

HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL MIGRATION IN GEORGIA: FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE SOVIET PERIOD

Mzia Shelia

Department of Macroeconomics, Faculty of Economics and Business

Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

3, Ilia Chavchavadze Gamziri, 0128, Tbilisi, Georgia

&

Institute of Demography and Sociology

Ilia State University

3/5, Cholokashvili Gamziri., 0162, Tbilisi, Georgia

E-mail address: mzi Ashe@yahoo.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3382-6189>

Mirian Tukhashvili

Department of Macroeconomics, Faculty of Economics and Business

Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Ilia Chavchavadze Gamziri 1., 0128, Tbilisi, Georgia

&

Center for Migration Studies

Faculty of Economics and Business, Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Universitetis Kucha 2, korpusi., 10, r.514, 0186 Tbilisi, Georgia

E-mail address: tuxamiri@yahoo.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1242-9712>

ABSTRACT

Aim. The problem of “brain drain” is currently very relevant for Georgia. It is a fact that, despite the country’s low economic development, the number of people wishing to obtain higher education abroad has grown rapidly. This process often leads to permanent migration thus reducing the intellectual and labour potential of the country. Our goal was to find out whether this event also took place in Georgia in the historical past and how our ancestors managed it.

Methods. The present work is based on historical documents, some of which were found by the author in the personal archives of Georgian scientists.

Results. The research has revealed that educational migration is not new to Georgia. For thousands of years it has been both organised and unorganised in nature. It has been established that still in early 1900s, educational migration was studied in Georgia under the leadership of Prof. Ivane Javakhishvili. This allowed us to identify the geographical area and professional interests of those who went to study abroad:

Conclusion. It was also established that against the backdrop of incessant wars that continued for hundreds of years, educational migration has contributed to the preservation of a more or less stable regime of social and cultural development of the country.

Keywords: migration, higher education, Georgia, student, empirical research, history

INTRODUCTION

Educational migration is not a new phenomenon, although its scientific study began at the end of the twentieth century. In particular, the brain drain caught the attention of scientists. The examination of its causal relations revealed that educational migration is one of its contributing factors. Naturally, research concerning its motivation, geographical scope, and socio-economic consequences in receiving and sending countries was undertaken. It is believed that if a migrant who went to study abroad cannot or does not return to his/her own country, the educational potential of the receiving country increases, while that of the sending country decreases.

Since the 1990s, emigration processes from Georgia, including educational migration and the so-called the brain drain have also become more active. Educational migration has become more attractive for youth. They think that by obtaining education abroad, they will secure a more stable job in their home country. On the other hand, they consider that if they cannot return, their education and skills will likely allow them to earn a higher salary and improve their material living conditions in the receiving countries (Shelia & Tukhashvili, 2019, 2020). For a limited number of small countries, where the reproduction of the population is reduced, this event is unequivocally evaluated as a negative one. Without high-quality human capital, the socio-economic progress of a country is hindered. It is natural that the question arose whether educational migration took place in the historical past of our country and what was its role in the life of this small country. Maybe, looking back into the deep historical past, it can be seen that educational migration does not deserve an unequivocally negative evaluation for the sending country? It is our hypothesis that in the short and long term, the impact of educational migration on the socio-economic and cultural development of the country could be different for the sending country. During the three thousand years of its statehood, Georgia has often faced some of the most difficult political situations. Due to its geopolitical location, it had been the war arena of several empires for centuries that affected the country's demographic situation. Forced or organised population migration often took place, which also changed

the structure of the population. Nevertheless, it managed to create its own culture, language and writing. Educational migration also played a certain role in this, which deserves an adequate scientific assessment. This article is a modest attempt at such an assessment.

METHODOLOGY

Information on the history of educational migration is scattered in the existing literature on the history of education or in biographical essays. Therefore, this work is based on the historical documents Georgian historians and we found about educational migration, as well as on the works of researchers of the educational system, which provide us with information on the development of the educational system in Georgia in different eras. In addition, the material we found in Ivane Javakhishvili's personal archive was used, in particular, 746 questionnaires providing initial information on Georgian students who left Georgia to study abroad. The research was conducted in 1909-1913 by the scientific circle of Georgian students of St. Petersburg University under the leadership of the private docent of St. Petersburg University, Georgian scientist Javakhishvili. However, as found, the questionnaires could not be processed properly. For this reason, the result of this research is still unknown to the public. Therefore, we set for ourselves the task of processing this almost untouched material that contains vast information and requires further research. Here, we will mainly discuss the directions of educational migration from Georgia a century ago and the professional qualified structure of migration streams, because other sources, regrettably, fail to provide similar information. We believe that this material is also of interest in terms of demonstrating that:

- The attempt of scientific study of educational migration by Georgian scientists using an empirical method took place much earlier, before this issue caught the attention of the global academic circles;
- In the absence of a national high school, educational migration is a major solution for the future socio-cultural development of the country.

RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

From Ancient Times to the Twentieth Century

The research established that educational migration has a long history in Georgia. In the country, there existed Greek analogues of educational schools, the so-called *gymnasion* even in ancient times. It not only invited foreign educators, but also its

representatives received education in the educational centers of Syria, Jerusalem, Palestine, Byzantium and other states. Based on the acquired knowledge, centres of education in rhetoric and philosophy, monastic schools, and academies were created in the country, which attracted not only the local population, but also foreigners.

The famous Georgian historian Simon Kauhchishvili writes that the distinguished philosopher and rhetorician of the Hellenes, Themistius, as well as his father (third-fourth centuries AD), studied at the high school of rhetoric in Colchis, near the town of Phasis (the current city of Poti). The level of teaching here complied with the standards of higher education at that time, which is why it was attractive even for Hellenes. This school was recommended by the aforementioned Themistius, who was trained in the art of rhetoric in Colchis and shone at the Hellenic festivals, after which he was promoted to the position of a senator, and also served as a proconsul, ambassador to Rome and a prefect of the city of Constantinople. This is how he addresses a young man who was present at one of the public lectures and asked for help in continuing his studies in Constantinople:

Science does not require a famous capital. Odysseus was educated in Ithaca, Nestor in Polos. I too, my dear, picked the fruit of eloquence... not in a quiet and Hellenic place, but at the end of Pontus, near Phasis... I did not go there by my own desire and decision, but was sent there by a man as benevolent as a father can be, and as sensible as a philosopher can be. He himself mastered his famous philosophy there... (Kauhchishvili, 1964, p.115-116).

It is known that in the 5th century, an educational centre for Georgians was operating in Syria, the founder of which was the famous Georgian philosopher Peter the Iberian (Petre Iberi). Georgian educational centres had existed in Eastern Syria, on the Black or Miraculous Mountain—from the seventh century, on Mount Sinai on the Arabian Peninsula—from the sixth century, in Byzantium—from the eighth-ninth centuries; On Mount Athos, in the form of the Monastery of Iviron—from the second half of the tenth century. The monasteries built in the major centres of Byzantine education and theological and ecclesiastical writing, which enjoyed full autonomy, “allowed Georgians to more easily follow the success of the educated humanity at that time and go in its footsteps” (Javakhishvili, 1949, p. 314). It is also known that the first hierarchs of the Georgian Church starting from the time of the Georgian king Mirian (fourth century) received their education in Antioch schools (Tsintsadze, 1991). Adults were also sent to study abroad. For example, the famous Georgian clergyman and public figure, writer and translator Giorgi Mtatsmindeli (1009-1065), with the permission of the king in 1065, took 80 orphan children to Greece for upbringing and giving them theological education (Berdzenishvili, 1937).

The great Georgian king David Agmashenebeli (1089-1125) established an annual tradition of sending young people to study abroad. Information about this is provided by both Georgian and Armenian historical sources. Historiographers note that this was a particularly large-scale practice, the analogue of which, from the point of view of state

educational policy, could hardly be found in the world in those times. The tradition of sending young people to study abroad also continued during the time of Georgian Queen Tamar (Tamar of Georgia). In particular, in 1192, 30 young people were sent to Athens to study at the state expense. The following famous Georgian writers and public figures of that time were educated in Greece: Grigol Chakhrukhadze, Moses Khonel, Ioane Shavteli and Shota Rustaveli (Chichinadze, 1887). Apart from Greece, Georgians went to study in Jerusalem, as well as in Petritzonitissa (Bachkovo Monastery) High School operating in the territory of current Macedonia. The latter was founded in 1083 for Georgians, in particular, by the son of Grigol of Bakuriani (Gregory Pakourianos), a Georgian military and political figure. He himself was educated in Byzantium.

According to historians, there are still reports about Tiflisians (residents of modern-day Tbilisi) of Arab nationality who came from Georgia to Baghdad Academy. For example, one of them was Kamal Addin Abu-Fadl Khubaish Ibn Muhammad, also known as At-Tiflis (At-Tiflis being the general name of the Arabs of Tbilisi), an astrologer, physician, grammarian and author of many works from Tbilisi, who worked in Tbilisi in 1100-1130, from where he went to the Baghdad Academy (Parchukidze, 2015).

Naturally, these measures yielded their results, and already in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, two higher educational institutions operated in Georgia: In eastern Georgia—the Ikalto Academy, the rector of which was the Georgian philosopher Arsen Ikaltoeli (Arsen of Iqalto), and in western Georgia—the Gelati Academy, the rector of which was also the famous Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi. It is noteworthy that both of them obtained education at the Academy located near the Monastery of St. George of Mangani in Constantinople, which was established by Constantine Monomachos in 1045, and which was considered a very prestigious school in the world at that time along with the Academy of Baghdad (Gamsakhurdia, 1975) Gelati Academy was referred to as “a second Jerusalem and another Athens”. It is known that one of the first student notes in Europe has been preserved in Georgia. This is a note for “first-year students” compiled by the rector of Gelati Academy, Ioane Petritsi, in which he provides a step-by-step description of the disciplines of the above-mentioned higher education system. Representatives of the Academy enjoyed special respect. It is known that according to the king’s etiquette applicable at that time, the more honorable the guests were, the closer the king would meet them. The most honorable person was considered to be the highest cleric, the Catholicos-Patriarch, whom the king used to greet not while sitting on the throne, but in the middle way between his throne and the hall. But if representatives of the Academy visited him, he would meet them at the entrance of the hall (Chichinadze, 2021).

