

RESEARCH PAPERS

Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations

ISSN 0143-893X

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No. 8 December 1980

Published by the Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Selly Oak Colleges,
Birmingham B29 6LE.

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By Archimandrite Augustin*

Treating the history of relationships between Muslims and the Orthodox in Russia, one should note that Islam has been the second most powerful religion in this country whose Orthodox population maintained anciently close relations with the Islamic world. Such relations became particularly intensive in the nineteenth century when the Russian Empire incorporated the Caucasus and vast territories in the Middle Asia. It is then that the need to undertake a scientific study of Islamic religious and cultural values was recognized in Russia.

"Since Russia incorporated quite a number of Moslem areas", V.V. Bertold, a prominent orientalist, wrote, "she has become responsible before both the inhabitants of these areas and scientists all over the world for studying the present state and history of these areas as well as for making known, studying and preserving the scriptural and material monuments of their past" (1)

Unique historical fortunes of Russia, a link between East and West, and her centuries-long experience in Orthodox-Muslim relations are of particular interest today; they may also contribute to forming foundations for a dialogue with people of non-Christian ideologies.

1. ORTHODOXY AND ISLAM

From the middle of the 13th century to the 19th century

Islam came to the ancient Rus through her eastern borders as far back as in the thirteenth century, though a majority of people living at that time beyond the Urals professed heathenism.

"Nobody knows what they are, where they have come from, and what their language and faith are" Nycon's Chronicle stated about the Tartars who who invaded Russia in 1223. (2)

Heathen nomads were tolerant of the beliefs of peoples they conquered. For example, Gengis Khan in his "Book of Taboos" ordered Mongols to respect all gods whoever might worship them; and the letters of khans given to Russian bishops stated, "Those who insult and blaspheme the faith of Russians shall not be excused but punished by death". (3) All the Orthodox clergymen were released from taxes and were free to act irrespective of local law-proceedings.

The horde did not remain heathen for long. The courts of Central Asia rulers, sons of Gengis Khan, had already included Muslim representatives who administered large areas on behalf of rulers. In the horde Islam began to assert itself under Berkai Khan (1255-1266), and under the direct descendants of Gengis Khan, (the beginning of the 14th century) became firmly established throughout Central Asia. (4)

In 1261, under Berkai who was the first khan to embrace Islam, a Russian Diocese which included the Episcopal See in Pereyaslavl was established in Sarai, the capital of Golden Horde. (5) Berkai's loyalty to Islam did not prevent him from favouring the establishment of a Christian Diocese in his capital. Under Mengu-Timur, a descendant of Berkai, the Russian Metropolia received the first khan's letter whereby it was granted many privileges. Of principal matter in that letter was the part in which care for church articles was prescribed: "What is under their laws - books or anything else - is not to be either taken away or stolen or destroyed". Blasphemy was to be punished by death: "Those who blaspheme their faith shall be guilty and dead". (6)

A letter of the khan to the Russian clergy declared: "May you, in righteousness of your hearts, pray to God for our tribe, too, and bless us without sadness" (Letter by Mengu-Timur). Khans of Golden Horde did not change that attitude even when they came to embrace Islam - so alien to them was the idea of a forced imposition of their beliefs upon other peoples.

Uzbek, the eighth khan of Golden Horde, was also a Muslim. He was converted to Islam by Arabs whom he had invited to the civil service. In his letter to Metropolitan Peter he reconfirmed the full autonomy he had granted to ecclesiastical courts: "the Metropolitan shall discover the truth and dispense accordingly and pass a just judgement on his people's crimes whether robbery or theft or anything else, and he shall do it alone or through those whom he would authorise". (7) The privileges that were granted to the Russian Orthodox Church were invariably reconfirmed by succeeding khans who also confessed Islam.

The rise of Moscow resulted in the liberation of Russia from the yoke of Golden Horde and the Muslim domination. Golden Horde broke into separate kingdoms: the Kazan, Astrakhan and Crimea Khanates and smaller nomadic hordes. Intensive relations between Muslim and the Orthodox in Russia resumed in the later 16th century when the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates were conquered. After that Russia subdued the Great Horde of Nogai and then Western Bashkiria which was formerly under the Kazan khans. In fact, the entire region of the Volga river was taken by Russia. The end of the 16th century was marked also by the annexation by Russia of the Siberian Khanate.

Tzar Ivan the Terrible had no doubts whatsoever as to the necessity of baptizing immediately all Tartars in the conquered lands. During the first four years following the capture of Kazan (1552), part of the Tartar population was actually baptized through the efforts by the clergy and administration. But the process of christianization almost immediately slowed down those Tartars who embraced Orthodoxy comprised a circle of the elected and privileged, but the masses did not follow them.

Voluminous translations from Western European languages published during the Moscow period included books on Islam and Muhammad. The Orthodox authorities communicated extensively with representatives of Islamic states. In the later 16th century, Prince Muhammad-Kuli of Khwarizm visited Moscow; he even served in a campaign

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against Tartars led by Boris Godunov (1598). His nephew Prince Afgan, Sultan of Khwarizm (died in 1648 in Kasimov), entered the service in Russia "to the greater honour and glory of the Sovereign". It is known also that before Ivan the Terrible seized Kazan (1552) there was a large group of Tartar nobility there with pro-Moscow tendencies and economic ties with the Moscow kingdom. (8)

At the same time however the Muslim nobility sought to assert their right to independence in religious matters. In 1551 Princes of Hogaï made a direct appeal to Ivan the Terrible: "God created you as Christians while he created us as Muslims". (9)

The first tzars of the Romanov dynasty were still hoping to diminish the influence that was exerted by Islam in the Volga region and Siberia. To this end Tzar Alexey Mikhailovich (1645-1676) issued a conciliar decree which envisaged severe punishment for converting to Islam or any other non-Christian religion. (10)

During the reign of Peter I extensive plans were elaborated to develop trade with countries in the East and above all with Islamic states.

Characteristically Peter I considered it essential also that a study of Islam should be undertaken. Instrumental in this study were works by a former Moldavian master, Dmitry Kantemir who lived for a long time in Turkey. When in Russia, serving Peter I as Prince he wrote a number of books on "the history of Muhammadanism". The most interesting among them was *The Book of Sislam, or the State of the Muhammadan Religion*. The title page of this book contained the note: "This is published by order of His Majesty, Peter the Great, Emperor and Autocrat of All Russia, in the printing house of the capital city of Saint Petersburg in the year 1722, on the 22nd of December".

Drawing a comparison between the period of the domination of Muslim khans and that of the revival of Orthodoxy in Russia one can evidence equally good Muslim Orthodox relations during either of them.

Under Empress Anna Ioannovna (1730-1740), an Orthodox Mission was established in the Kazan District. Preachers of the Mission were sent to the Kazan, Vyatka, Astrakhan, Nizhniy Novgorod and Vologda Districts, with the following instructions for their activities: "With the knowledge of the Diocesan Bishop and upon his blessing you should zealously suggest to adherents of other faiths Christian dogma and traditions and teach them prayers, the Creed and Ten Commandments with interpretations. But those who are not willing to be converted are not to be forced to make a sign of cross nor threatened by anything but treated, according to apostolic preaching, with humbleness and quietness and without haughtiness and intimidation. (11)

To convert adherent of other faiths to Orthodoxy the Russian Church adopted the following measures:

- 1) the establishment of missions with travelling churches and of new dioceses;
- 2) translation of the Scriptures, service and instruction books into different languages;
- 3) the opening of special departments at theological academies and seminaries to train young people for missionary activity;
- 4) the teaching of the Tartar, Mongol, Kalmyk and other languages at some theological schools. (12)

But the policy of gradual christianization of conquered peoples pursued by all Russian tzars beginning from Ivan the Terrible to Elizabeth Petrovna proved to be unrealistic. Beginning

from the second part of the 18th century it began to be gradually replaced by the recognition that Christianity would have to co-exist with Islam with the Orthodox Church dominating.

