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SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH DEDICATED TO THE CONFESSIONS OF TURKESTAN

TURKISTON KONFESSIYALARGA OID ILMIY TADQIQOTLAR

НАУЧНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ, ПОСВЯЩЕННОЕ ИСПОВЕДАНИЯМ ТУРКЕСТАНА

INTRODUCTION

The historiography of analyzing the Russian government's policy towards the Islamic confession in per-revolutionary Turkestan is as extensive as it is vague in this thematic direction. Much has been written about Islam in Central Asia, both in the per-revolutionary, Soviet, and post-Soviet periods, by both domestic and foreign specialists. Undoubtedly, many have touched upon the issue of the relationship between Islam and the Russian authorities in the region. However, despite this circumstance, the problem of the tsarist government's attitude towards Islam in Turkestan has not received targeted, principled, comprehensive, and systematized research. At different times, there were different reasons for this.

It seems that the works of representatives of the «Turkestan school» can be conditionally divided into two main groups: a) works of a «theoretical» nature, but with an «applied» orientation in studying problems in order to make correct political decisions regarding Islam and its institutions; b) works of a «practical» nature, belonging to the pen of figures of the Turkestan administration of different times, reflecting well-known details of relations between authorities and Islam.

The first group should primarily include the works of N.P. Ostroumov and V.P. Nalivkin - the most comprehensive experts on Islam in Central Asia. It should be noted that both also belonged to the «practical» figures, as the actual state councilor N. Ostroumov was the director of the Tashkent

Teacher Seminary, and V. Nalivkin was an inspector of «local» schools in the region and an assistant to the Fergana governor. This circumstance positively influenced their works - they were practically devoid of pseudo-scientific, scholastic reasoning, but contained many valuable considerations and conclusions from a practical point of view.

There existed some differences between the works of the two «experts» of Turkestan Islamic studies, although they often addressed the same issues, such as the status of Muslim women or the education of the indigenous population of Turkestan. N. Ostroumov, hailing from the «Kazan school», was invited to work in Central Asia by K.P. Kaufman himself, based on the recommendation of the renowned Russian pedagogue-theoretician of «indigenous» education, N. Ilminsky. Since then, Ostroumov had close ties to the highest authorities in Turkestan, who often sought his advice on the "Islamic question." He was well aware of the political sentiments within the highest levels of the regional government hierarchy, and this was reflected in his works dedicated to issues that were truly relevant for governmental policies in Turkestan. (Ostroumov N.P., 1888).

However, while addressing large-scale problems, Ostroumov had a poor understanding of the "minor details" of Muslim life. These "minor details," sometimes decisive for the fate of Turkestan administration's measures, were well understood by V. Nalivkin, a former populist, retired officer, official of «regional scale», and future deputy of the State Duma. Having lived with his family for several years in a "Sart" mahalla, he gained insight into the religious life of Muslims «from within». His works were distinguished by a profound understanding of the "everyday" Islam. In his assessments of governmental policy, Nalivkin was more principled and less conservative than Ostroumov (Nalivkin V.P., Nalivkina M., 1886).

MAIN PART

Despite the fact that all the works of Ostroumov and Nalivkin did not contain a comprehensive analysis of the government's Islamic policy in Turkestan, they proved to be very useful for the present study. Similarly valuable for the latter were the works attributed by the author to the second group (Arendarenko G.A., 1889; Belyavskiy N.N., 1884). The value of these works lies in the fact that former

Abstract. The historiography of pre-revolutionary Turkestan reveals a significant gap in the study of the Russian government's inter-confessional policies, particularly toward non-Islamic communities. While extensive research exists on the Islamic confession, with local and foreign scholars examining various aspects of Islam's relationship with Russian authorities, targeted studies on non-Islamic confessions remain scarce. Although key works by scholars such as N.P. Ostroumov and V.P. Nalivkin provide valuable insights, they did not focus on a comprehensive analysis of the Russian government's approach to religious minorities. Additionally, observations from foreign travelers and scholars, including J. Schuyler, noted the complexities of religious life in Turkestan, highlighting the region's religious dynamics. However, most research efforts have centered on understanding Islam's influence, leaving the Russian policies toward Jews, Christians, and other religions in Turkestan largely unexplored. Soviet and post-Soviet historiography continued this trend, often prioritizing Islam or overlooking the region's confessional diversity altogether. This neglect persists despite the importance of understanding the Russian government's confessional policies for a holistic view of Turkestan's religious-political history. Consequently, this study aims to address the lack of focused research on non-Islamic confessions, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of Turkestan's historical religious landscape.