In the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries, when Georgia became a battlefield due to the invasions of the Mongols and other conquerors, educational and educational activities weakened, but did not disappear. They began to revive in the seventeenth century. In the schools founded by Catholic missionaries, the most talented students aged from

15 to 20 were sent to Rome to continue their studies in the College of Propaganda. In one of the letters of the Italian missionary, dated July 16, 1681, such information is provided: “A son from a prominent Georgian family, who... is studying civil science in Naples, asked for a permission to enter the College of Propaganda” (Gamsakhurdia, 1975, p. 119). It can be said that educational migration in ancient Georgia was both organised and unorganised in its nature. Those who wished to study used to go to prestigious educational institutions of other countries at their own expense. However, those sent to the Roman college should serve as missionaries in their own country (Gamsakhurdia, 1975). However, it should be noted that these young people were only males. Historically, the provision of education, literacy to women started with the introduction of Georgian writing (third century BC), although their education took place within the family or monastic education system. According to existing historical sources, it is known that Georgian women were engaged in educational activities (copying manuscripts, performing translation work, etc.) also in the monasteries abroad—in Jerusalem and Palestine, in particular: Dertavi, Dertuf, Jvari (Cross) Monastery (eleventh century) (Vasadze, 2015).

In the eighteenth century, with the joint efforts of Erekle the Second, King of Kartli-Kakheti and the Patriarch Anton the First, active efforts were undertaken for the revival of public education. An educational policy accessible to all layers of society began. Public schools were created in the form of theological seminaries in Tbilisi in 1752 and in Telavi in 1782. The individuals wishing to study in these institutions should have obtained primary education that they acquired in the schools established at the churches and monasteries. All ecclesiastical dioceses were tasked by the state to create primary schools and provide minimum education to the inhabitants of the diocese. Both descendants of clergymen and representatives of any social class had the right to study in these educational institutions. Illiteracy, especially in the upper strata of society, was considered something shameful. Everyone had to know how to read and write and sing church hymns. This was a public demand of that time (Rogava, 1950). However, young people still did not have the opportunity to obtain higher universal education in their own country. Even though, there was already a plan to establish a higher education institution in Georgia by 1799, but the annexation of Georgia by the Russian Empire made it impossible. After the annexation, the educational system of the Georgian state was destroyed and the formation of the Russian educational system began, the primary goal of which was russification of the population that would facilitate communication with Georgians and strengthen the empire’s support in this area.

Initially, it was intended that 8 young people would be sent to the boarding school of Moscow University every year after graduating from the gymnasium. Along with the increase in the number of students, this figure should be doubled in the future (Khundadze, 1937). However, due to the disorder prevailing in the school, and inappropriate methods of teaching and excessive strictness, the schools, including the religious ones, were not popular with either students or their parents. This caused a mass

reduction of the number of students. It should be noted that special dissatisfaction was caused by the fact that half less time was allocated for teaching the native language than for Russian, Latin or other foreign languages. Along with this, the learning of Georgian language and history had a formal character.

Georgian society was dissatisfied with the functioning of the existing educational system and demanded the opening of high-quality educational institutions, including the university, although many requests with that respect were not met by the Russian authorities. It was preferred to establish a higher education institution on the ground and send young people to Russian higher education institutions at the expense of the state budget, since this would facilitate their Russification. For example, in the 1840s, 5 people were sent to the Institute of Justice, 5—to the Moscow Lazarev Institute, and 10—to the Faculty of Oriental Studies of St. Petersburg University. Young people were also sent to engineering schools (Khundadze, 1937). The press of that time responded to this tendency in this manner: “That’s something little. Young people die there due to poverty and harsh weather ... Tbilisi University would save them from this misfortune” (Nikoladze, 1878, p.2). In addition, due to the lack of vacancies in Russian higher education institutions, Georgian young people were left without education. They often got into trouble due to long-term idleness in the city, and as a result, the individuals whose creative potential could be used for the benefit of the country, found themselves in a criminal environment and became harmful members of the society.

It is also noteworthy that every year, ten students from the graduates of Tbilisi’s first gymnasium, founded in 1830, were sent to the Russian Cadet Corps, and five—to the universities in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

In 1827, one of the 11 graduates of St. Petersburg University who graduated with honors from this institution, was the famous Georgian philosopher Solomon Dodashvili. By the second half of the nineteenth century, there were already 30 such graduates („Studentha sadili” [Student’s dinner], 1872). It is known that in the same period, 3 Georgian students were already studying in the city of Zurich in Switzerland. It is significant that women also started to leave the country to obtain higher education. It was especially popular among them to study in Zurich, mainly in medical and pedagogical fields.

