

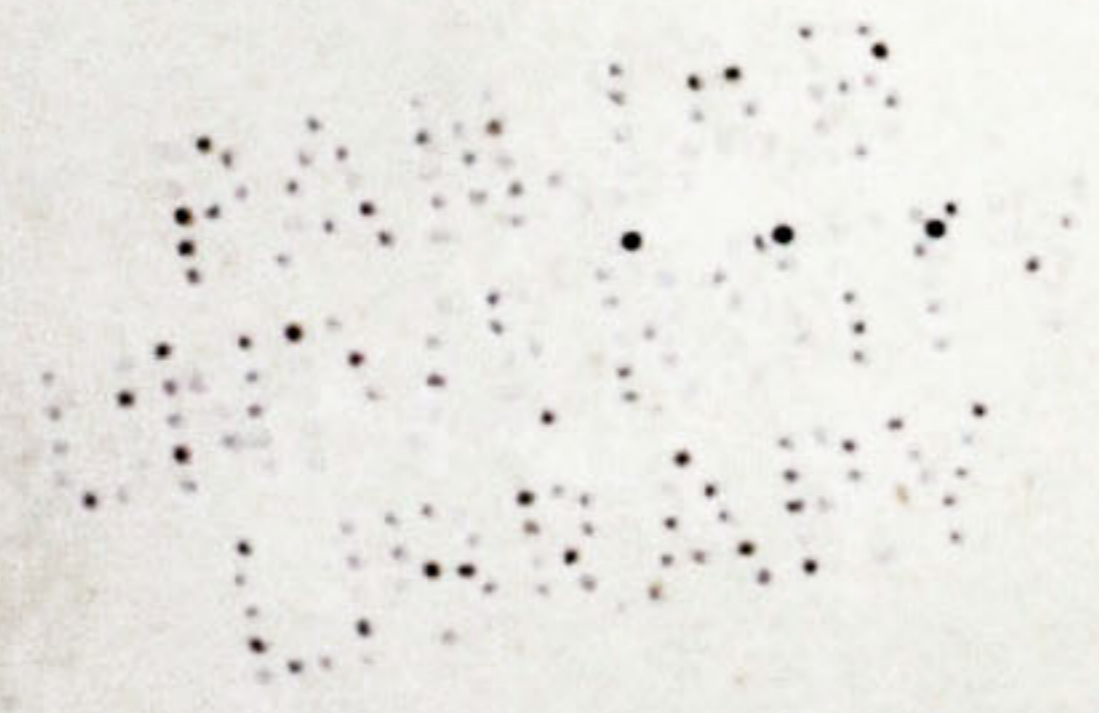
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ISLAM AND RUSSIA

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P R E F A C E

The present work consists of an analysis of AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC STUDIES IN THE USSR by N.A. Smirnov,* preceded by an Introduction by Professor Ann K.S. Lambton and followed by a Bibliographical Index of all the Russian publications mentioned in the book.

Mr. Smirnov's book was first published in 1954 and is the first comprehensive account of Islamic studies as pursued both in Imperial Russia and the USSR. Mr. Smirnov is the author of many other works on Islam and related subjects.

The transliteration of Russian and other foreign names contained in a work of this kind presents a difficult problem. Russian names and the titles of Russian works have been transliterated according to the system advocated by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names. In transliterating Persian, Arabic and Turkic names which occur in the original work in their Russian form, it has been thought preferable to adopt a more conventional system rather than transliterating the Russian characters. Thus, Muhammad is preferred to Mokhamed.

The analysis originally appeared in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW during 1954 and 1955.

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* Ocherki istorii izucheniya Islama v SSSR. The Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Moscow, 1954.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

By Professor ANN K.S. LAMBTON

Oriental studies have been pursued with considerable vigour both in Tsarist and in Soviet Russia. Some of the most distinguished Russian orientalists have worked and published in both periods. Among those who have made outstanding contributions to oriental studies may be mentioned Bartold, whose works on Transoxania are unequalled, Oldenburg, the Buddhist scholar, Kokovtsov, the semitic scholar, Marr, the Caucasian specialist, and Krachkovskiy, the arabist. In general the pre-revolutionary orientalists followed broadly in the tradition of western orientalism, but both before and after the revolution they made a special contribution to the study of some of the more obscure darvish movements in Central Asia and the Caucasus, for the study of which they had unique opportunities. Another field in which they have more recently made a special contribution is in the production of books on the contemporary languages of the east, and of chrestomathies.

