprised when looking at the accounts of the larger societies at the significant sums of money included in their budgets. Financial difficulties persisted, however, as the ambitious goals cultural and intellectual reform held by the members of these societies required significant expenditures. It was not just the financial demands of building schools and producing operas that strained the treasuries of enlightenment societies, however, as considerable funds of money had a tendency to disappear into the pockets of members in various leadership positions. In fact, the *Nicat-Maarif Cemiyyeti* was nearly bankrupt in 1909, with an anonymous member publishing a blistering letter in the periodical *Irshad* accusing members, by name and exact sum stolen, of pilfering the society's coffers. It seems that at the height of *Nicat's* financial woes, the electricity was turned off at their headquarters and tea vendors refused to provide a single glass of tea to anyone in the society.

Interpersonal strife and inter-societal rivalries also appear to have prevented societies from functioning as efficiently as they might have. Founded several years after *Nicat-Maarif Cemiyyeti*, the *Sefa Cemiyyeti* was similarly focused on cultural projects such as theater and music. *Nicat's* leadership viewed this society as a threat to their primacy in the realm of theater, and the respective theater companies of the two societies were incapable of collaboration. Furthermore, leadership of the theater departments of each society actively tried to poach the best actors from each company, with the more prominent actors of the era forced to declare loyalty to a single society and refuse offers to perform with the other. *Nicat*, ever the most dysfunctional of the societies (while simultaneously one of the largest and most influential) fell apart in 1917 when a group of prominent members published an open letter in the newspaper *Achiq Soz* accusing millionaire member Isa bey Ashurbeyov of rigging the society's elections and stacking the

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

leadership with his own supporters. Between the war of egos in the leadership and the actual war tearing apart the Russian Empire, the society collapsed.

As mentioned earlier, I shifted my focus from mid-nineteenth century music assemblies, as I had initially proposed, to literary assemblies. Initially unsuccessful in finding much material on this topic, I was able in my final two months to locate a number of *tazkiras* and other writings that documented the names and writings of the members of literary assemblies as well the histories as their founding. These documents are important to my research because I hope to trace both the continuity from older, Persianate intellectual traditions and how intellectuals organized themselves as well as the major breaks turn of the century intellectuals made from these previous traditions. My research into mid-century literary assemblies shows that some of the youngest members of these societies went on to be active in post-1905 intellectual activity, publishing poetry in newspapers and challenging traditional religious authority on the nature of education. The more prominent members of these literary assemblies, such as the poets Khurshidbanu Natavan and Sayyid Azim Shirvani, became important literary figures held as pillars of the newly conceptualized Azeri literary canon advocated by turn of the century Azeri intellectuals.

The ways in which Azeri enlightenment societies diverged from traditional literary societies is equally important. The most important shift that occurred at the turn of the century was the shift away from Persian as the dominant literary language in favor of Azeri. This was part of a broader process in which Azeri intellectuals began to reject aspects of Persianate culture and identify explicitly as Turks. This shift also marks the changing cultural geography of Azerbaijan, as the most influential literary assemblies, the *Majlis-i Uns* and the *Beytus Sefa*, were located in Shusha and Shamakha, respectively. Formerly the major cultural centers of northern Azerbaijan, after the oil boom and the concentration of wealth in Baku, the significance of these regions waned as Baku became the dominant cultural center for Azeris. The nature



**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

of Baku's literate Azeri population was markedly different from those of the historic cultural centers.

Where the members of literary assemblies were beys, merchants, and madrasa scholars, the members of enlightenment societies were members of a newly emergent Azeri bourgeoisie. Many had been educated in Russian-Tatar schools rather than having received the traditional madrasa education, and thus did not know Persian. They were shop owners, teachers, journalists, and, in place of beys and khans, oil industrialists. The changing face of the Azeri elite, and the broadening of the literate class, is reflected in the changing way literary and intellectual activity was organized and conducted.