Female students studied in different towns of Russia. For example, by 1901, 25 Georgian women were studying at the highly prestigious Bestuzhev women’s higher courses, 10—at the Women’s Polytechnic Institute, 10—at the Women’s Medical Institute, 1—at the St. Petersburg Conservatory, etc. (We would like to note that the permanent population of Georgia was 1.8 million during that period.). From the second half of the nineteenth century, people requested more intensively to establish a higher education institution in Georgia, be it a technological institute or a university, but the Russian government turned a deaf ear to this request. There was a considerable shortage of secondary schools in Georgia, not to mention higher educational institutions. By 1898, there were 143 school-age children for every 1000 inhabitants

in Georgia. Only 13 of them were studying, while the rest 129 were out of school. If we add school-aged Georgians (the Russians did not register Muslim Georgians as Georgians), who were officially recognized as non-Georgians, then this number would be even higher (Janashia, 1900).

The Beginning of the Twentieth Century

The desire for education used to drive “Georgian brains” out of the country. There were different opinions in society about this trend. It seems that among the students who went abroad there were those who led an idle lifestyle and were focused only on obtaining a diploma, not on gaining knowledge. The Georgian press of that time ridiculed such people. It is known that even a play was written for the theatre on this topic, which caused much stir in the society (The satirical play “Georgia became prosperous” by the famous Georgian composer and playwright Kote Potskhverashvili is implied). This was followed by a very interesting letter by the famous Georgian writer Shalva Dadiani published in *Sakhalkho Gazeti*, where he supported Kote Potskhverashvili’s position and noted that Georgian students were the poorest among students from other countries, and that, unfortunately, they were following the path that would lead them to degradation. He said that they stayed to work in different towns of Russia and were deprived of their roots (Dadiani, 1910). This opinion was not shared by the famous Georgian writer and publicist Petre Umikashvili, who had already graduated from St. Petersburg University in 1867. In 1900, he published a letter in the Georgian magazine “Moambe” for students. The author expressed his worries that in the society of that time, he could not find a student who would continue his academic activities. He considered the absence of a higher education institution in Georgia as the reason for, and difficulty in promoting knowledge as the result of this. He considers sending them to foreign educational institutions as a solution. He refuted the opinion that young people who left to study outside of Georgia were lost to their homeland. He believed that people with the education received abroad would be of great use to their own country (Umikashvili, 1900). Earlier, the famous Georgian figure, Niko Tsvedadze, who graduated from the Moscow Theological Academy after the Tbilisi Theological Seminary, described the extreme poverty of the peasants in his publication “Education, Craftsmanship and Farming of Our People”. He considered illiteracy as the reason of poverty. He criticised the existing vocational schools, where handicrafts and agriculture were taught along with reading and writing. He believed that agricultural schools should be formed as separate units. But in order for this institution to give proper education to young people, it considered it necessary to send them to the countries of Western Europe where certain branches of agriculture were the best developed. He estimated that keeping 10 students would not cost more than 8600 manats per year.

Instead, those who returned to the country would disseminate the acquired knowledge and work in agriculture would become qualified.

“The economic society of the Caucasus is only engaged in giving donations. For example, 20000 was given to a certain German person, 15000- to a French person, etc. As long as this society cannot bring any benefit to our people, we ourselves should think and bear the burden of disseminating knowledge about farming to our people” (Tskhvedadze, 1903. p.21).

To prevent a young person from leaving for a foreign country at random and becoming a victim of human trafficking or some other misfortune, Georgian students living in Geneva, Vienna and Paris decided to create information bureaus to help those who wanted to study abroad. This information was given by the newspaper *Grigali* in September 1906 (“Sainformacio gverdi” [Information page], 1906). Unfortunately, no information has been preserved about whether it actually functioned or whether young people used the services of these bureaus.

The 746 questionnaires that we found in Javakhishvili’s archive provide detailed information about where young people from Georgia went a century ago in order to obtain higher education.

Student Survey Questionnaire and the Area of its Dissemination

In the Russian Empire that along with Poland, the Baltic states and other countries, also included Georgia since 1801, the so-called students’ censuses—sociological surveys of students began in 1872. From time to time, it lasted for the next 45 years. The survey first was conducted at Kyiv University by the economist, Professor N. Bunge. He surveyed 38 percent of students. According to his analysis, the normal annual budget of a student was 375 manats. 70 percent of students spent 250 and even less. Because of this, they were forced to work, which distracted them from the learning process. N. Bunge considered it necessary to increase financial support from the state (Margolis, 2016).