The fact that oriental studies received special attention in Russia after the revolution may be attributed to the importance which the Communists attached to eastern peoples in the achievement of world revolution rather than to any wish to encourage objective or disinterested scholarship. One of the first steps taken for the organization and control of oriental studies was the constitution of a Scientific Association of Russian Orientalists under the Commissariat for the Affairs of Nationalities. It was recognized by the decree of 12th December 1921, and shortly afterwards sections were set up in Tiflis, Baku, Tashkent, and Irkutsk. In the first number of the review known as Novyy Vostok published by the association, the editor sought to distinguish between the allegedly friendly and peaceful policy of the Soviet government and the policy of conquest of the Tsarist regime.⁽¹⁾ The orient and Russia's role in it are defined in the following words: "the orient is the whole colonial world, the world of the oppressed not only of Asia but also of Africa and South America. In short the orient constitutes the whole of the world of the exploited peoples, upon which rests the power of the capitalist society of Europe and the USA. . . present-day Russia is called upon to play the role of teacher and leader of the peoples of the orient who tremble under the burden of chains of economic and moral slavery, Moscow is the new Mecca; it is the Medina of all oppressed peoples."⁽²⁾ The first issue also emphasized the need for statistical studies of the East and indicated certain historical, literary, linguistic, and archaeological problems which required investigation.⁽³⁾

Various centres for the study of oriental languages and civilizations had existed in Tsarist Russia; some of these continued to function under Soviet direction, others were reconstituted in an amended form, and various new institutions were set up. The Russian Academy of Sciences at Petersburg, which had numbered among its members several distinguished orientologists in Tsarist times, continued to produce works of importance on oriental subjects.⁽⁴⁾ By a decree of the Council of Commissars of 7th September 1920, the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow was turned into an Institute for Oriental Languages.⁽⁵⁾ In 1919 an oriental section was instituted at the Moscow military academy.⁽⁶⁾ In Tashkent a centre of Islamic Studies was set up shortly after the revolution under the orientologist Andreyev.⁽⁷⁾ Towards the end of 1920 the Institute of Modern Oriental Languages in Leningrad began to undertake the training of specialists, engineers, diplomats, merchants, agriculturists and doctors, etc.⁽⁸⁾ A programme of translation of oriental works was undertaken by the oriental section of "Literature Universelle" in Leningrad.⁽⁹⁾

Another field in which considerable work has been done, although it is not specifically concerned with oriental studies, is not without interest to orientologists. This is the creation of a press in the national languages of the Asiatic regions of Soviet Russia, and the translation into these languages of scientific and other works, and the preparation of dictionaries and grammars for Russians wishing to study these languages.⁽¹⁰⁾

The approach towards orientalism since the revolution has thus been guided by two main considerations, one "practical" and the other "ideological". Oriental languages and history have been studied to enable Russians better to interpret to Muslim peoples the theory of communism and to further Soviet aims, and secondly the history of Muslim peoples has been re-interpreted not only to fit into Marxist categories but also to accord with the various phases of Soviet policy. It follows from this that since the approach to history and to oriental studies is dominated by political considerations the appraisal of the work of Russian scholars will vary with the different phases of policy. Thus, the works of Pokrovsky who had proclaimed the resistance of any non-Russian territory to annexation by Tsarist Russia as a progressive and even revolutionary act, became anathema when the approach to the national communities changed, although his works had originally been accepted as orthodox. Another example of "re-interpretation" is the order issued by the Central Committee of the all-Union Communist Party in August 1944, to the Tatar Provincial Committee of the Communist Party "to proceed to a scientific revision of the history of Tataria, to liquidate the serious shortcomings and mistakes of a nationalistic character committed by individual historians and writers in dealing with Tatar history".⁽¹¹⁾ Even linguistics and philology were made to serve the party cause, as was shown by the Marr controversy in 1950. Similarly, Krachkovskiy, Bertels, Bartold and others have been criticized on ideological and not academic grounds. It also follows that confessions of error may be required by changes of policy from those who would remain

within the fold. (12)

- The first relatively comprehensive account of Islamic studies in Imperial Russia and the USSR is that given by N.A. Smirnov in An outline of the history of Islamic studies in the USSR, and as such it is of importance to students of Islam in general and of Islamic affairs in Tsarist and Soviet Russia in particular. The pre-revolutionary and the post-revolutionary periods are treated at approximately equal length, and the principal works as well as the theoretical and political approach of each period are examined in some detail. The approach is not new in so far as Smirnov emphasizes the fundamentally hostile attitude of the Soviet regime towards Islam as a religion. He refers to Islam as constituting an unrepresentative and reactionary culture artificially developed and exploited by native ruling classes and by Russian and foreign imperialists, and puts forward the traditional Marxist-Leninist point of view that religion is part of the super-structure of class society. Typical of the author's attitude towards Islam is his comment on Bartold's approach to Islam. "Far removed as he was from the materialist conception of history, Bartold", writes Smirnov, "did not regard Islam as a form of ideology and he did not depict it in the light of definite social relationships. He was thus unable to distinguish the class character of Islam or the fact that it always and everywhere serves as an instrument of exploitation and coercion of the toiling masses."