"In Russia, the government's natural tendency to assimilate conquered peoples to the Russians manifested itself at first, after Kazan was conquered, in ever more resolute seeking to convert the Kazan Tartars to Orthodoxy. Thus the medieval principle *Cuius regio, eius religio* was realized. But the Russians did not show the same skill in applying that public method in different times and different places - in the nineteenth century, descendants of those Muslims who were converted in the sixteenth and succeeding centuries and newly baptized Muslims began to express their determined desire to come back to Islam", (13)

Under Catharine II (1762-1796) Islam in Russia acquired a clear hierarchical organization with certain legal rights which were not given to Muslims even in Islamic states. The Empress even ordered that the Koran should be printed at the expense of the State to be distributed among the Muslim population free of charge. (14) When in Kazan in 1770 she also ordered the construction of a new mosque - mosques were not built in Russia before. That the Russian government was tolerant of Islam can be testified by the following ukase signed by senator P. Bogdanov in 1833: "...All Muslims in Russia should conform to the requirements of their religion, strictly following its dogma". (15) The modest rate of the evangelization of Muslim population in Russia in the early 19th century can be shown by the following data: according to the reports by the then attorney-general of the Holy Synod, between 1836 and 1859 the Orthodox converted only 27,766 Muslims comprising only 0.5% out of 5,316,455 Muslims in Russia by 1858. (16)

2. MAJOR ISLAMIC REGIONS IN RUSSIA

European part: Tataria and Bashkiria

In Tataria (the Bulgarian Kingdom in the ancient times) there was part of the population professing Islam already in the end of the 9th century; many mosques and primary schools with muezzins appeared in villages at that time. (17) Since the conquest of Kazan (1552) Orthodoxy consolidated and Christians increased in number in the Kazan Kingdom; and the Russian government soon realised the necessity of establishing an Archdiocese there to strengthen the newly-baptized in faith and to propagate Christianity further. In 1555 a Council was convened in Moscow to authorize the establishment of the Episcopal See in Kazan. Archbishop Guriy who was assigned to the See, before his leaving for the Archdiocese, was given a so-called "precept" which defined the policy to be pursued by Christians in regard to Muslims: "You should habituate non-Christians to yourselves by kindness and lead them to baptism rather by love than by force or intimidation and baptize only those who are willing and select the best of them to be kept at your home for instruction and send others to monasteries to be trained there. Those converted who have been trained up are to be invited frequently to your place to share meals with you. Should anyone from among the unbaptized appeal to you for anything entertain him at your place and persuade him to accept Christianity by gentle and nice talk, without being brutal" (18)

But, as was mentioned above, the activity of Orthodox missionaries was moderate in nature: Muslims fully enjoyed freedom of conscience - a fact which can be supported by the press of that time: "Cultural achievements made by the Tartars together with their energetic activity for the benefit of Islam make the struggle against the propagation of Islam ever more com-

plicated. Muslims have a mosque and a mullah for every 150 people, a school for 100; whereas Christians have a priest for 1500, a school for 1500-3000; the Muslim Tartars publish books at least 800 times as much as our societies do for baptized non-Christians in their own languages". (19) To counterbalance the Orthodox missionary journal issued in the 80's of the 19th century in Kazan there came our newspaper articles and separate monographs intended to defend Islam and its founder. Thus, in 1883, *The St. Petersburg Gazette*, appearing in the capital of the predominantly Orthodox Russian Empire, published a number of articles by Murza Alima entitled "Islam and Muhammadanism" in which the author stood out for the Muslim view of the world and placed it in some sense beyond the principles of European culture. It should be noted however that the annexation of the Kazan Kingdom by Russia played a positive part in the development of local cultural standards in general and of Muslim theological education in particular.

"The Tartars themselves do realise - and express it time and time again in the press - that their cultural progress has been made not in spite of but owing to the influence of Russians who have drawn them nearer to the European culture thus making Kazan a source of education for Muslims in Middle Asia; whereas in the Middle Ages it was the other way round - culture was brought to the Volga region from Bukhara, Samarkand and Khwarizm." (20)

Islam came to Bashkiria in the 10th century, and by the late 14th century was well assimilated by the local population. On September 22, 1788, by decree of Catharine II, "The Orenburg Muhammadan Religious Assembly" was established in Ufa. One of the tasks of the Assembly was to see that "only reliable and respectable persons should be in office under Muhammadan Law". (21)

By the beginning of the 20th century the Orenburg Muftiate had in its jurisdiction over six thousand mosques which were built after 1770 with the help of the Russian government. Islam became the pre-eminent religion in that region: for example, in the Ufa District there were 349 Orthodox churches over against 1555 mosques in 1899, 360 Orthodox priests over against 4665 Tartar mullahs, 231 church schools over against 6220 madrasahs and maktabas. (22) A forced conversion to Orthodoxy from Islam was out of question. The Muslim clergy kept explaining to their flock that they were not to be afraid of the authorities.

In 1894, Mufti M. Sultanov of Orenburg wrote, remarkably, in a special letter to the Muslim clergy: "To akhunds and imams of the mosques from the Mufti of Orenburg. It has become known to me that people and even mullahs have spread the rumours that all Muhammadans will be baptized. These rumours are ridiculous and stupid, for the government has no intention whatsoever to baptize us, but on the contrary, it allows us to confess Islam freely and to perform our rites without restriction and to build mosques for worshipping God. We are commanded by the Holy Koran to teach and instruct the ignorant and unwise. I suggest therefore that you explain wherever possible that nobody would baptize Muslims by force, for there is no law to this effect, and that those who were born Muslims can confess Islam in Russia freely as they did before for it is in law". (23)

Northern Caucasus

There is reliable evidence that Orthodoxy began to spread in Northern Caucasus in the 5th century already, under the Byzantine Emperor Justinian.

George Interiano of Genoa who came to the Caucasus in the end of the 15th century, and Barbaro of Venice who was sent as envoy to Azov in 1436, and N. Vitsen of Holland who visited Circassia in 1668 - all reported that the Caucasian peoples, Circassians in particular, had been confessing Christianity for a long time already. M. Bronevsky, a Polish diplomat who in 1578 was sent to the Khan of the Crimea by the Polish king Stephan Batoriy, reported that the Adygs had Christian rites and customs. Mathew Mehovsky, a Polish scientist, and Jean Chardin, a French merchant who travelled along the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus in 1671-1673, also gave evidence of the fact that the natives of north-western Caucasus confessed Christianity. In the Middle Ages attempts were made to propagate Catholicism in northern Caucasus. At that time representatives of the Pope of Rome intensified missionary activities in the Black Sea region of the Caucasus. They were backed up by Italian colonies there. In 1320, Pope John XXII established an Episcopal See in Caffa, and beginning from 1439 the Adygs had a Catholic archbishop who lived in Matrge (Taman) and two bishops. Missionary activities were carried out there by Greek-Byzantine preachers, too, who treated the local population more loyally than Catholics did and therefore were more successful. The propagation of Christianity from Byzantium and Georgia was interrupted first by the Turkish expansion which began in the 15th century and then by the invasion of Turkish proteges, the Crimean khans. (24)

Islam came to the territory of the present Kabarda-Balkaria in the 14th century. In the 14th century Kabardinina and Adygeyan princes swore allegiance to the Russian tzar "according to their beliefs and the Muslim law". (25) But despite the Muslim influence the people remained loyal to Christianity. The decree issued by the Board for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire in 1732 stated: "Now in both Kabardas (i.e. Major and Minor Kabarda) princes and chiefs and other officers live under Muhammadan law but their subjects, farmers and peasants, who live in the country have long been holding the beliefs and rules of the Greek confession." (26)

An overwhelming majority of the Ossets also professed Christianity, only a small fraction being Muslims. Islam came to the Ossets from Kabarda in the 16th century and was embraced mainly by the nobility in Northern Ossetia.