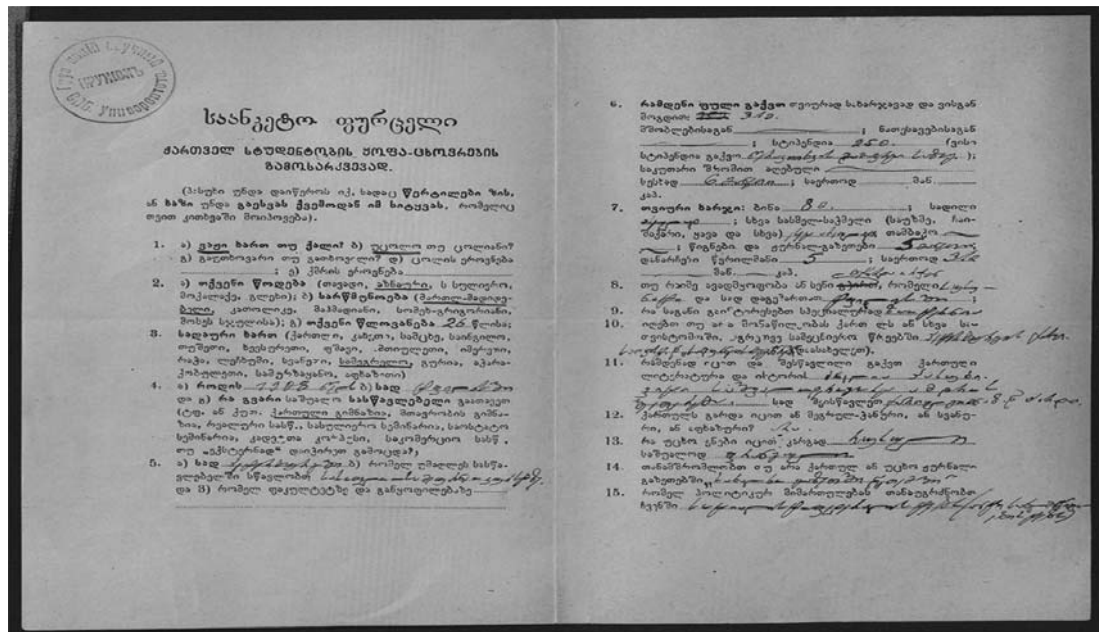
The questionnaire included questions ranging from professional interests to political views. Therefore, the number of answers reached from 100 to 200, which made it difficult to process the results of the survey. The abundance of open questions, some of which were of a very intimate nature, made it difficult to complete the questionnaires. Students were afraid of losing anonymity, so they filled out only about half of the distributed questionnaires, and sometimes there were only 5-6 percent of returned questionnaires. The content of the questionnaire was defined by different universities based on their own interests. For example, the questionnaire intended for students of St. Petersburg Technological University (1909-1910) consisted of 63 questions most of which concerned vocational guidance, health and the student’s time budget (Guselshchikova, 1911). The questionnaire distributed in the Yuriev (current town

of Tartu) University consisted of 39 questions (Benasik, 1909). And the questionnaire intended for St. Petersburg University students consisted of 57 questions.

The questionnaire found in Javakhishvili’s archive, which was intended to survey Georgian students, was printed in Georgian and included only 15 closed and open questions. The title of the questionnaire was: “Application form to find out about the lifestyle of a Georgian student (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Questionnaire to find out about the lifestyle of a Georgian student



Source. Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (1913). Archive of Ivane Javakhishvili. Inscription 810.

Actually, the purpose of the questionnaire was to determine the intellectual potential possessed by the Georgian population of Georgia, and whether it would be able to provide the higher education institution with the necessary local personnel, primarily pedagogues. Despite the great efforts made by Georgians, they could not open higher education institutions in Georgia. The population of the country was in great need for this. With the great efforts of Javakhishvili and his associates, this process was successful only in 1918 during the period of the Democratic Republic of Georgia. A university named today after Javakhishvili was opened in Tbilisi. At that time (we are talking about 1909-1913), Georgian public figures carried out preparatory work for this great goal. A clear confirmation of this fact is the survey of Georgian students. The questionnaire contains more questions about professional education than about their financial status. In this regard, even the respondents themselves, who seemed to have information about the survey conducted in different universities, had remarks. For example, several Georgian students of the University of Kyiv made a note on the

questionnaire saying that it would be good if a question was asked about their parents' profession, whether they entered the faculty of their choice or not, and if not, what prevented them from doing so. Also, whether they have changed the profession. Several respondents commented that more questions of economic nature should have been asked. In particular, there are no separate expenses for clothes in the students' budget, and housing conditions are not described in detail, for example, whether they live alone or with someone else, also whether they have income from their own work, how much is it, whether they keep other persons, etc. In a word, the questionnaire was undoubtedly not perfect, but it was enough to fulfill the purpose set before it.