Smirnov does not claim in his work to give a bibliography of Russian works on Islam, but the bibliographical value of the book is nevertheless considerable. His aim is "to give a selection of what is of interest to Soviet historical science in its task of demonstrating the social function of Islam in the history of Muslim peoples of the East and combatting its survivals in our country." The context in which he regards Islamic studies is thus a limited one and explains some of the omissions from the work. The emphasis is on Islam as a religion and the study does not cover the broader aspects of Islamic civilization which are normally included under the general title of Islamic studies. No reference is made in the book to the official publications of the Tsarist government, many of which were of considerable value. The exclusion of many works on economic matters, land tenure and so forth in Islamic countries, many of which were written under the Soviet regime, is less easy to understand, the more so in view of Smirnov's criticism that the work of "the majority of the bourgeois students of Islam" is characterized by complete ignorance of the material and economic basis of the historical process and by an endeavour to explain the origins and spread of Islam by the activities of prominent personalities." Secondly the author aims at exposing the errors of "bourgeois" students of Islam and any errors in Soviet works on Islam. Seen against the background of international politics and Soviet fears of deviationism the relevance of this becomes clearer. Anything likely to lessen the

possible attraction of the non-Communist world for the Muslim East is of value from the Soviet point of view. Consequently Smirnov accuses "imperialists" and especially American "monopolists" of using religion to justify their "racial and anti-human" policy. In his view it was the duty of Soviet historians to expose these designs of imperialism and to wage unceasing war against the survivals of capitalism represented by Islam.

The first half of the book concerns the pre-revolutionary period and the author mentions many works little known outside Russia. He admits that many pre-revolutionary scholars collected valuable factual and critical material, which constitutes "a useful and indispensable store for Soviet science and can be made real use of by Soviet research workers, provided these apply to them a strictly critical appreciation of the general theoretical conceptions arising out of the bourgeois-idealistic outlook of their authors". The attitude to Islam in the early works of Russian scholars is alleged to reflect the attitude of the church. This may in certain cases have been so, but what the writer fails to remark is that Soviet writings on Islam also reflect a bias, namely that of Marxism. Writers in the early period may not have been free from prejudice, but they were at least not forced, as is the Soviet writer who does not wish to be accused of deviationism, to fit their facts into pre-conceived categories. Smirnov's own attitude is clear from his strictures of Rozen, Bartold, Zhukovskiy and Mednikov, who, he alleges, represented the "so-called academic orientalism" and occupied a "non-political" position. The Marxist orientalist like other Marxists has a case to prove and must make his facts fit the case and not allow them to speak for themselves or attempt to interpret them except in terms of orthodoxy.

Smirnov alleges that pre-revolutionary oriental studies were directed along channels which would further the interest of Tsarism and its colonial policy, but that Russian scholarship nevertheless evinced a "progressive" tendency based on a solid materialist tradition. He also alleges that many writers displayed a prejudiced and hostile attitude towards eastern peoples professing Islam. "They seldom took into account the fact that Islam had not retained the form which it had assumed between the seventh and ninth centuries but had followed a tortuous process of adapting itself to the requirements of feudal class rule in the countries of the east". This allegation, apart from its somewhat naive judgment, is perhaps important, since it leaves room for the argument that Islam as such is not the object of attack but rather the use made of it by the "exploiting classes"; the way is thus still left open for an appeal to the true believer, whose ideal must be the community of the first and second centuries of the Hijra. In addition to the discussion of works on orthodox Islam, attention is drawn to various works on Babis and Bahais, Ismailis, dervishism, Sufism and Muridism. The last three are referred to by the writer as "not only the most repulsive and reactionary phenomena in the religious life of eastern peoples, hotbeds of vice, obscurantism and ignorance, but an instrument of

the social subjection of the masses which was directed by the more reactionary social forces".