Policy Implications and Recommendations

Since gaining independence in 1991 the Republic of Azerbaijan has had a close and often fraught relationship with Iran. The roots of this troubled relationship can be traced back to the period I study. What is today the Republic of Azerbaijan was conquered by the Russian Empire over the course of two Russo-Persian wars, culminating in the Treaty of Turkmanchay in 1828, establishing the border between Azerbaijan and Iran that exists to this day. The drawing of that border set northern Azerbaijan on a separate path from the rest of Iran, and is the source of much of the friction between the two nations today. In the early twentieth century, as ethno-nationalist movements spread throughout the world, conceptions of difference became an important part of establishing a national identity. The privileging of the Azeri language over Persian, the conscious work to establish an Azeri literary canon, the celebration of Azeri cultural figures in jubilees and theatrical renderings of their lives, all served to establish a distinct Azeri cultural identity. A major part of this process was othering the Persianate, a sort of “de-Iranification” of Azeri culture. Tensions today between the two countries reflect this. The Azerbaijani government has allowed citizens to protest outside the Iranian Embassy against the suppression of Azeri language and culture in Iranian Azerbaijan and enjoys antagonizing the Iranian government by referring



**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

to the Iranian provinces of West and East Azerbaijan collectively as “Southern Azerbaijan.” Last year, Azerbaijan successfully petitioned UNESCO to list *chovgan*, an ancient form of polo, as an “intangible cultural heritage” of Azerbaijan. This prompted a protest from Iran, which claims the sport as a Persian tradition, with the government claiming the move was an act of cultural imperialism on the part of Azerbaijan. This history of nationally categorizing aspects of culture in regions of historical diversity and intense cultural exchange has left no room for compromise. Something can be Persianate or Turkic, while the Turko-Persianate is not allowed to exist. This is true for other cultures as well, with Azerbaijanis and Armenians locked in particularly vehement arguments of the provenance of music, cuisine, and other cultural markers. These disputes color diplomatic encounters between the countries in important ways. Understanding the symbolic significance of cultural markers and how disputes of cultural ownership affect the ability for productive dialogue among the nations in this region is important for policymakers.

Co-Curricular Activity

In October I gave a talk for American Councils and Education USA to Azerbaijani students interested in studying in the United States. The talk was entitled “Applying to American Universities: Choosing Which University is Right for You.” In the presentation I discussed the various types of universities in the United States (large public universities, regional public universities, private universities, liberal arts colleges, etc.), the pros and cons of these various types of universities, and presented the students with a number of resources to research universities in the United States. The American Councils Azerbaijan country director Jodi Blankenship had the Education USA team turn this talk into a regular presentation given at the American Center at the University of Languages, and it has been reproduced many times since.

Conclusions



**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

The opportunity provided by American Councils to pursue nine months of archival research while improving my Azerbaijani language skills will be invaluable to the successful completion of my dissertation. I had relatively limited contact with the American Councils DC office, but what communications we did have were clear and the staff was responsive. I had a truly excellent experience with the American Councils Baku office, with the staff there being an invaluable resource for gaining archival access, arranging language instruction, and settling into life in Baku.

Plans for Future Research Agenda/ Presentations and Publications

I am currently in Istanbul conducting research in the Ottoman Archives, and will be here until early October. Upon leaving Istanbul I will have, generally speaking, concluded the necessary research for my dissertation and commence writing.

In November of this year I will be presenting on a roundtable on Persianate influence in the Russian Empire and Soviet Union at the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies annual convention. I will be discussing anti-Persian themes in early 20th century Azerbaijani cultural production. I have also recently received an invitation to present at a conference hosted by the University of Chicago entitled “In Empire’s Long Shadow: Modern Constructions of Central Eurasia, 1900-1941.” The topic of my paper will be music and theater in early Soviet Azerbaijan.

Bibliography

Altstadt, Audrey. *The Azerbaijani Turks: Power and Identity Under Russian Rule*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.

Atabaki, Touraj. *Azerbaijan: Ethnicity and the Struggle for Power in Iran*, [Revised Edition of *Azerbaijan, Ethnicity and Autonomy in the Twentieth-Century Iran*] (London: I.B.Tauris, 2000).