Instrumental in propagating Christianity in Northern Caucasus was Georgia from whence Orthodoxy came to Ossetia and Checheno-Ingushetia. The influence of the Georgian Church upon the Ossets was particularly strong under Tzarina Tamara (1184-1218). During that period the Ossets restored Christian churches which were built in the 5-6 centuries by Byzantine missionaries for the Alans ancestors of the Ossets. The Georgian clergy initiated the establishment of an Orthodox mission in 1745 in Northern Ossetia. The mission was staffed by Georgian-born clerics, though it was established with the authority of St. Petersburg. It was only after 1771 when the Russians won a victory over the Turks that the tzarist government sent Russian priests to the mission. (27)

After the annexation of the Caucasus Russia was expected to begin an intensive process of the russification of the local population and propagation of Orthodoxy among Muslims. But the Russian administration proved so tolerant of the Muslim population that it was severely reproached by some Orthodox zealots. In this regard the governor of the Caucasus, Prince I.A. Baryatinsky wrote: "Under Russian rule Christianity among the Ossets, Hebsors, Svans and Abassians remained in the same position as it was before the Caucasus belonged to a Christian state. During the first thirty years of its rule over the Caucasus the government did not pay any attention to this

matter". (28) Moreover, the Russian administration made efforts to train Islamic clergy in the Caucasus itself; measures were taken to spread the network of schools at mosques. In 1883, in a report to the Minister of war, Chernyshev, the commander-in-chief of the Special Caucasian Corps, general Golovin, wrote that it was essential that "Muslim schools to train the clergy should be arranged wherever possible". (29) In 1849, eight such schools were established there.

One should mention here the attitude to Islam adopted by general Ermolov, the governor of Georgia in the 20's of the 19th century: "Once, on a visit to Shusha, Ermolov saw a small, ugly and decaying mosque which stood next to the splendid Palace of Melhel Kuli, a khan of Karabakh, and said: "I demand that for my next visit another mosque matching the splendour of the palace should be built in place of this one falling to decay". These words which he spoke in the Tartar language made a favourable impression upon the local population which grew more impressed after he built several mosques in some villages". (30)

Dagestan

The propagation of Islam in Dagestan began with the invasion by the troops of the Arabian Caliphate. The vast territories of Azerbaidjan were conquered by the Caliphate in the 7th century already. Then the Arabs attacked Dagestan and in 643 conquered Derbent. In 685 the Arabs captured Derbent for the second time. The population of Derbent was the first to embrace Islam; Derbent was the first and the main centre for the propagation of Islam and the place where Arabian colonists lived. Al-Hamadani, an Arabian geographer of the 10th century, reported that one of the gates in the northern wall around the city was called "the Jihadi Gate" which means "the gate of struggle for the faith". The Islamization of Dagestan was completed by the 15th century. (31)

In the 11th-13th centuries there was an interesting phenomenon in Dagestan: the two religions - Islam and Christianity - came to the country at the same time. Islam came from the south, while Christianity was brought through energetic efforts by Georgia to the Avarian areas in the west. That is why the process of the propagation of Islam in Avaria was not only slow but also painful. It was the Arabs who were the first to propagate Islam in Dagestan, but eventually the Turks, Mongols and Tamerlane came to protect Islam there.

One should note at this point that some peoples in the Caucasus benefited by the propagation of Islam because it was accompanied by such positive development as the permeation of the Arabic and through it the rich culture of the East. Almost all the manuscripts and literature by the local authors who covered the history and culture of Dagestan up to the 18th century reached us only in Arabic. It was the Arabic alphabet that comprised the foundation for the written languages of some peoples in Dagestan. Arabic was used in literature and business correspondence up to the Revolution of 1917. "The peoples of Dagestan were enabled to share not only in rich Arabian culture but in many world cultural achievements as well". (32)

It is evident from the above that Islam cast deep roots in Dagestan, and that was the reason that a great tension developed between the Orthodox and Muslims after the signing of the Gulistan Treaty of 1814 according to which Dagestan, Karabakh, Derbent, Baku, Shirvan and Gyandja were

transferred from Persia to Russia. The struggle that was waged by the Caucasian mountain-dwellers from the 20s of the 19th century up to 1864 represents a classical example of a hard and long resistance to the tzarist aggression in the form of a religious war. The natives of Dagestan began to favour muridism - a Muslim teaching on religious ascetism - which, in that part of the Caucasus, came to mean a self-sacrificial participation in jihad. Shamil, one of the most active leaders in that struggle, enjoyed support from Islamic Turkey and Iran, which helped him to continue resistance for a long time. In 1859 he was taken prisoner by the Russian troops.

Shamil was a prominent leader and the unifier of mountain-dwellers in Dagestan and Chechen in their struggle for independence. He was an imam and the spiritual and political ruler. He ruled over Dagestan and Chechen for 25 years, struggling against Russia. It should be noted that a significant portion of mountain-dwellers including Muslim clergy did not take part in jihad. Because of that they were prosecuted by Shamil and his generals and fell under the rules of jihad. Shamil and his murids killed more Dagestanians than the Russian troops did. After he was taken prisoner he was sent to St Petersburg together with his family. He was received by Emperor Alexander II and ordered to take residence in Kaluga where he stayed till 1870. In 1870 he was released to Mecca and in 1871 he died there. One of his sons became a Russian general and the other a Turkish general who went to the war with Russia. His companions in arms were elevated to officership in the Russian army. In 1861 there were 1628 mosques and 4500 Muslim priest in Dagestan.

Abassia

In Abassia Christianity gained a firm hold in the 5th century and became the established religion in the beginning of the 6th century. In 541, an Archdiocese was established in Abassia. (33) By the 8th century thousands of churches and prayer houses were erected on the Black Sea coast of Abassia alone. Christianity remained the state religion for more than a thousand years and was not replaced by Islam until later.

The establishment of Sunnite Islam in Abassia was connected with the expansionist policy pursued by the Ottoman empire during the 15th and 16th centuries. Patriarch Michael of Constantinople wrote in the late 15th century already that "Abassia had deviated from Christianity completely". (34) The propagation of Islam in Abassia intensified after the Turks signed an agreement with Iran in 1555 and settled in Sukhumi in 1578. It is true that even during the domination of Islam in Abassia (beginning from the 16th century) the Abassians did not have a prejudice against Christianity. (35) It should be noted that such an attitude as displayed by the Abassians towards Christianity was exploited after Russia annexed Abassia in 1810 and the struggle began to revive Orthodoxy among the Abassian population (18th to the beginning of the 20th century).

There is evidence that the Abassian Prince George Shervashidze and the Russian Emperor Alexander I, from the very beginning of their talks on the annexation of Abassia by Russia, attached much importance to the Islamic problem. George Shervashidze promised to become a Russian subject and "to confess the faith of our Christian ancestors according to the Greek law". (36) In the early 19th century the Russian government severely treated Muslim preachers coming from Turkey while supporting actively the Muslim clergy in Abassia itself and creating favourable condition for them and the faithful.

At first Russia did not interfere in the domestic affairs of the principality. In response to such attitudes 127 Muslim leaders in Abassia gave to the secular and religious authorities a solemn oath of "service with loyalty and without hypocrisy" (37)

The church periodicals noted that even when Islam dominated in Abassia everything possible was done to revive Christianity. "There are families in which some members are Christians while the others are Muslims; some are baptised, while the others are circumcised." (38) As a result of the Russian-Turkish war of 1853-1856 relations between the Orthodox and Muslims in Abassia grew strained. When the war in the Caucasus was over the Turkish preachers intensified their campaign for Abassian mass migration to Turkey. But in that matter too the Russian authorities showed their tolerance - they did not oppose the migration of mountain-dwellers and even gave them loans to help migrate. (39)

The movement for the revival of Christianity in Abassia became more active when the Society for the Restoration of Christianity in Caucasus established in 1860 intensified its activity. With the assistance of the governor of the Caucasus, Prince Vorontzov, the Abassian Archdiocese incorporated in 1851 baptized Abassians in masses. Thus, between 1860 and 1866, 19,484 people were converted to Christianity. (40) Along with the baptism of the local people the local authorities together with the Orthodox clergy took a number of measures to restore former monasteries, churches and prayer houses and to train priests from among Abassians and to publish church literature in the Abassian language.