Smirnov's outline of the historical background which conditioned the first Soviet literature devoted to Islam is illuminating. While claiming that the Soviet attitude to religion was based on Marxist freedom of conscience and the proclamation of 24th November 1917 to all Muslim peoples of Russia, which declared that their beliefs and customs, national and cultural institutions were free and inviolate, he makes a distinction between the attitude of the Soviet regime and the communist party towards Islam and the shari'a on the one hand and the counter-revolutionary activities of the Muslim religious classes on the other, and appears to see no inconsistency between the proclamation of 1917 and anti-religious propaganda. The period 1926-34 is shown to have been particularly fruitful in anti-Islamic works. Among these are a number of studies on the position of women, including one on the veil by Smirnov himself, written in 1929, which he admits to contain a "now inaccurate" account of the sources of the custom. A good deal of work was published on the origins of Islam and its nature, some of which Smirnov does not regard as ideologically sound. More studies on the Babis and Bahais and various, and in some cases relatively obscure, Islamic sects also appeared during this period.

Discussing Islamic studies from 1935 to 1950, Smirnov states that the period was notable for the great number of publications of a scientific description but designed to have a popular appeal. He also makes clear the extent to which Islamic studies were subject to party discipline. Thus he claims that party resolutions exposed in 1946 many harmful trends in the interpretation of national movements. For example, the view that Shamil was the leader of a progressive and popular war was shown to be the result of un-Marxist doctrines. The correct view, he alleges, is that of Guseynov, namely that the movement was a reactionary nationalist movement inspired by British capitalists and the sultan of Turkey. (13)

Smirnov sums up in the following words: "The task confronting Soviet investigators of Islam is, without weakening scientific research work in the sphere of the study of the origin and early forms of Islam, to pay more attention to the bringing into being of a literature answering to the demands of science and disclosing the social role played by Islam at various epochs of history, at the same time providing concrete examples. In particular, much more attention must be paid to unmasking the contemporary role of Islam as a support for the exploiter classes and colonial regime and to disclosing the reactionary, anti-popular essence of the ideology of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism, used primarily by the American imperialists to enslave the peoples of the East."

There is little in Smirnov's work to show that Soviet policy towards Muslim peoples and the Soviet attitude towards Islamic studies have undergone any major change. Such changes as have occurred in the different periods described by Smirnov are changes of emphasis rather than of policy. Imperialism, colonialism and Islam have throughout been closely linked in Soviet writings. Smirnov's conclusions do little more than underline the recent intensification of propaganda to Muslim communities outside Russia, and the new drive to harness behind the communist movement the forces of nationalism in the Islamic world by separating them from Islam and identifying them with the demand for social reform and economic equality.

The Russian connection with Islam is of long standing and the fact that Russia has a large Muslim population affects her relations with Muslim communities outside her own boundaries and has led to a certain dualism in her policy towards the Muslim world. In 1939, the Muslim population of the USSR numbered twenty-one millions, or some fifteen per cent of the total population. Eleven millions of these twenty-one millions lived in Central Asia, four millions in the Caucasus, four millions in the Volga region, and the remainder in scattered communities. (14) The Russian connection with Islam in these three main areas developed along somewhat different lines, but in all cases the Russians made contact with the Muslim population as colonizers and where Russian colonization was successful it meant, in the main, a victory of the farmer over the nomad, and a gradual pervasion and eventual submersion of the local population. (15)

The earliest contact between the Russians and Muslims was in the Volga region, where the Russians, when they settled in the lands between the Oka and Volga rivers, came into conflict with the Muslim Bulgars centred round the junction of the Volga and Kama rivers. In the thirteenth century the Russian advance was checked by the Golden Horde. The Black Sea steppes, into which the Russians had penetrated from Kiev, became Tatar and Muslim. The Russians were largely confined to the zone of mixed forests and became subjected not only to a nomadic but also to an Islamic power, since the Golden Horde were converted to Islam in the thirteenth century. (16) "Consequently when the Russian resurgence against the Tatars came, it took on something of the colour of a crusade in popular estimation and in the eyes of the church, though less so in those of the government". (17) In the fifteenth century the Golden Horde broke up into the rival khanates of Astrakhan, Kazan, and the Crimea, the Nogai Horde, and the khanate of the Siberian Tatars.

The Muscovite kingdom meanwhile began its advance down the Volga. The khanate of Kazan, founded in 1445, was finally annexed in 1552, although its occupation was not completed till almost a century later. The Astrakhan khanate, founded c.1466, lasted rather under a hundred years, being annexed by Russia in 1556. The nomad Muslim Bashkirs of the Middle

Urals on the other hand resisted Russian subjection until the end of the eighteenth century.⁽¹⁸⁾ The struggle in these various areas, as later in the Crimea, was primarily between the nomads and the sedentary colonizers, and not between Russians and Muslims as such, though the Tatars and Bashkirs were Muslims. The khanate of the Crimea, founded c. 1430, was conquered by Russia in 1771 and annexed in 1783.⁽¹⁹⁾ This conquest again marked the success of settled colonization at the expense of pastoral nomadism.⁽²⁰⁾