As we mentioned, the survey was conducted in 1909-1913. Such conclusion can be made based on the inscription on one of the questionnaires (the date of filling out the questionnaire is 1913): "It's been the fourth year that we got questionnaires from St. Petersburg, but we haven't read them yet, nor have we heard that ... the last work has been published" (p.3). Therefore, we cannot agree with the famous Georgian scientist Sergo Jorbenadze claiming that the research started in 1912 and ended in 1913 (Jorbenadze, 1981). The reason for conducting the research for such a long time was probably due to the difficulty of returning the questionnaires. Some questionnaires were returned half-filled or not filled at all. Similar references were also made in the Georgian press and students were called upon to take responsibility for the case. For example, the Georgian newspaper *Droeba* wrote: "The newspaper urges the recipients of this questionnaire to fill it responsibly, as it is of great importance." ("*Kartvel studentta pirveli arwera*" [First census of Georgian students"], 1909, p.3). In Javakhishvili's archive, letters from Georgian students of various higher education institutions were found, which clearly demonstrate the problems that arose during the survey. In particular, the following questions were asked: how many questionnaires were distributed and how many of them were returned filled out, why they could not fill the questionnaires on time, etc. For example, the Georgian student of the Tomsk Technological Institute, who was tasked with the organisation of this research, wrote to Javakhishvili:

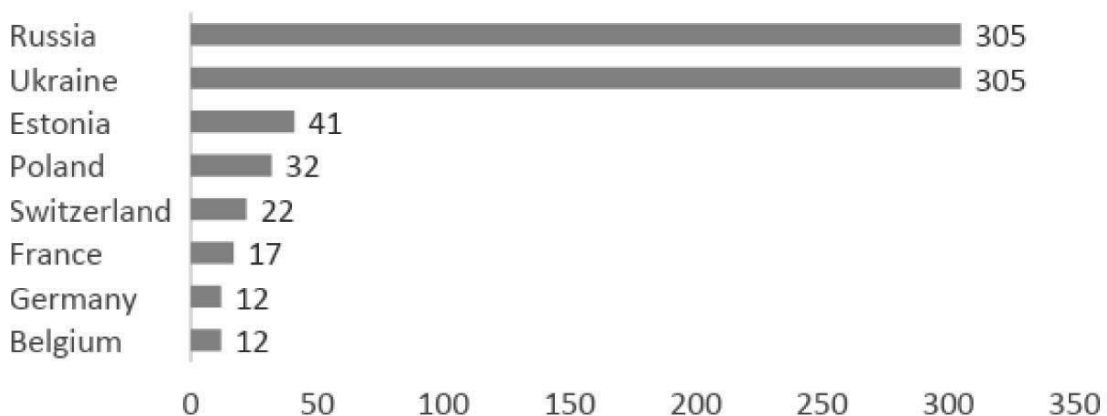
We have failed to inform you about participation in the survey until now, not because of negligence, but because following the student strike in 1910, the association of fellow countrymen at the Tomsk Technological Institute ceased to exist officially. Our association still operates, but it was difficult to organise a general meeting. The leadership of the institution does not allow us to gather and have a discussion in the institution. That's why we work secretly, even though this circle is official. (Gabunia, 1913, para. 1)

According to a Georgian student of Moscow University, out of 200 distributed questionnaires, only 33 were filled out; 40 Georgian students studying in Geneva only sent 18 questionnaires to Javakhishvili, and 55 questionnaires were sent from Kharkiv. Those who went to Kharkiv also noted that only this small part was collected from them (Archive of Ivane Javakhishvili, #790; 783; 782, 1913).

The letters sent to Javakhishvili regarding the organisation of the survey are also interesting in that they provide information on the number of Georgian students studying in various higher education institutions in 1913. In particular, it was found that 35 Georgians studied at the Tomsk Technical Institute, 65 at the Moscow Commercial Institute, from which only 26 questionnaires were returned, 7—at the Moscow Agricultural Institute; in Yuriev—80; in the city of Alexandria—6, in Moscow University—200; in Kyiv University—140, in Kyiv Polytechnic Institute—7; in Ekaterinoslav Institute—7; Probably more in Kharkiv, but if we take into consideration the number of returned questionnaires, at least 55; in Geneva—40; in Leipzig—15, in Mons—8; in Liege—9; 3 in London, 2 in Grenoble; in Paris—15; in women’s higher education institutions in Moscow—42, and etc. Of course, this is an incomplete list. According to the Academician A. Shanidze, on which all the researchers who studied the activity of the Georgian scientific circle of St. Petersburg University rely, at least 1000 Georgians were studying in different educational institutions of the Russian Empire at that time. However, in our opinion, the number of Georgian students would be much higher. If we generalise the experience of similar surveys conducted within the Russian Empire, which showed that less than 50 percent of questionnaires were returned, this figure would be at least 2000, if not more, taking into account the number of questionnaires that have reached us. The geographical area of the questionnaires that have survived to this day is as follows (Figure 2):

Figure 2

Number of completed and returned questionnaires by country



Source. Own research.