Nevertheless the adherents of Islam were able to confess their religion unrestrictedly, but at the same time, according to one of the Exarchs for Georgia, they "were no longer imbued with that fanatical spirit of hostility towards the Orthodox". (41)

If in Dagestan Islam came into contact with Arabic and through it the culture of the East, in Abassia it did not bring about any positive developments. Throughout the period when Ottoman Turkey ruled over Abassia no architectural monument was erected to match those which were built in the previous period. The first school in Abassia was opened only in the later 18th century, and Abassian literature came into being only later in history. This can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the Arabs who propagated Islam in Dagestan were culturally superior to the Ottoman Turks who did the same in Abassia. Ottoman Turkey did not consider it necessary to educate the Abassians to develop their culture and to create a written language for them. (42)

Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan was for several times an object of fight between Sunnite Turkey and the Shiite Persia. In this struggle the Turks were the most successful in the later 16th century. But in 1603 Shah Abbas resumed hostilities and eventually took away from the Turks all their gains. His main achievements - the capture of Gyandja, Baku and Derbent - were made in 1606. The struggle of Russia for Northern Azerbaijan ended in 1828 with the annexation of the last Azerbaijani khanates - that of Nakhichevan. By 1864 the last centre of resistance in the Caucasus were liquidated.

In 1872 regulations were issued for the administration of religious affairs of Muslims in

Transcaucasus, and in Tiflis there were established two Religious Administrations - one for Sunnites and the other for Shiites. Both trends were given an equal legal status, and the following was equally guaranteed to both of them.

" 100. Mullahs at the mosques are allowed to teach Muslim children to read and to write and to give them instruction in Muslim teaching under the supervision of the local kazis.

101. The opening of theological schools at mosques is allowed with the permission of the governor at the request of the provincial medjlis." (43)

Since Persia had been most instrumental in the propagation of Islam in Azerbaijan (under Shah Ismail (1502), Shiism was declared as state religion), an overwhelming majority of Muslims in Azerbaijan are Shiites who learn to revere the memory of the fourth caliph and the first imam for Shiites, Ali.

Central Asia

The mass migration of Christians to the East began in the 4th century (individual missionaries were likely to come to the East even before). There was a Christian bishop in Merv already in 334. Some suggest that Christians in Samarkand had a bishop in the 6th century. (44) The Arabs made their first raid into Transoxania in the late 7th century. In 674 the Arab troops forced a crossing of the Amudarya (Oxus) River and captured and destroyed Ramitan and the vicinity of Bukhara. Transoxania was fully subdued in the beginning of the 8th century.

Apparently, the greatest efforts to propagate Christianity among the Central Asian peoples were made under Nestorian Patriarch Timothy (780-819). The centre of Christian struggle with Islam was in Samarkand, the former residence of the Nestorian metropolitan.

Though the natural growth of Islam in Turkestan was arrested for a while by Mongol invasions, eventually it became very powerful there. Tamerlane patronized Islam and contributed to its propagation in his empire. His contemporaries gave him the title of "the Restorer of the faith, Worshipper of the Prophet and Imams." For a long time Turkestan and Bukhara were major centres for the education of the neighbouring Muslim peoples. The Tatar Volga region was drawn towards Bukhara; young Muslims seeking a higher theological education went to Turkestan to enter madrasahs there, spent many years studying in them, then came back to their homeland being versed in Muslim teaching, the Arabic and Persian languages, and founded their own madrasahs in which they used methods of teaching which they came to know at the Central Asian centres of education. (45)

The Muslim states occupied a prominent position in international life in the Middle Ages. Beginning from the 15th century Turkey became a stronghold of Islam. Its sultan took upon himself the functions and title of caliph, the supreme head of Islam throughout the world. Between the 18th and 19th centuries the policy of aggression which Russia pursued and in which she had to confront Turkey was applied to Central Asia as well. In this connection the Russian government became once again interested in Islam and its legal standards.

Russia began to conquer Central Asian khanates and emirates beginning from 1864. Merv was captured in 1884, Khiva in 1873, the Zaravash region with its capital Samarkand in 1868, and

Fergana and Kokand in 1875. These territories were inhabited largely by Muslims. The Russian government which leaned for support on the Orthodox Church had to elaborate some policy regarding Islam in the territories where millions of new Russian subjects lived. The struggle, which went on during the first years after the annexation of Central Asia by Russia, was not by its nature a struggle against Islam and its adherents but against the Muslim administration which would not reconcile itself with the Russian influence. The Russian administration exerted every effort to raise the cultural standards of the local population without interfering in their religious life.

"A living impulse for social work, reconstruction of dams to extend cultivated lands, security of commercial roads, the very presence of the Russian troops - all these developments have made profound changes in the economic situation in the new provinces of the Russian Empire. The railroad - a powerful agent of civilization - has already reached Samarkand and will soon connect all the major cities in Central Asia with Eastern Europe. There is no doubt that in such circumstances as these Islam is to experience new influence in those very countries which quite recently seemed its sacred asylums." (46)

Typical in this connection was the activity carried out by General Chernyaev, the first military governor of Turkestan, whose troops conquered Southern Kazakhstan and Tashkent. In July 1865, soon after the conquest of Tashkent, he concluded a treaty with the city authorities. This treaty defined the rules of conduct to be observed by the new Orthodox authorities in regard to Muslims and by Muslims in regard to the Orthodox. The treaty stated in particular that "the citizens of Tashkent are to obey the commands of All-Powerful God, to confess the orthodox religion of Muhammad and to observe strictly his laws. Let them pray in all places five times a day without missing the scheduled hour and even the minute. Let mullahs go regularly to their schools to teach the laws of the Muhammadan faith". (47) Chernyaev began his work as general governor with a visit to the most venerated Muslim shrines. Besides that he made acquaintance with those Muslim leaders who distinguished themselves in fighting against Russian units, expressed his respect for them and awarded some of them official awards for their valour. (48)

The election of mullahs did not have to be approved by the administration, which also protected them from any interference on the part of the neighbouring Orenburg Religious Administration. After the annexation of Turkestan by Russia the new authorities removed *ra'ises* whose responsibility was, among other things, to control the observance of religious rites. Under the influence of the Russian government a commitment was made in 1873 in Bukhara to put a stop to trade in slaves and to set free all slaves within ten years. (49) In the end of the 19th century the administration set itself a task: to study religion and religious institutions in Central Asia. The governor-general of Turkestan, Mr Dukhovskoy, ordered all regional governors to collect and report data on the number of mosques and Muslim associations. Measures were taken for Russian officials to study local languages. In Tashkent there began to appear *The Collection of Data on Islam*. Excursions were arranged for the Uzbek intelligentsia to get acquainted with Russian culture. (50)

Kadij Mukhiddin of Tashkent expressed his satisfaction, in June 1888, with the fact that the blessing of an Orthodox church and the opening of a new mosque took place in the same month. Kadij regarded that coincidence as a visual proof that the government treated both religions equally and expressed his gratitude to the city

authorities on behalf of the Muslim population. (51) After the lapse of several years Kadij of Samarkand made up a document sealed with 54 stamps bearing the names of Muslim clergy. The document stated that the Orthodox Church granted Muslims "full freedom, and preserved Shariat, customs and the people's way of life inherited from their forefathers. Mosques, madrasahs and shrines in Samarkand which had become derelict under Muslim administration were repaired and set in order". (52)

But the Russian government could not settle all the internal religious problems at once. Thus the relations between Sunnites, who comprised a majority in Central Asia, and Shiites, who came mainly from Iran and by the beginning of the 20th century numbered 55,000, remained strained.