In the Caucasus and Central Asia Russia came into contact with the Muslim communities relatively late. Her expansion in these areas was due in the main to deliberate state policy, and can only be seen in its correct perspective if viewed against the background of the Eastern Question and Russia's relations with the Great Powers and particularly Great Britain. A consideration of these aspects, however, is outside the scope of this study and only the main features of Russian contact with the Muslims will be touched upon. In the Caucasus the pattern of Russian expansion differed both from the pattern in the Kazan khanate and in Central Asia and was affected both by the conditions prevailing in the Caucasus itself and by Russia's relations with the Ottoman and Persian Empires. The Caucasus was rent by internal divisions, religious, sectarian, and racial, notably between Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis, Christians and Muslims. Russian connections with the Caucasus had been considerable in the middle of the Kiev period; they were then almost severed for a period until the capture of Astrakhan in 1556. In the seventeenth century a number of Cossack settlements were founded along the Terek River and embassies were from time to time exchanged with the Georgian principalities,⁽²¹⁾ but it was not till the eighteenth century under Peter the Great that Russian expansion into the Caucasus was pushed forward with vigour.

Trade routes to the east had long passed via the Caspian. It was clear to Peter that possession of the Caspian would facilitate Russian trade with the east, and also that such possession to be secure would require the subjection of the population of the surrounding steppes. But meanwhile Turkey was extending her influence in the area between the Black Sea and the Caspian. It was essential to the success of Peter's plans that Turkish influence should be reduced. War with Turkey eventually broke out and after an initial defeat Azov was captured in 1696. Peace was concluded in 1700, after Peter had failed to persuade the Western Powers to join him against Turkey. War broke out again in 1710 and in 1711 Azov was ceded to Turkey. Relations with Turkey continued nevertheless to be strained, but Peter was for a period occupied in a struggle with Sweden for the Baltic and it was not till 1722 that he was free to continue his policy of expansion southwards, though he had sent expeditions into Central Asia in 1714 and 1717.

Since the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire and Persia had disputed the possession of the Caucasus. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the advantage in this struggle was with Turkey. Persia was in a state of disorder, the Safavid ruler having been overthrown by the Afghans, and the Ottomans were pressing in towards the eastern Caucasus and the Caspian. If Peter the Great was to fulfil his ambition to make the Caspian into a Russian lake it was essential that he should forestall the Turkish advance, and partly with this in view and partly to benefit from existing Persian weaknesses he led an expedition against Persia in 1722. Once more the war, after an initial reverse, was brought to a successful conclusion. Baku and the western and southern Caspian sea-coasts were ceded to Russia in return for the promise of help against the Ottoman Turks.⁽²²⁾ In the following year a treaty was signed with the Ottoman Empire in Constantinople whereby the shores of the Caspian from the junction of the Kur and Aras Rivers northwards were to belong to Russia and the western provinces of Persia were to fall to Turkey. The gains to Russia of the first Russo-Persian war were, however, temporary. Nadir Shah reunited Persia and drove out the Turks; and in 1732 and 1735 the Empress Anne restored to Persia the conquests of Peter the Great, Russia retiring to the line on the Terek.

Turco-Persian rivalry in the Caucasus meanwhile continued and together with the divisions among the local people contributed to the ultimate conquest of the area by Russia.⁽²³⁾ During the reign of Catherine the Great there was war with Turkey in 1768-74 and by the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774) the Tatars from the frontier of Poland to the Caspian including those of the Crimea and Kuban were declared independent under their own khan, though the treaty reserved the religious supremacy of the sultan. It was not long however before the khanate of Kuban and the Crimea were annexed to Russia and in 1784 the stipulations of the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji concerning the Tatars were abrogated. Catherine meanwhile appears to have conceived the project of partitioning Turkey and resuscitating the Byzantine Empire and to have persuaded the Austrian emperor to join her in this scheme. War broke out again in 1787 and was concluded to the disadvantage of Turkey, the Crimea by the peace of 1792 going to Russia, the Asiatic frontier remaining unchanged. Eastern Georgia had meanwhile appealed to Russia for assistance against Turkey and Persia and in 1783 accepted the protectorate of Catherine, to be finally annexed in 1801.⁽²⁴⁾ By 1810 other Georgian principalities had been engulfed. The Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 confirmed Russian supremacy in the western Caucasus, and left Turkey holding nothing north of Batum.⁽²⁵⁾