In the Russian Empire, Georgian students from various educational institutions of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Tomsk, Saratov, Novochoerkassk, Novo-Alexandria, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Vashav, and other cities were surveyed. 53 percent of them studied in universities. The main part of Georgian students was concentrated in the university cities of the Russian Empire: Petersburg, Moscow and Kyiv.

Professional Choice of Students

The choice of profession was determined by various factors—the opportunity of receiving financing, the ranking of the profession or institution, etc. For example, St. Petersburg University attracted Georgians due to the following circumstances:

- Since 1844, a faculty of oriental languages has been operating, which was considered one of the strongest faculties at that time; 2. Since 1845, a systematic course of teaching the Georgian language was introduced at the faculty, which was mainly intended for Caucasian students. A chair of the Georgian language was established, and it was decided to send 5 Caucasians to this faculty annually at the state expense, so that they could thoroughly study the Caucasian languages. From 1849, the number of students sent from the Caucasus increased to 20 (Makhatadze, 1967). However, it should also be noted that in 1871 these scholarships were given to the historical-philological institute. It is known that this decision caused outrage of D. Chubinashvili, the famous lexicographer and the Georgian professor working there. In his opinion, this would create great difficulties for Georgian students. As a sign of protest, he would quit the position he held. The Georgian scientist Aleksandre Tsagareli, also working there, appealed to the faculty to intervene in the Caucasus Educational District to restore the scholarships, as Georgia and Georgian culture deserved; it.
- At different times, Georgian professors including Davit Chubinashvili and Aleksandre Tsagareli, actively worked at the faculty, while the dean of the faculty was Georgian Niko Mari at the time of conduct of the survey (1911-1913).

Of course, as Javakhishvili said, we are far from the idea that this faculty was going to serve the Georgian people, as it was not going to do with any people, dead or alive, whose language and past it studied with such enthusiasm and success. ... Georgia and its history were seen as the building material of the Russian Empire (Berdzenishvili, 1958). But the Faculty of Eastern Languages of St. Petersburg University was the only oasis in that period, where the scientific study of the language, history and culture of Georgia was possible.

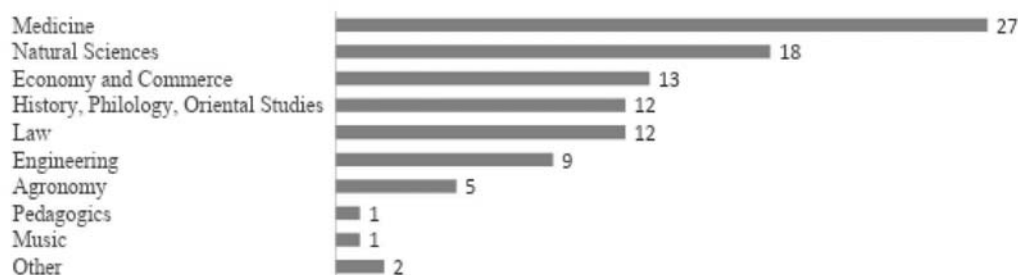
In the 19th century, there was a widespread opinion in Georgia that Georgians were especially interested in studying law. This opinion was also supported by the fact that there was a great demand for legal specialists in the administrative bodies of Tbilisi and Kutaisi governorates. Therefore, there were more opportunities for career promotion. Their salaries were also higher than those of others (much more than salaries of teachers, for example). According to I. Neverov, the caretaker of the Caucasus Educational District in 1864-1874: “Young people choose to study at the law faculty at their own expense, rather than to study philology at the state expense” (Sigua, 1950, p. 150) Soso Sigua, the specialist in the education field believes that in addition to these circumstances, the aspiration to the law faculty was also due to the fact that at that time, the law faculty also provided a higher level of general education (Sigua, 1950). In our

opinion, this opinion is not groundless, but we would like to add that the attraction to this specialty was further supported by the fact that in 1811, the head of the law department of Moscow University, was the Georgian scientist M. Zandukeli, who served as the dean of the Faculty of Law for many years, and enjoyed great authority, which attracted Georgians (Vasadze, 2015). In 1938, on the 20th anniversary of the founding of Tbilisi State University, Javakhishvili would recall: “It was interesting to observe that wherever a Georgian scientist appeared in some Russian city, a small nest of Georgian intelligentsia also emerged there” (Berdzenishvili, 1958, p.116).

A student survey conducted in 1909-1913 revealed that the professional interests of Georgian students were very diverse. This time, their special aspiration to the faculty of law was no longer apparent. It was also revealed that a third of the surveyed students emigrated from Georgia to obtain medical education (Figure 3).

Figure 3

Distribution of respondents according to the question according to answers to the question “Which faculty do you study at?” (percentage)



Source. Own research.