The bloodshed in Bukhara in 1910 was caused by the Sunnites' discontent with the fact that the government gave permission to the Shiites to hold openly the Ashura mourning ceremonies which in previous times had been celebrated in secret. The Shiites who assembled to perform the rite had to engage in self-torture in the course of it. The Sunnites who watched the mourning ceremony started to criticize it. A conflict broke out to be followed by pogroms of the Shiites which lasted several days and in which 500 from both sides were killed. Only the Russian army units urgently brought in the city pacified people. (53)

One of the most notable Shiite sects which actively propagated its teaching in Central Asia was the Ismailites. It was called after Ismail, the eldest son of the sixth imam of the Shiites - Jafar. According to the generally accepted tradition, Jafar deprived Ismail of his undisputed right to inherit the dignity of Shiite imam. The father survived his son (Ismail died in 760). Representatives of the extremist trend in Shiism at that time declared Ismail the seventh and the last imam. At the present time there are Ismailites in the Soviet Union, living in Pamir, Tajikistan. (54)

The Ismailites who lived in Pamir found themselves in a hard position when their territory came under the Emir of Bukhara. The policy pursued by the emirate in Pamir was aimed at making the Ismailites abandon their beliefs and join the Sunnites. They sought to open Muslim schools in large villages and make the local people pray five times a day and observe the fast but this was prevented by the Russian authorities. In those places where the emir's officials lived local people had to attend the Sunnite mosques and observe the fasts. (55) The persecution of Ismailites ended only with the incorporation of Pamir into the Turkestan region.

Kirgizia and Kazakhstan

According to a majority of researchers, the beginning of the propagation of Islam in Kirgizia came late i.e. the 17th-18th centuries. (56) The ties which existed with the Muslim khanates in Central Asia contributed to the propagation of Islam in Kirgizia. The khans of Kokand who conquered Kirgizia in the later 19th century regarded Islam as the main buttress of their domination in the country. From the very beginning they took measures to inculcate Islam as deeply and broadly as possible in Kirgizia where the influence of Islam in the pre-Kokand period was weak. The means used by the Kokand conquerors to impose Islam in Kirgizia was to send there mullahs, khojas and dervishes as preachers. Along with the preaching of Islam they built many mosques next to the fortifications. The influence of Islam was stronger in the south of Kirgizia than it was in the north. It was accounted for by the territorial proximity

of the south to Kokand, Bokhara and Samarkand which were major religious centres in Central Asia.

The Russian administration guided by the principle of tolerance did not interfere in the propagation of Islam in Kirgizia. Orthodoxy, according to an author of the pre-revolution period, "has put no pressure upon Islam, which can be proved by the fact that all the people in Kirgizia have recently embraced Islam by free will and that our missionary activity, devoid of any forced propaganda, has brought only modest, if any, fruits". (57)

The Russian government encouraged the construction of mosques in Kirgizia. It provided for the construction of new mosques in settlements in which the male population reached 200. In 1899, in the city of Osh alone (the Fergana region) there were 38 cathedral mosques, 73 parishes with mosques and in the Osh district there were 221 parochial mosques.

There were fewer mosques in Northern Kirgizia incorporated into the Semirechensk region. It could be accounted for by the fact that the population there nomadized and could not be easily converted and engaged in building mosques. Nevertheless, there were a great many mosques there. For instance, in the city of Przhevalsk there were 5 parochial mosques and in the city of Pishpek there were 3.

In 1908 already there were 40 cathedral and 68 parochial mosques in Osh, in the Osh District - 121 cathedral and 216 parochial mosques, in the city of Przhevalsk - 3 cathedral and 6 parochial mosques. (58) These and other data show that in the period from 1899 to 1908 the number of mosques in various parts of Kirgizia increased 2-5 times and continued to grow further.

The process of islamization of Kazakhstan was not of a short duration but lasted for many centuries. It concluded only in the 19th century. Nevertheless, Islam came to play a significant part in the Kazakhs' history and private life; it left an imprint on their art and on their poetry in particular. A number of social movements different by nature emerged under the banner of Islam. While blocked from its Muslim neighbours in Central Asia by vast steppes, Kazakhstan was open from the side of the Russian Empire, and its population, communicating freely with the Orthodox assimilated their tolerance. The Russian government supported Islam and contributed to its propagation and establishment among the nomad peoples - Kazakhs and Kirgeeses. In the 18th century ukases were issued to build mosques in the Kazakh steppe and assign mullahs to them. (59) In 1786 the instruction was issued to publish textbooks in the Kazakh language and to staff schools with mullahs from Kazan. At the same time Empress Catharine II financed from the public purse the construction of a number of mosques and the publication of the Qur'an for the nomadic Kazakhs. (60)

3. ORTHODOXY AND ISLAM

Late 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century

Legal Position of Muslims

The period under consideration was characterized by the swift growth of the number of Muslims in Russia, which can be accounted for by the incorporation of new territories. If in 1858 there were 5,316,455 Muslims in Russia, in 1876 there were 7,428,658 and in 1897, according to the first general census to be held in Russia, there were 13,889,421 Muslims in Russia. According to

the Department for Religious Affairs, (61) by January 1, 1912, the number of Muslims amounted to 16,226,073, including 5.12 million Tatars, 5.16 million Kirgeeses, 1.76 million Bashkirs. Thus, after the incorporation of Central Asia and the conversion of the Kirgeeses to Islam Muslims came to comprise over 10 per cent of Russia's population.

By 1912 the number of Muslim parishes in Russia amounted to 24,321 with mosques amounting to 26,279. The number of buildings did not coincide with the number of parishes because a parish often had two buildings for worship - winter and summer ones. The clergy amounted to 45,333 with one priest for 357 parishioners. (62)

The Muslim clergy enjoyed great political and economic privileges. The Russian state protected the interests of the Muslim clergy. Though Islam was not the state religion in Russia, Muslim leaders were included in the authority of the military governor who alone could appoint them while muftis were appointed by the tsar himself. (63) Along with the Orthodox priest attached to military units there were the Muslim army mullahs whose responsibility was to meet the spiritual needs of the Muslim servicemen. Muslim clergymen attached to military units enjoyed special privileges.

To secure the best financial and locational conditions for the construction of mosques a special chapter on "The Construction of Muhammadan Mosques" was introduced into the State Regulations for Construction. Articles 264 and 265 of that Chapter stated: "In building mosques at the settlements the rule is to be observed that they should be built at squares and where there are no squares they should be built at the distance of no less than 20 sagen from other buildings". (64) In 1862 a law was introduced to the effect that "it is permitted to build mosques according to not only those patterns that have been endorsed by His Imperial Majesty but also those that are considered to suit parishioners best". (65) That was done to reduce to a minimum the obstacles that had to be overcome in building new mosques.

The authorities required of those who confessed Islam to observe their religious rites and created necessary conditions for it. Thus, *The Ufa District Gazette* of November 9, 1900, announced in its official section that "following the example set by the authorities of the Russian capital and some other cities where there are Muhammadan residents our city authorities now permit them to kill sheep in celebrating Muhammadan Kurban-Bairam and do it not at the slaughterhouses but at their yards". (66)

The Russian government granted a number of privileges to Muslim clergy. In the 90's of the 19th century the government granted a request made by the Muslim organizations and pronounced mullahs' mail as crown-mail free of charge. Before that only the Orthodox clergy's mail had the status of crown-mail. The Muslim clergy were released from conscription and taxes. Many mullahs were considered to be in public service and could obtain funds for business trips from the public purse. The children of higher clergy who completed 20 years of service enjoyed the same rights as the children of nobility and honorary citizens. (67) In 1905, *The Manifest of Tolerance* was published in which it was recommended in particular, as another step for extending religious liberty "to recognize the need for reviewing the by-laws concerning the most important aspect of religious life of persons confessing Muhammadanism". (68) The new laws introduced in Russia after 1905 reaffirmed the right of Muslims to the construction of mosques and prayer houses; they also provided for the rules of the election and appointment of the Muslim hierarchy; the release of certain Muslim clergy from conscription and the opening

of new theological schools - maktabahs and madrasahs. For the first time release from Orthodoxy to Islam was legitimized. (69)

Between 1905 and 1907 three All-Russian Muslim Conventions were held. On February 21, 1913, the Muslims of St Petersburg celebrated a solemn divine service at their newly-opened mosque. The land for the construction of the mosque had been bought for and presented to them by Emir Seid-Abdul-Ahad-khan of Bukhara with the approval of the city authorities. During the first divine service to be celebrated at the St Petersburg mosque, akhun Bayazitov said in his sermon: "When 300 years ago Russian people throughout the land wrote a letter to Mikhail Federovich Romanov calling upon him to become their tzar, that letter was signed also by several Tatar princes. In the original of that letter we can see among the signatures of Russian hierarchs, boyars, town and country people the name of Tatar princes written in Arabic. In this we can see how much the Russian Orthodox Christians and the orthodox Muslims cared where the state was concerned, and how close to each other they came in brotherly unity not knowing the difference of faith, nor of blood, nor of language when the order in their common homeland was at stake. The Russian tzars, in keeping with the spirit of their people, have always been favourable to us as Muslims and tolerant of our faith. The great pronouncement by Empress Catherine II that religious freedom is now sealed by the laws which declare: "May all people living in Russia praise the Almighty God in their own language and according to the law and confession of their forefathers..." (70)

Similar statements could be found that day in many Muslim newspapers: "Under the protection of Russian laws the citizens of Russia including Muslims are well provided for in the sense of freedom of life, position and conscience. For 300 years Muslims in Russia have been able to keep their own faith, their own language and their identity". (71) Or, "We as Muslims are equal with Russians in everything. The law is the same for them and for us and we are to appreciate it". (72)

At the Muslim Convention held in 1914 a reform of the religious administration over Muslims in Russia was considered. The convention adopted a draft of the new "edict on the administration over religious affairs of Muslims in the Russian Empire". The draft provided for a unified administration based on full autonomy without a territorial division.

Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina

Along with visiting local shrines many Muslims used to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Pilgrims were held in high respect and had immense authority with the faithful. In their pilgrimage Muslims from Russia used the following main routes: (73)

1. Through Transcaucasia and Northern Persia to holy places in Bagdad, Karbala, Najafa and other cities; then from there through the deserts of Arabia to Mecca and Medina. Annually 12-15 thousand Muslims from Transcaucasia and across the Caspian followed that route.
2. Through Samarkand and Bukhara to Afganistan and Masar-Sharif (where the tomb of Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad is found), then to Kabul, Peshawar and Bombay and from there by sea to Jidda and Yanbo, the nearest ports to Mecca and Medina. From 4 to 7 thousand pilgrims from Central Asia followed that route annually.
3. The third route, the easiest and shortest, went from the ports on the Black Sea to Con-

stantinople and Suez. It was used by Tatar Sunnites from the Caucasus and those who lived in the Caspian region (2-3 thousand pilgrims annually).

After the annexation of the Muslim territories by Russia the pilgrimage became organized. The Russian government encouraged and supported it. It promoted the establishment of the Society for Muslim Pilgrims granting it an exclusive right to receive and take care of pilgrims in Odessa. A non-stop railway service was arranged between Tashkent and Odessa for which special cars were provided. Thanks to such care the number of pilgrims from Russia increased considerably reaching 20,000 annually with a majority of them coming from Central Asia. (74) Under such conditions pilgrimage became very popular among the Kirkgeeses, too. Thus, in 1907 pilgrimage from the city of Osh and its vicinity to Mecca and Medina was made by 228 Muslims compared to 206 in 1906 and 105 in 1905. (75)

Religious education

Muslims in Russia had schools of two kinds: the primary school, maktabah, and the secondary school, madrasah. One can say with certainty that maktabahs appeared in the Arab lands with the emergence of Islam, i.e. as soon as the need emerged to read the sayings by Mohammad. That is why the place where people learned to read Kitab was called "maktab". (76)

The maktabah and madrasah played an important part in the propagation of Islam and training Muslim clergymen. In the beginning of the 20th century Muslim schools spread all over Turkestan. In 1908 there were 6,107 male maktabahs with 74,028 students, 801 female maktabahs with 9,773 students and 336 madrasahs with 147,375 students. In addition there were 327 other educational institutions called kary-khans, khori-khols, dalyail-khans with 4,681 students. Altogether studying in the Muslims primary and secondary schools were 103,037 students. (77) According to the report by the Ministry of Peoples' Education of 1910, by January 1, 1911, 10,003 maktabahs and 1,085 madrasahs were registered. (78)

"There is no Muslim village in Russia without a mosque. It is true that in some villages there is no official mosque. But in such villages as these a house is rented and turned into an unofficial mosque in which the faithful gather together for worship five times a day. As there is no village without a mosque so there is no mosque without a school. At our Muslim settlements parishioners are accustomed to provide for a school next to the mosque". (79)

On August 23, 1906, the Muslim convention in Kazan put under consideration the problem of the religious instruction for schoolchildren. It was decided that the Sunnites and the Shiites should use the same textbooks and that teachers should be chosen equally from among both trends. The co-education of the Sunnite and Shiite youth has come into practice since. (80)

Besides studying in numerous madrasahs and maktabahs the children of local Muslims were provided with an opportunity to study in the Russian schools where subjects were taught in Russian. In spite of the fact that additional lessons were arranged for studying the foundations of Islam, there were certain difficulties because, for the lack of time, Muslim pupils could not learn Arabic well enough to read the Qur'an, nor could they study Islamic teaching in Russian for the lack of textbooks. That was the reason that the Muslim public raised the question of the necessity "to create the textbooks to give to Muslim students in Russian schools such an education as would develop their Muslim sentiments". (81)

The Shiites of Transcaucasia had to face great difficulties in training priests. In contrast with Central Asia with its numerous theological institutions, in the Caucasus there were only two madrasahs in Baku and in Elisabethpol. A way out of this difficult situation was found in training mullahs at schools abroad - the practice which came into operation in the beginning of the 20th century. "The clergy we have", one of the newspapers of that time wrote, "have got their education in various cities in Persia and Turkey such as Najaf and Karbala where the highest authorities of the Islamic spiritual world concentrated". (82)

As Muslims grew more educated the Orthodox population of Russia grew more familiar with Islam. The first version of the Koran in Russian entitled "Al-Koran about Muhammad or the Turkish Law: Translated from French into Russian" came out in 1716 in St. Petersburg. The Koran was translated from the French version by P. Postnikov at the order of Peter I. It was first translated directly from Arabic in 1859 by A. Kazembek; another translation from Arabic by Professor Gordey Sablukov was published in 1879. Muslims, too, were provided with an opportunity to get acquainted with the foundations of Orthodoxy in their own language. Thus translated into the Tatar language were the brief catechism with prayers (1803-1805), Liturgy, Vespers, Matins, canons for the Mother of God; festal troparions and kontakions (1851), the Four Gospels (1855), the Acts, the Epistles and the Revelation (1858); Psalms, the service book, and the detailed catechism (1857).

Most instrumental in the translation was Prof. A. Kazambek. (83) The destiny of this orientalist is very interesting. A son of a kazi (Muslim theologian-lawyer), young Kazambek was gifted with great talents and had a profound knowledge of Islam. In 1818, when he was only 18 he wrote an article on Eastern Muslim languages, and in 1821 he arrived together with his father in Astrakhan where he made acquaintance with Scottish missionaries. He was invited to teach them the Turkish language. Studying Christianity led him to the decision to get baptized in 1822 accepting the Christian name of Alexander. He began to help missionaries actively and wrote a number of polemical articles directed against Muslims in the Persian, Arabic and Turkish languages. Later Kazambek became a professor of the Eastern languages first in the Kazan and then in the St Petersburg Universities. He died in 1870. (84)

Among the Russian philosophers of religion it was Vladimir Solovyev (died 1900) who was most sympathetic to Islam. He was the first to make a comprehensive evaluation of the life and teaching of Muhammad. He regarded Islam as a providential consequence of many conditions and factors and pointed out that "Islam had been produced by religious genius".