The continued expansion of Russia into the Caucasus brought her once more into conflict with Persia. In 1796 a Russian force had marched against Persia in retaliation for Aqa Muhammad Khan's sack of Tiflis in 1795, and in the immediately following years took possession of the greater part of Daghestan, annexing various khanates. By the Treaty of

Gulistan (1813) Persia was forced to cede the khanates of Darband, Baku, Ganja, Talish, Shekki, Shirvan, and Mughan, Georgia, and Qarabagh. Russian control was not however immediately established in these areas. The mountain people of the Caucasus were no more ready to submit to Russian than to Persian control and they continued a bitter resistance. A second war with Persia broke out in 1826-8. After an initial success the Persians were again defeated and by the Treaty of Turkomanchai (1828) Erivan and Nakhjivan were also ceded to Russia. The mountain people however continued their resistance to Russia and were not subdued till 1864 when the Circassians migrated to Turkey.⁽²⁶⁾ Resistance to Russia was led by Shamil who succeeded in temporarily uniting the mountain people against the invaders. The movement, known as Muridism, which he led was a movement of resistance both against the invader and against those of the local chiefs who co-operated with the invader. The cohesive force of Muridism was Islam, and its outward form was Islamic, although the causes which gave rise to it were social and economic as well as religious. After the death of Shamil there were again uprisings in the Caucasus during the Turco-Russian war of 1877-8. As a result of this war Kars again became Turkish but Batum was ceded to Russia. With this the struggle for the Caucasus was virtually concluded. It had "spelt campaign after campaign, astonishing feats of arms, yet more astonishing feats of endurance; it spelt massacre, burning villages, raided herds, devastation. There was indeed all too much fire and sword, especially in the grim contests with the mountaineers. But the conquest meant other things as well. In the North Caucasus steppes it meant security for Russian colonization, the victory of the farmer settler and all that follows. In Transcaucasia, for the upper few it brought from the first excellent opportunities, readily taken, of service, often high service, in the Russian army and administration; for the largely Armenian middle-class minority it brought expansion of trade and industry; for the many, some security and less oppressive taxation."⁽²⁷⁾ As a result of these events the North Caucasus became predominantly Russian, but in Transcaucasia Russian settlement proceeded slowly and the population continued to regard the Russian settlers as foreigners.⁽²⁸⁾

The main bulk of Russian Muslims are to be found in Central Asia, where the Kirgiz, Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmen and Tajik peoples have each given its name to a republic. Russian expansion in this region was differentiated from her expansion in the other two main regions by the fact that in Central Asia the Russians came into contact not only with Muslim nomads and mountain people but also with urban centres with a long tradition of Islamic learning and culture. Central Asia had at different times played the role of an outpost of Islamic civilization and its rulers had from time to time held the marches against the inroads of the nomads. Bukhara and Samargand had been great centres of Muslim civilization under the Samanid dynasty (874-999); the latter city had enjoyed great wealth and prosperity under Timur (1335-1405)

also. By the time Russia began to extend her influence into Central Asia, however, the great empires of the past had long since broken up into independent warring khanates, including those of Bukhara, Khiva, and Khokand.⁽²⁹⁾ The Kazakh and Turkmen tribes who inhabited the steppe bordering the Persian frontier acknowledged no permanent overlord and raided far and wide into the neighbouring countries.

In 1822, Alexander I attempted to place the Kazakhs under the governors of Orenburg and Western Siberia. This action stirred up the jealousy of the khan of Khiva, as also did the activities of the Cossack colonies which were pushing eastwards. After an abortive attempt by Russia to reduce Khiva, a treaty of peace and amity was made with the khan in 1842. By 1865 the Russian boundary had nevertheless been pushed forward to the edge of the Samarqand plateau from whence the khanates of Bukhara, Khokand and Khiva could be threatened. The emir of Bukhara meanwhile placed himself at the head of a coalition, but was defeated, and the Russians took Khokand in 1866. By the middle of the following year they had taken the basin of the Zarafshan; and in 1868 Samarqand fell, after which the khan of Bukhara surrendered. He was confirmed as emir of Bukhara by the Treaty of 1868 but compelled to cede Samarqand. The reduction of Khiva took place in 1873 and in 1876 Khokand was constituted (as Fergana) into a province of Turkestan. Russian control over Transcaspia however remained precarious until the victory of Geok Tepe in 1881.

The advance of Russia in Central Asia, accompanied, as it had been in the Caucasus, by a good deal of slaughter and devastation, was facilitated, as also was the case in the Caucasus, by the inability of the local population to unite and, in all probability, it was largely rendered inevitable by the lawlessness of the regions themselves.⁽³⁰⁾ Persia was no longer able to control the tribes on her borders and there was no other major power in Central Asia able to reduce the warring factions. Isolated Russian posts supported by flying expeditions of Cossacks could never give security in the face of the prevailing lawlessness and unrest.