Keywords: Central Asia, historiography, Turkestan, Russian government, confessions.

Аннотация. Октябрь инқилобидан олдинги Туркистон тарихиунослиги Россия ҳукуматининг конфессиялараро сиёсатини, айниқса, исломий бўлмаган жамоаларга нисбатан сиёсатини ўрганишида сезиларли бўшлиқни кўрсатади. Исломий конфессия бўйича кенг тадқиқотлар мавжуд бўлиб, маҳаллий ва хорижий олимлар Исломнинг Россия ҳукумати билан муносабатларининг турли жиҳатларини ўрганган бўлсалар-да, ноисломий конфессиялар бўйича махсус тадқиқотлар кам учрайди. Н.П. Остроумов ва В.П. Наливкин каби олимларнинг асосий ишлари, қимматли маълумотлар тақдим этишига қарамай, Россия ҳукуматининг диний озчиликларга бўлган ёндашувининг кенг қамровли таҳлилига эътибор қаратмаган.

Бундан ташқари, Ж. Шуйлер каби хорижий саёҳатчилар ва олимлар минтақанинг диний динамикаси ҳақида кузатишлар тақдим этиб, Туркистондаги диний ҳаётнинг мураккаблигини таъкидлаганлар.

Бироқ, тадқиқотларнинг аксарияти Исломнинг таъсирини тушунишига қаратилган бўлиб, Туркистондаги яҳудийлар, насронийлар ва бошқа динларга нисбатан сиёсат масалалари деярли ўрганилмаган. Совет ва пост-совет даври тарихиунослиги ҳам бу тенденцияни давом эттириб, тадқиқотларда Исломга устувор аҳамият берган ёки умуман минтақанинг конфессионал хилма-хиллигини эътибордан четда қолдирган.

Бу эътиборсизлик Россия ҳукуматининг конфессионал сиёсатини тушуниш, Туркистоннинг диний-сиёсий тарихини тўлиқ кўриш учун муҳим аҳамиятга эга бўлишига қарамай, давом этмоқда. Шу сабабли, ушбу тадқиқот ноисломий конфессиялар бўйича махсус тадқиқотларнинг етишимаслигини бартараф этишига, Туркистоннинг тарихий диний манзарасини янада кенгроқ тушунишига ҳисса қўишига қаратилган.

Калит сўзлар: Марказий Осиё, тарихиунослик, Туркистон, Россия ҳукумати, конфессиялар.

Аннотация. До Октябрьской революции в истории Туркестана существует заметный пробел в изучении политики Российского правительства в отношении межконфессиональных отношений, особенно по отношению к немусульманским общинам. Хотя исследования, посвященные исламским конфессиям, довольно обширны, и как местные, так и зарубежные ученые изучали различные аспекты взаимоотношений ислама с российским правительством, специализированных исследований по немусульманским конфессиям встречается значительно меньше. Несмотря на то, что основные работы таких ученых, как Н.П. Остроумов и В.П. Наливкин предоставляют ценные данные, они не фокусируются на широком анализе подхода российского правительства к религиозным меньшинствам.

Кроме того, такие иностранные путешественники и ученые, как Дж. Шуйлер, представили наблюдения, подчеркивающие сложность религиозной жизни в Туркестане, отмечая динамику религиозной ситуации в регионе.

Однако большинство исследований сосредоточены на понимании влияния ислама, в то время как вопросы политики в отношении евреев, христиан и других религиозных меньшинств в Туркестане почти не были исследованы. Современная советская и постсоветская историография продолжила эту тенденцию, придавая первостепенное значение исследованию ислама или вовсе игнорируя конфессиональное разнообразие региона.