Medical education was not something foreign to Georgians. Being a medical doctor is an ancient profession and Georgia has been a country of high medical culture. Leaving aside the Georgian and Greek epics, in particular the legends of Amirani and the Argonauts and the methods of treatment of Medea of Colchis, respectively, which provide a lot of medical information, archaeological findings indicate the existence of medical knowledge in Georgia from ancient times. Researchers of the history of Georgian medicine also point out that already in the fifth-sixth centuries, we had high-level specialists in this field in the country. Among the numerous written monuments with medical content preserved in the Georgian language, some are translated from Greek and demonstrate the knowledge of Hippocrates, Aristotle and Galen works, while some are original in nature. The oldest of them dates back to the tenth century. Anatomy was also taught in Gelati and Ikalto academies. There were families, which passed down medical knowledge to their descendants. Some of them even had their own stamp.

After the destruction of centres of higher education, these families established home medical schools, where they shared medical knowledge with others. For example, it is known that the Georgian doctor, Stefane Sharimanashvili, obtained his primary medical

education at the home medical school of the famous Georgian medical family, the Karashvilis. Then he continued his studies in Austria and Italy. He studied at the University of Venice, worked in Constantinople for 6 years and then actively worked in Georgia until his death (1836). It is also known from historical documents that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, medical doctors of the king's court established medical schools, where medical literature was also produced (Saakashvili & Gelashvili, 1956). We believe that the marked aspiration of young people to follow medicine in early twentieth century should be explained by the circumstances given below:

In the given period, Georgia was the peripheral colony of the Russian Empire, where the Russian authorities were least interested in having an educated population, and where poverty afflicted the population. On the other hand, the ancient cultural heritage ensured the preservation and strengthening of Georgian identity. The economic development of the country demanded more and more highly qualified workforce. The hereditary ability to strive for obtaining higher education encouraged the population subject to extreme poverty to look for an advantageous way to receive higher education. One of these was scholarship programmes. The research revealed that among the respondents, medical students benefited the most from these programmes, especially the students of the military medical school. Their area of specialisation appears to be multifaceted. Respondents obtaining medical education are particularly interested in pediatrics, surgery, physiology, anatomy, internal diseases, gynecology, psychiatry, bacteriology, psycho neurology, venereology, ophthalmology, etc.

The majority of natural science students were interested in studying physics and mathematics, as well as chemistry and biology. Students of the faculty of economics and commerce were particularly interested in political economy, and students of the faculty of law—in state law as well as in Roman law, civil law, history of Georgian law, criminology and criminal law. The students of the faculty of engineering mostly took efforts to study metallurgy, railway transport, construction, including the construction of bridges, roads and waterways, electricity and mechanics, geodesy, mineralogy and mining. In the agricultural field, they were mainly interested in agronomy, horticulture and viticulture. Among the respondents were those who studied veterinary science, astronomy, zootechnics, etc.

The research revealed relatively little pursuit of pedagogical knowledge. Studies undertaken by the specialists of education field show that the demand for teachers was great. Scholarship programmes also existed specifically for the training of teachers. However, it seems that these programmes were not immune to corruption and failed to achieve their goals. For example, a large portion of the scholarships allocated for Caucasians were still used by Russians, while the remaining part was allocated throughout the Caucasus, with only a very small part remaining for Georgians. In addition, the wages of teachers at that time were very low, which, in turn, slowed down the pursuit of this profession, especially among males, who at that time represented 90 percent of students. They believed that it would be difficult for them to keep their family with the teacher's wage.

CONCLUSION

- Throughout the three-thousand-year history of Georgia's statehood, educational emigration played an important role in the development of the original culture and economy of the Georgian nation. Due to the absence of a higher education institutions, educational migration became particularly intensive from the second half of the 19th century.
- The research conducted by Professor Javakhishvili in order to justify the establishment of a university in the national language in Georgia, revealed that the professional range of Georgian students studying in various universities of the Russian Empire and Europe was very wide. Georgian society was distinguished by its broad support for educational migration, which finally ensured the opening of the Georgian University during the First Democratic Republic of Georgia in 1918;
- With his scientific approaches and profound understanding of the problem, taking into account the situation at that time, the attempt of Javakhishvili to conduct a sociological study of educational migration must be considered as the first successful attempt to study this phenomenon. It can be safely used to study the key problems of modern educational migration;
- Educational migration is a painful process. It is related to long-term separation and lack of daily support from the family, increase in financial costs, difficulties in adapting to a new environment, etc. When the young labour force leaves the country, especially if they do not intend to return home, the demographic structure of the population is distorted and the labor potential of the country decreases.
- On the example of Georgia, taking into consideration the time factor, this study allows us to conclude that in the long run, the effect of educational migration for the sending country is very important regardless of whether the persons in educational migration intend to return home or not.
- Our research confirms that permanent educational migrations have enabled the country to maintain the critically needed level of education of the population. In historically difficult times, if educational activities could not be carried out in one's own country, they were continued abroad in the educational centres established by Georgians and universities of other countries. The knowledge accumulated there was finally concentrated and disseminated in Georgia, thus creating a continuous line of educational and cultural development. It is clearly proven that the educational migration at that time became a solid foundation of the educational system of modern Georgia.

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