By the census of 1897 the Russian Tsar numbered among his subjects some fifteen million Muslims.⁽³¹⁾ The vast majority of these had been incorporated into the Russian empire as a result of Russian expansion during the nineteenth century. This expansion had been dictated by political and economic considerations and it would perhaps be fair to say that Russia had no Muslim policy as such. Her relations with Turkey, it is true, involved the problem of the protection of Orthodox Christians and the wars with Turkey and the Eastern question in general were to some extent complicated by religious factors. But in Central Asia and the Caucasus the religious motive on the side of Russia was absent. It was a coincidence, though not without consequences ultimately, that the cleavage between invader and invaded corresponded with the division into Muslim and non-Muslim. Religious and racial discrimination in the empire was not marked.

The ukaz of 1740 which imposed taxation and military service on the non-baptized Tatars of Kazan, the destruction of mosques in 1742 and the attempted russification of the Tatars in 1864 were the exception rather than the rule. (32)

The absorption of the various Muslim groups into the Russian Empire was facilitated by the fact that they had not previously belonged to a clearly defined national state. Even in the urban centres such as Samarqand and Bukhara the loyalties of the population were predominantly local, and among the nomads they were tribal. The nature of these loyalties made for resistance to central control but not for unity between the various groups. The one factor which they had in common was Islam but this was not strong enough to overcome their local differences. It was not the nation which was felt to be threatened by the encroachment of Russia but the local community or the tribe; and since nationality was largely associated with differences in religion it was natural that opposition to an infidel invader should be expressed in terms of Islam. Thus the various movements of resistance, although they were often mainly social, were articulated in terms of Islam. This is not surprising. Islam was an all-inclusive concept which embraced all aspects of the believer's life. If his existence as a nomad was threatened by the encroachment of the settled farmer, or his independence as the inhabitant of a mountain region was curbed by the central government, since nomadism or independence was for him a valid aspect, and perhaps even the only aspect he knew, of life within the Islamic community, an attack on this aspect of life meant for him an attack on Islam. His resistance expressed itself therefore as a religious crusade against the infidel invader, as in the case of the Murid war, which was provoked both by the ruthlessness of the Russian advance and by the malpractices of the local leaders who had become the agents of an indirect Russian rule, and as in the case of the revolt of Dükchi Ishan in 1898 in Ferghana, which was supported by peasants and herdsmen displaced by Russian immigrants and bankrupt farmers overtaken by a cotton slump. (33)

There was however another aspect to the Russian conquest. It meant, as stated above, also the possibility of employment and advance in state service, and possibilities for increased trade and education. (34) Further, although the Muslim population as a whole were brought into contact with Russia mainly as a colonizing force, individuals among them came under the influence of movements for liberal reform. Russian circles were not the only, or perhaps even the main, source from which Muslim intellectuals drew their inspiration. During the second half of the nineteenth century movements for constitutional reform and national independence were gaining ground among the Muslims of the Near and Middle East in general. During the course of the century the indigenous governments, by the adoption of western techniques of government, had extended their power to cover a wider sphere of activities than had been the case formerly; but since the adoption of these techniques was not

accompanied by the checks and controls which had developed with them in the west, the power of the indigenous governments was felt to be more oppressive than formerly. To counter the increased power of the government the intellectuals began to demand a share in the government, and the extension of western democratic principles to the theory of government as well as the extension of western techniques to the activities of government; and since their models were for the most part the democratic national states of western Europe, the movements for reform in the Near and Middle East and Central Asia had a nationalist aspect. These movements were also associated with pan-Islamic tendencies. This, at first sight, may appear to be paradoxical, but it was in keeping with the traditions of the area, where nationalism and religion were inextricably woven together, and where movements of reform only became intelligible to, and gained the support of, the mass of the population when interpreted in terms of Islam.