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

- _____ "Disgruntled Guests: Iranian Subaltern on the Margins of the Tsarist Empire." *International Review of Social History* 48, no. 3 (2003): 401-426.
- _____ "Recasting and Recordings Identities in the Caucasus." *Iran & the Caucasus*, Vol. 6, No. 1/2 (2002), pp. 219-235.
- Atkin, Muriel. *Russia and Iran, 1780-1828*. University of Minnesota Press, 1980
- Barrett, Thomas M. *At the Edge of Empire: The Terek Cossacks and the North Caucasus Frontier, 1700-1860*. Westview Press, 1999.
- Boroujerdi, Merzad. *Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism*. Syracuse University Press, 1996.
- Breyfogle, Nicholas B. *Heretics and Colonizers: Forging Russia's Empire in the South Caucasus*. Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Brower, Daniel R. and Edward J Lazzerini, *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1917*, Indiana-Michigan series in Russian and East European studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).
- Cronin, Stephanie ed. *Iranian-Russian Encounters: Empires and Revolutions Since 1800*. Vol. 14. Routledge, 2012.
- Deringil, Selim. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* New York: I.B. Tauris 1999
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. Vol. 5019. Basic Books, 1973.
- Geraci, Robert P. *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia*. Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Grant, Bruce. *The Captive and the Gift: Cultural Histories of Sovereignty in Russia and the Caucasus*. Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Kashani-Sabet, Firoozeh. *Frontier Fictions: Shaping the Iranian Nation 1804-1946*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1999
- Khalid, Adeeb. *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1998.
- Klein, Janet. *The Margins of Empire: Kurdish Militias in the Ottoman Tribal Zone* Stanford: Stanford University Press 2011



**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

- Mostashari, Firouzeh. *On the Religious Frontier: Tsarist Russia and Islam in the Caucasus*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2006.
- Naroditskaya, Inna. *Song From the Land of Fire: Continuity and Change in Azerbaijanian Mugham*. New York: Routledge. 2003.
- Parsinejad, Iraj. *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran, 1866-1951: Literary Criticism in the Works of Enlightened Thinkers of Iran--Akhundzadeh, Kermani, Malkom, Talebof, Maraghe'i, Kasravi, and Hedayat*. IbeX Publishers, Inc., 2003.
- Reynolds, Michael A. *Shattering Empires: The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires 1908-1918*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Sahadeo, Jeff. *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, 1865--1923*. Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Suny, Ronald Grigor. *The Baku Commune, 1917-1918: Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Swietochowski, Tadeusz. *Russian Azerbaijan, 1905-1920: The Shaping of a National Identity in a Muslim Community*. Vol. 42. Cambridge University Press, 2004
- Tolz, Vera. *'Russia's Own Orient': The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods*. Modern European History. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Tuna, Mustafa Özgür. "Gaspıralı v. İl'minskii: Two Identity Projects for the Muslims of the Russian Empire." *Nationalities Papers*. Vol. 30 No 2. 2002.
- Ury, Scott. *Barricades and Banners: the Revolution of 1905 and the Transformation of Warsaw Jewry*. Stanford University Press, 2012.

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**



Figure 1 The Nizami Museum of Azerbaijani Literature, featuring statues of major Azerbaijani literary figures.

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII
COMBINED RESEARCH AND LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT**

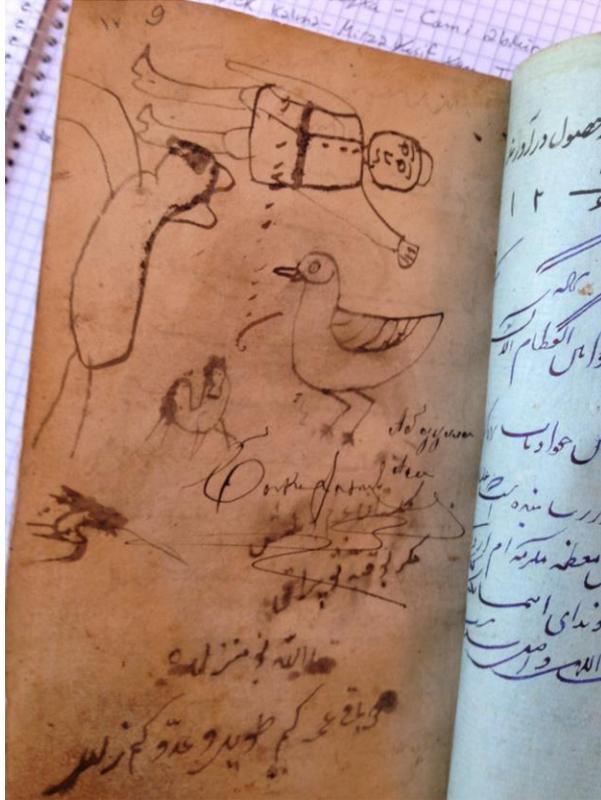


Figure 2 Sketches from a journal belonging to Abbasqulu Bakikhanov, a noted scholar of limited artistic talent



Figure 3 A Mosque in the village of Amirjan built by the industrialist Murtuza Muxturov