Это пренебрежение, несмотря на важность для понимания межконфессиональной политики Российского имперского правительства и более полного восприятия религиозно-политической истории Туркестана, продолжает существовать. Таким образом, данное исследование направлено на восполнение этого пробела, чтобы способствовать более глубокому пониманию исторической религиозной картины Туркестана, с особым акцентом на немусульманские конфессии.

Ключевые слова: Центральная Азия, историография, Туркестан, российское правительство, конфессии.

and current governors of Turkestan provinces, district chiefs, workers of regional, provincial, and other administrative bodies provided many interesting facts about the actions of Turkestan authorities in addressing the «Islamic question», of which they themselves were participants. However, the writings of Turkestan officials are not only characterized by their «factual» content. Many of them had good education, demonstrated the ability to analyze facts, and came to interesting conclusions based on them. But perhaps the main merit of these works is that their authors were aware of the content of many administrative documents and linked them to the overall course of their reasoning. However, it should be noted that such works also contain a considerable amount of factual inaccuracies, biased assessments of certain individuals and events. Therefore, from a scientific standpoint, they can confidently be used only when appropriately cross-referenced with the content of authentic documents. In this case, these facts can indeed form a very valuable basis for any research.

DISCUSSION

Information gleaned from the legacy of the Russian «trailblazers» of Central Asia was of significant importance for research (Vereshhagin V.V. 1874) Venyukov M. 1868; Veselovskiy N.I. 1895; Dmitriev-Kavkazskiy L.E. 1894; Istoriya Uzbekistana v istochnikah (1984-1990); Uzbekistan v soobshheniyah puteshestvennikov i uchenyh; Logofet D. 1912; Logofet D. 1913; Markov E. 1901; Mushketov I.V. 1906; Obruchev V. A. 1948; Pashino P.I. 1868; Severcov N.A. 1947; Semenov P.P. 1888; Cimmerman Ye. 1893; Fedchenko A.P. 1958; Shreyder N. 1958. The latter were diverse individuals: from scholars such as P. Semenov, N. Severtsov, A. Fedchenko, I. Mushketov, N. Veselovsky, and others, to curious «tourists» such as P. Pashino, V. Vereshchagin, L. Dmitriev-Kavkazsky, E. Markov, and others. The travel notes of the latter are more interesting because scholars primarily focused on their scientific problems and overlooked many "minor details" of the current Turkestan reality.

On the other hand, «tourists», observing everything unburdened by scientific knowledge, primarily paid attention to the small details of Turkestan life, including religious aspects, containing nuanced hidden information that only a specialist can truly understand and evaluate (Vamberi A., 1874).

In this regard, the works of foreign «guests» of pre-revolutionary Turkestan proved to be even more useful for research (Burnaby F., 1876; Cobbold R.P., 1900). As outsiders, they, with their «outsider perspective», perceived aspects of Turkestan's reality that escaped the attention of locals. However, the sharpness of their "vision" was not solely determined by this. Most foreign travelers, primarily English ones, visited Central Asia for intelligence purposes, and therefore their attention to the «details» of Turkestan's reality, especially its religious life, the relations between the indigenous population and the government administration, and the Russian-speaking «immigrant» population - which was multinational and multi-confessional - was heightened.

Undoubtedly, they also did not overlook the life of the latter, including its religious aspects, striving to create a comprehensive understanding of the strength of the Russian government's positions in the recently «pacified» region of Asia (Middendorf A.F. 1882). Information from the writings of travelers acquires particular value for researchers after acquaintance with official documents - they significantly «enliven» the perception of the «dryness» of bureaucratic style and the bureaucratic nature of the latter's content.

Special publications on Turkestan contain both general information about it and useful specifics: historical, economic, ethnographic, demographic, cultural, etc (Geyer I.I. 1901). They allow researchers to understand the general and specific trends of the region's development that influenced its religious-political climate. A large number of specific details are provided by reference literature (Obzori Syr-dar'inskoy oblasti. (1886-1913); Obzori Semirechenskoy oblasti. (1883-1915); Obzori Zakaspiyskoy oblasti. (1882-1914); Obzori Samarkandskoy oblasti. (1807-1910); Obzori Ferganskoy oblasti. (1884-1913).)