The Muslim press

Permission to publish religious books was given to Muslims by the ukase of the Russian government issued on December 15, 1900, in response to an appeal made by the Kazan and Orenburg Tatars confessing Islam. This ukase provided for the transfer of the Eastern Printing House from St Petersburg to Kazan. This state printing house started working in 1802. During the first several years it produced 14,300 copies. Almost all books published were devoted to religion; among them 3,000 copies of the Koran, 1,200 copies of *Pirguli-Kitabi* (*The Book of Holy Roses*), 1,100 copies of *Iman-Shorti* (*Provisions of Faith*) and many other theological books. By the standards of the beginning of the 20th century both the circulations of these books and the turnover of the printing house were rather large. (85) In

succeeding years circulations continued to grow. Between 1843 and 1852 the printing house printed, among others, 23,600 copies of the Koran. Beginning from 1852 various prayer books began to come out along with books on theology and philosophy. During 10 years, from 1855 to 1865, the printing house of the Kazan University alone issued 128,000 copies of the prayer books. In addition to this the Tatar private printing houses published between 1853 and 1859 22,300 more copies of the Koran and 77,500 more copies of *Iman-Shorti*. (86)

In 1912, 608 books in the Muslim languages came out in Russia, including 178 books on religion with a circulation of 1,282, 240. In various Russian cities 194 special book stores functioned to sell Muslim publications. In Central Asia and the Caucasus religious posters were sold. The stock of them was so immense that it was not exhausted until 1934; in that year one could still find old posters decorating abundantly the interior of the Central Asian mosques. (87)

At the beginning of the 20th century numerous Muslim periodicals in local languages came out in Russia, among them *Il* (Country), *Nur* (Light) in St Petersburg; *Vakt* (Time) in Orenburg; *Bayan-ul-hakk* (Clarification of the Truth); *Koyash* (Sun), *Julduz* (Star) in Kazan; *Ikbal* (Prosperity) in Baku; *Idel* (Volga) in Astrakhan; *Siberia* in Tomsk; and others. Among journals one should mention *Mekteb* (School) *Hukuk-ve hayat* (Right and Life) in Kazan; *Nucallin* (Scientist), *Shura* (Advise) and *Din-ve-Ma'yskdt* (Faith and Life) in Orenburg. In addition, the journal *Islamic World* and the newspaper *In the World of Muslims* were published in Russian in St Petersburg. They contained research papers by major orientalists of the Russian state.

The Jadids

The Jadid movement played an important part in the development of Islamic thought in Russia. The term "Jadidism" is derived from the expression *usul-i-jadid* which means "new method". Originally new methods concerned the system of teaching in school and reforms for religious schools - madrasahs and maktabahs - based on Western pedagogics. The movement which began in 1880 became very powerful by the beginning of the 20th century. There appeared newspapers and journals reflecting the Jadid tendencies and a number of books written in modernistic spirit. The Jadids came out with the condemnation of prejudices, scholasticism and mysticism and with a demand for the abolishment of beliefs in rites. They stood for the recognition of Western European science and technology. In the field of culture they stood for enlightenment. The Jadids conceptions of culture and progress testified to their aspiration to give a fresh interpretation of the Koran and to have highly educated mullahs and laymen.

The Jadidists saw in periodicals an effective means for the propagation of their ideas. In this regard the Muslim press proved to be effective, giving to Muslims a systematic education in Jadidist spirit. The Tatar Jadids issued over ten newspapers and two journals; the Uzbek Jadids some ten newspapers, all of them serving as means to propagate Jadidism. The Jadids published such newspapers as *Vakt* (Time) and *Kazakh* in Orenburg; *Yulduz* (Star) in Kazan. The Jadid journals *Oiinkh*, *Al-Islam* and newspaper *Maglumat* (News) were popular in Central Asia. The Jadid ideologists maintained that it was necessary to study the latest achievements made by European philosophy disseminated in Russia, Germany and France.

But the conservative elements among the clergy and Islamic ideologists opposed Jadidism; they were called the Kadimites - the term derived from *Kadim* which means the permanent or old.

They maintained that Islam cannot be amended. Nothing in Islam, including its doctrine and rites, existing Muslim customs and ways of life could be changed. In order to consolidate their position they sometimes resorted to the condemnation of the Jadids as pan-Islamists, though nothing could prove that the Jadids were engaged in pan-Islamist propaganda. It is difficult to say how far the conservatives and reformists could have gone in their struggle in the territory of Russia; for such events developed as made Muslims and their spiritual leaders abandon their internal affairs - the First World War broke out.

IV. ISLAM AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN RUSSIA

In May 1917, the regular All-Russian Muslim Convention was held in Moscow. It paid much attention to religious affairs. It adopted a special resolution on the organization of a broader temporary religious administration over the whole of internal Russia including Kazakhstan.

On November 20, 1917, the Soviet government issued an appeal to "all Muslim workers in Russia and in the East" which, in particular stated that "all your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions are declared free and inviolable". (88) But at the same time Muslim organizations no longer enjoyed the support of the state, nor did they occupy any place of importance in political life of the state or enjoy any privileges. Religious belonging no longer affected one's position in society and any indications of it were removed from all documents.

In the 20's a Religious Board was established in Tashkent for the first time in the history of the region. It was led by prominent Islamic leaders. It consisted of a secretariat and several departments in charge of civil legislation, training and education, the appointment of clergy and religious educational institutions. All this contributed to the consolidation of the position of Muslim organization in the new social situation. Taking into account specific conditions the local authorities took a number of practical steps. Thus, in January 1921, Fridays were declared days off for those who worked in public institutions within the Turkestan Republic. (89)

In some areas of Kirgizia more mosques were built in the 20's than in many previous years. (90) But some provisions and instructions of Islam could not be identified with the social structure of the new society. As is known the Shiites celebrate Ashura. This solemn feast is established to commemorate the martyrdom of imam Hussein, a son of Ali and grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. In the 20's the faithful still celebrated that feast by re-enacting the martyrdom of Hussein, which involved self torture. It should be noted that the governments of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkmenia, where the Shiites resided, banned ritual processions involving self torture. At the present time the Shiites celebrate Ashura in a peaceful atmosphere devoid of excessive exaltation.

It is known also that with the separation of the Church from the State declared in 1918 some legal provisions of Islam as well as the rules and instructions of the Sharia became invalid. But the popularity of the Sharia court proved to be so great that it continued to function along with the civil court and to deal with civil cases until 1927. The Sharia, applied for many centuries, has been imprinted deeply in the consciousness and ways of life of people who live in areas where Islam was the prevalent religion. That is why even today one can often observe the impact the Sharia has made on the ways of life and relations between people.

In the period under consideration the clergy was particularly concerned over the training of personnel. On the spur of the moment new schools and courses were opened. Dozens of students were sent to the Nadjaf and Kharasan Universities to get a higher theological education. "At the present time", wrote a researcher of Islam in 1930, "dozens of mullahs-to-be are trained at the Persian theological schools and by individual famous mujtahids to serve in the Soviet East". (91) According to the *World Muslim Yearbook*, there were 18,529,000 Muslims in the USSR in 1926. (92)

In 1928 the Central Asian Republics went over to the Soviet system of peoples education, and the schools attached to the mosques were abolished. Simultaneously all the institutions, the local press and schools went over from the Arabic to latinized alphabet.

The secularization of society which was in progress in the 30's came to a halt in the beginning of the next decade. During the World War the communicative function of Islam increased considerably - mosques and worshippers in them increased in number, the community came to play a more important part in the life of the Muslim population. During the war and in the first years after it the number of mosques increased. After the war the Religious Board of Muslims in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, established in 1943 with headquarters in Tashkent, began to publish its own journal. In Tashkent and Bukhara new madrasahs, secondary Muslim schools, were opened. In 1944 regular pilgrimage of Muslim clergy to Mecca and Medina resumed.

At the present time the following peoples in the USSR confess Islam: the Uzbeks, Tatars, Kirgees, Bashkirs, Kazakhs, Turkmen, Tadjiks, Azerbaijanis, Kara-Kalpaks and a number of nationalities living in Northern Caucasus. Muslims in the USSR enjoy the same rights as other believers. At the present time the portion of the population of the USSR which has traditionally confessed Islam is 35 million people strong. According to the correspondent of *The Economist* in Moscow (report of January 22, 1977) there are 1000 mosques in Central Asia.

In the Soviet Union there are four Muslim Religious Boards headed by outstanding Muslim leaders. They are situated in different parts of the USSR:

1. The Muslim Religious Board for the European part of the USSR and Siberia, with headquarters in Ufa;
2. The Muslim Religious Board for Central Caucasus, with headquarters in Makhachkala;
3. The Muslim Religious Board for Transcaucasia, with headquarters in Baku;
4. The Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan with headquarters in Tashkent.