Particular importance here is the acquaintance with the content of provincial «reviews» published annually or periodically. They include information on the population size, its ethnic and confessional composition, the number of ethno-confessional communities, the occupations of their members, their places of settlement, the number and locations of major religious institutions, and so on. Such information is also found in documents, but analytical comparison of archival and «printed» data allows the researcher to find not only the most probable «average» but also to judge the confessional-

demographic maneuvers of various provincial administrations (Bobrovnikov H.A., 1913).

Materials published in various specialized collections and periodicals are of significant interest. Their content is usually more closely related to the research topic. Particularly important is acquainting oneself with materials from the «Turkestan Collection», which comprised almost 600 volumes (Bartold V.B., 1963:169-433). Undoubtedly, not all of them are relevant to the topic of this work, but many, especially those concerning Islamic issues, are.

There are few specialized historical studies dedicated to the problems of interconfessional policy of the Russian government in pre-revolutionary Turkestan, both in domestic and foreign historiography. Among the latter, V. Bartold's work «History of the Cultural Life of Turkestan» stands out. The author touched upon the situation of adherents of various Turkestan confessional communities - Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Central Asian Jews, Hindus, and others. The work contains valuable observations regarding the nature of religious life in the region and ethno-confessional relations within it. In several works by Russian authors, there is also an assessment of the religious policy of the tsarist government towards certain confessions in Turkestan (Arendarenko G.A., 1889; Belyavskiy N.N., 1884; Voeykov A.I., 1913).

Foreign historiography also paid attention to certain issues of the overall confessional policy of the tsarist authorities in Turkestan. Undoubtedly, particular interest in this regard is the well-known two-volume work by J. Schuyler «Turkestan» (Schuyler E., 1876). Of course, he was more interested in the life of the Muslim population, but Schuyler's work also contains valuable information about the lives of Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Hindus, Central Asian Jews, and others. Schuyler's fundamental work remains relevant to this day for science. Englishman J. Dobson was right in stating that «in foreign historiography, there has indeed not been such an original work on Central Asia since».

In the broadest sense, the overall confessional policy of the tsarist government in Turkestan also found reflection in the works of other foreign authors - E. Bacon, S. Bulgjer, K. Fraser-Tytler, A. Krauss, L. Krauder, R. Pierce, F. Scrine and E. Ross, D. Sokol, and others (Bacon E.E., 1966).

An acquaintance with historiography reveals a quite remarkable fact - no researcher, neither in the past nor in the present, has engaged in serious study

of non-Islamic confessions in pre-revolutionary Turkestan. According to the author, there are two main reasons for this situation: firstly, the main research efforts were directed towards studying the problems of Islam in the region, which was always prestigious and rewarding, and secondly, there was virtually no primary documentation available for studying the issues related to the activities of non-Islamic confessions in Turkestan, making these questions less prestigious. As noted earlier, even V. Bartold, in his «History of the Cultural Life of Turkestan», relied more on oral «traditions» when discussing the life of non-Islamic confessions. Specifically, when recounting the resettlement of «Uralians» in Central Asia, Bartold practically does not mention the religious background of it and the confessional affiliation of the latter (Bartold V.V., 1963:319-320). M. Ternyev, a participant in the conquest of Turkestan and one of its first Russian administrators, superficially mentioned non-Islamic confessions in his three-volume work «History of the Conquest of Central Asia» (Terentyev M.A., 1906). In pre-revolutionary historiography, only fragments of information about the activities of adherents of non-Islamic confessions in Turkestan were encountered (Arendarenko G.A., 1889). However, they mainly addressed its general problems rather than purely religious ones. No one seriously studied such issues concerning Judaism, Catholicism, Armenian-Gregorianism, German and Russian Protestantism in Turkestan, although these problems were considered and studied on a nationwide scale in Russia (Anderson V., 1908).