The responsibilities of the Religious Boards are to direct the activity of the mosques, to manage Muslim affairs in the field of religion and rites, proceeding from the teachings of Koran and the sunna of the Prophet; to train priests and to publish religious literature. In the provinces the Boards are represented by kadis and muhtasibs (inspectors) to whom imams and other religious workers are responsible.

All the Religious Boards are actively involved in peacemaking activity. At the present time Muslims in the USSR maintain friendly contacts with their brothers in faith in more than 70 countries. With many of them they have already exchanged delegations. Thanks to these efforts many outstanding Muslim theologians and Islamic leaders have had an opportunity to come to the Soviet Union to get personally acquainted with the life of Muslims and activities of religious

bodies. They have had an opportunity to address numerous assemblies of the faithful in different parts of the country. Delegations of Muslims from the Soviet Union, in their turn, often go on visits to foreign Muslim countries. The Religious Boards have exerted great efforts to extend their international contacts and to develop existing relations. One of the most effective ways is to maintain correspondence and to exchange various publications. At the present time relations of this kind are maintained with Muslims in 80 countries of the world. The Boards regularly receive periodicals from 30 countries.

The activities carried out by the Religious Boards have been extensively covered by the journal *Muslims of the Soviet East* which comes out in Arabic, English, French and Uzbek and is mailed to all continents. (93) In July, 1979, religious leaders and representatives of the Islamic press from 12 countries attended the conference devoted to the 10th anniversary of the journal *Moslems of the Soviet East*.

Numerous editions of the Koran as well as the collections of Hadith *Al-Jami as-Sahih* and *Al-Adab al-Mufrad* by imam al-Bukhari published in the USSR have been highly appreciated by Muslims abroad. One should mention also the international Muslim conferences held recently in the USSR: the conference devoted to the 1200th birthday of imam al-Bukhari (1974, Samarkand); the conference devoted to the 30th anniversary of the Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan (1976, Tashkent); and the conference on the occasion of the 1400th hijrah entitled "The Contribution of Muslims in Central Asia, the Volga region and Caucasus to the Development of Islamic Thought, to the Cause of Peace and Social Progress" (September 1979, Dushanbe). The participants in these conferences paid much attention to problems of peace and the strengthening of relations of friendship among nations.

The Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan has addressed in recent years many letters to mosques in which an attempt has been made to clear Islam of many instructions and admonitions which appeared during the Arabian Middle Ages and which are in contradiction to our time. As far as the evaluation of Islam by modern atheists is concerned, one can come across statements in the modern periodical press which emphasize the progressive nature of Islam since the Koran bans landlordism. The Sacred Muslim Book contains also the declaration of social justice and the condemnation of exploitation, and an appeal to abstinence from excess, and the warning against corruption. There is no doubt that the religion of Muslims is not only the belief in One God, Allah, but also a code of life and ethical philosophical values.

V. CONCLUSION

Referring to the early stage in the development of Muslim teaching, Vladimir Solovyev, an Orthodox philosopher of religion, writes that "Muhammad and his followers were in natural solidarity with all monotheists, and Christians in particular, whose religion was not identified with nationality ... Muhammad speaks of Christ and his Mother not only with respect but also with reverence. Thus Sura V (The Table) reads: "After those prophets we sent forth Jesus, the son of Mary, confirming the Torah already revealed, and gave him the Gospel, in which there is a guidance and light, corroborating that which was revealed before it in the Torah, a guide and an admonition to the righteous." (94)

Peacemaking activity constitutes a special form of interreligious cooperation between Christians and Muslims. The basic prerequisite for such cooperation lies in a closeness manifested by adherents of different religions in the practical

expressions of their faith. The Sacred Book of Muslims - the Koran - teaches: "Settle your affairs peacefully" (*Anfal*, 10), for "the Lord united your hearts... so that you are now brothers" (Sura 3). According to the teaching of the Prophet, it is only peace that pleases God, while violence is trampling upon the divine law. Adherents of Islam believe the verse "do not tolerate violence" to be one of the basic rules.

The existence of points of contiguity between Christian and the Muslim teachings and the need for interreligious dialogue were emphasized in the documents of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), and this point of view is not in contradiction with the position of other Churches on this matter.

"The Church has also a high regard for the Muslims. They worship God, who is one, living and subsistent, merciful and almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth, who has also spoken to men. They strive to submit themselves without reserve to the hidden decrees of God just as Abraham submitted himself to God's plan, to whose faith Muslims eagerly link their own! Although not acknowledging him as God, they worship Jesus as a prophet, his virgin Mother they also honor, and even at times devoutly invoke. Further, they await the day of judgment and the reward of God following the resurrection of the dead. For this reason they highly esteem an upright life and worship God, especially by way of prayer, alms-deeds and fasting.

Over the centuries many quarrels and dissensions have arisen between Christians and Muslims. The sacred Council now pleads with all to forget the past, and urges that a sincere effort be made to achieve mutual understanding for the benefit of all men, let them together preserve and promote peace, liberty, social justice and moral values"

In conclusion of this review of relations between Muslims and the Orthodox in Russia it is necessary to note that at the present time most topical have become the words that were said by V. Solovyev as far back as in the 19th century: "The religion of Muhammad has the future - if it will not develop then it will expand. Permanent achievements of Islam among peoples unreceptive to Christianity - in India and Central Africa - have shown that spiritual milk of Koran is still essential for humanity". (95) This is what compels us to continue and develop Christian-Muslim dialogue, in which we can be guided by the following words of St Paul to make our participation truly Christian: "Strive for peace with all men, and for the holiness without which no one will see the Lord" (Heb. 12,14).

Footnotes

1. V.V. Bartold. *Islamic World*, No. 1 (Saint-Petersburg, 1912), p. 14
2. *Complete Russian Chronicles*, V.X. (Saint-Petersburg, 1913), p.89
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4. See V.V. Bartold. *Works*, V.V. (Moscow 1968). "Twelve Lectures on History of Turkish Peoples of the Middle Asia", p. 154
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6. quoted in M.D. Priselkov, *The Letter of Khans to the Russian Metropolitan* (Petrograd, 1916), p. 98
7. *Collection of State Edicts and Agreements at the State Board for Foreign Affairs*. Part II (Moscow, 1819), p. 8
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9. quoted in V.L. Klimovich-Zernov. *Research on the Kasimov Tsars and Princes* (Saint Petersburg, 1902), p. 320
10. See "Conciliar Decree of 1649 by Tzar Alexey Mikhailovich" Ch. XX. pp. 70-71; Ch. XXII, p. 24. *Monuments of Russian Law*. No. 6, Moscow, pp. 347-348, 434.
11. quoted in Khrustalev *Essay on the Propagation of Christianity among Adherents of Different Religions in the Kazan Region* (Kazan, 1874), p. 50 The same instruction was confirmed by the ukase of the Holy Synod of December 24, 1750 See *Complete Laws of the Russian Empire*, V XIII, (1749-1753), No 9825 (Saint-Petersburg, 1830).
12. K. Dobronravin. *Essay on the History of the Russian Church* (St-Petersburg, 1863), p. 230-231.
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14. See V. Cherevansky *Note on the Faith of Moslems-Sunnites* (St. Petersburg, 1874), p. 34
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16. See Revd K. Dobronravin *op. cit.* Appendix p. 98
17. See, *History of the Tatar ASSR from ancient times up to now* (Kazan, 1968), p. 49
18. quoted in A. Khrustalev *op. cit.* p. 19
19. V.V. Bartold *Islamic World*, No. 4 (1912), p. 594
20. V.V. Bartold, *Islamic World*, No. 4 (1912), p. 595
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24. See A.V. Avkseev, *Islam in Northern Caucasus* (Stavropole, 1973), pp. 15-16
25. *History of the Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR from Ancient Times up to the Present*, V. I (1967), p. 95
26. *Kabardien Russian Relations in the 16th-17th centuries*, V. I
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28. *Survey of the activities carried out by the Society for the restoration of Orthodoxy in the Caucasus, 1860-1910* (Tiflis, 1910), pp. 91-92
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53. T.S. Saidbayev, *op. cit.*, p. 90-91
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