RESULTS

The problems of the activity of the Orthodox Church in Central Asia found far from adequate reflection in the status of the state religion. The writings that, to one degree or another, addressed these issues do not allow us to judge the place of the Orthodox Church in the confessional ranks of Turkestan, nor the actual role it played in the religious life of the region, nor the real relationships in which the «dominant faith» was with the authorities and other ethno-confessional communities. Pre-revolutionary foreign historiography also showed significant interest in the state church in Russia, but practically did not touch upon its Turkestan problematics. The above characterization is fully applicable to modern foreign historiography

concerning its attitude towards all non-Islamic confessions in Central Asia (Freeze Q.Z., 1983).

It is characteristic that a fairly extensive literature on the history of Jews has almost forgotten the question of the position of their Turkestan compatriots and co-religionists in the pre-revolutionary period (Ausubel N., 1964).

J.Frenkel mentioned in his work only the intention of the Tsarist government in the early 1880s to resettle Jews from the western provinces of Russia to the Turkestan region and the reaction of the latter to this intention (Francel J., 1917:68-76.).

The historiography of the Soviet period in illuminating the activities of non-Islamic ethno-confessional communities in Turkestan turned out to be not much more fruitful than the «bourgeois» one. Ethnographic science showed interest in the "small" peoples of Central Asia, described their religious beliefs, but provided little evidence of the religious policy of the Tsarist government towards ethno-confessional minorities (Narody Sredney Azii i Kazahstana., 1962).

An ethnographic bias was inherent in the only study specifically devoted to Central Asian Jews, published in 1929 by the eminent expert on their way of life, L. Kantor (Kantor L.M., 1929). Information about the attitude of the Tsarist authorities towards Central Asian Jews in Turkestan was very scant and not devoid of ideological "justification."

The works of G. Dmitriev made a significant contribution to the study of Central Asian-Indian relations in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Dmitriev G.L., 1964). However, he did not specifically study the question of the Russian government's attitude towards Jewish religious communities in the region, and some of his conclusions on this matter are doubted by the author of this study.

In 1984, there was some enlightenment in the study of the history of the Armenian-Gregorian Church in pre-revolutionary Turkestan, but the author of the monograph «Armenians in Central Asia» - A. Grigoryants devoted only one section to confessional issues in it, which he superficially illuminated, apparently not considering it the main focus of his work (Grigoryans A.A., 1984).

Soviet historiography showed some interest in the history of Old Believers, but did not touch upon their Turkestan past (Gagarin Yu.V., 1973). The appearance of Old Believers in Central Asia was only "echoed" by the journalist V. Chebotarev, who published an essay in the Kazakhstan magazine «Prostor» in 1874, which, however, mainly narrated

about the reasons for the resettlement of «Uralians» to Turkestan rather than about their religious life in the latter and the authorities' attitude towards it (Chebotarev V., 1974:74-81).

CONCLUSION

It should be noted, in connection with the foregoing, that Soviet historiography, which spearheaded the struggle against religion, devoted many works to the activities of various denominations, including the Orthodox Church, but it ignored the Central Asian «link» in their history (Belov A., 1973). Confessional historiography also achieved little. Orthodox church historians have not seriously reconstructed the Turkestan past of their confession. As a result, in the solemn issue of the Moscow Patriarchate's biweekly «Orthodox Moscow», dedicated to Patriarch Alexy II's visit to Central Asia in the fall of 1996, there are statements that do not quite correspond to historical reality (Pravoslavnaya Moskva, 1996).

Such statements are also found in the fundamental work of Baptist historians (Istoriya evangel'skih hristian-baptistov v SSSR, 1989). The historiography of the former Soviet republics of Central Asia has made a very modest contribution to the study of the past of non-Islamic denominations in the region. In the 1980s, two brochures by N. Kolemashova on Christian sectarianism in Central Asia were published in Tashkent (Kolemashova N.H., 1981). However, the author analyzed the state of sectarianism in the Soviet period and devoted an excursion into the history of the problem to no more than 3-4 pages, and some of the facts she cited are questionable in their reliability.

Some denominational units of pre-revolutionary Turkestan, in particular, Catholics and «European» Jews, were completely left out of Soviet historiography's scope. The situation has not significantly changed in the study of the religious policy of the Russian government towards non-Islamic denominations in Central Asia in the post-Soviet period. Thus, it can be asserted that this problem remained unexplored, both in domestic and foreign historiography.

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