The pan-Islamic movement of Jamal ud-Din, the Young Turk movement and the Russo-Japanese war were all effective factors in the Muslim awakening both in the Near and Middle East and in Russia. It must not be supposed, however, that the Muslims of Russia were any more united in their demand for reform than were Muslims elsewhere. The fact, moreover, that many of the former ruling classes in the Muslim areas of Russia had been absorbed into the Russian administration and enjoyed the privileges that went with this meant that they tended to regard Tsarist power as a protection against their own workers and peasants and hesitated to support a movement likely to lead to violent revolution. The first all-Muslim Russian congress was held in secret during the Nizhenovgorod fair in August 1905; it urged Muslims to unite and work for a constitution for Russia.⁽³⁵⁾ There was, in fact, considerable support for the revolutionary movement of 1905-6 from various sections of the Muslim population of Russia, but they interpreted it largely in terms of Islamic nationalism. In the first дума there were over twenty-five Muslim deputies and in the second thirty-five. Changes in the electoral law in 1907 reduced the number of Muslim deputies, and in the third дума there were only nine deputies and in the fourth seven. In 1906 a second Muslim congress was held at which the Union of the Muslims of Russia was formed. No real unity was, however, achieved between the various groups. In 1916 another all-Russian Muslim congress met at Lausanne at which its members variously demanded independence, autonomy, and equality of rights.⁽³⁶⁾ In May, 1917, another congress was held in Petersburg to demand national autonomy. It met again in Kazan in July 1917, and was mainly controlled by Tatars; simultaneously a Bashkir congress and a Kazakh congress met at Orenburg and both put forward demands for autonomy. In the same year various congresses were held by other Muslim groups.⁽³⁷⁾

The intellectual ferment of revolutionary ideas and the weakness and divisions among the Muslims themselves during the early twentieth century, the impracticability of pan-Islamism and its fundamental incompatibility with nationalism are perhaps best illustrated by events in Transcaucasia. In that area despite the Russian conquest Armenians, Georgians, and Azerbaijani

had remained divided. In 1904, the Hemmat party, a Marxist party for Muslims, was formed; it was connected with the Russian Social Democrat party, which was dominated by the Bolsheviki. During the revolution of 1905, Transcaucasia was the scene of disorders, which were partly of a social, partly of an anti-foreign, i.e. anti-Russian, and partly of a religious, i.e. anti-Armenian, nature. By 1906, the Hemmat party had become influential, but was virtually destroyed as a political force by Vorontsov-Dashkov in 1907. With the failure of the revolution and the temporary eclipse of the Social Democrat movement, nationalist and pan-Islamic tendencies gained ground among the Azerbaijani intellectuals, and in 1911-12 a group of these, who had been closely associated with the Russian Social Democrat Workers' Party, formed the Musavat.⁽³⁸⁾ Their appeal was pan-Islamic in that their aim was the unity of all Muslim peoples without regard to nationality or sect, nationalist in that it offered the extension of material and moral aid to all Muslim nations which fought for their independence, and "socialist" in that it envisaged "the establishment, as need might arise, of contact and exchange of opinion with foreign parties which have the wellbeing of humanity as their aim". The pan-Islamism of the Musavat was thus not a demand for a revival of the Islamic empire of classical times but rather an appeal for the unity of the "underprivileged", to which by implication the Muslims belonged, formulated in somewhat nebulous terms according to the climate of opinion of the day, and made in the name of democracy and nationalism.

The war years passed relatively uneventfully until the outbreak of the revolution of March 1917, when Russian imperial authority crumbled and various political parties and citizens' committees were formed.⁽³⁹⁾ A Provisional Committee of the Muslim Social Organizations was constituted which stated that the only form of government in Russia satisfactory to the Muslims would be a democratic republic.⁽⁴⁰⁾ This committee was anti-bourgeois and supported the Provisional Government because it believed that government to represent the forces of democracy; it was also anti-foreign because it considered Muslims everywhere to be oppressed by governments which were either composed of, or under the influence of, non-Muslim peoples. In fact in Transcaucasia and elsewhere in the Russian empire the Muslim nationalist movements turned out to have very little in common with the revolutionary movement as a whole. A common hatred of the Tsarist government, coupled perhaps on the side of the Muslims with a belief that democratic socialism meant power, had temporarily united them, but once the Tsarist regime had been overthrown it became clear how tenuous were the bonds which united them. With the November revolution Transcaucasia was thrown into confusion; a bitter struggle, complicated by racial rivalries and intervention by the Great Powers, broke out between the Musavat and the Soviet. It eventually ended about 1921 with the loss of political independence to Russia and the incorporation of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan as national republics into the RSFSR.⁽⁴¹⁾

It was not only in the Caucasus that movements of revolt among the Muslim population of Russia were taking form in the early twentieth century. The revolt of Dikchi Ishan in 1898 had been put down by force but nothing had been done to remove the discontent which had given rise to it.⁽⁴²⁾ Political unrest meanwhile also spread to the khanates of Bukhara and Khiva. The revolutionary movement of 1905-6 received support from various Muslim groups, but there was no real unity of purpose either between the local people of Central Asia or between the local reform parties and the Russian revolutionary party.⁽⁴³⁾ During the years preceding the Great War of 1914-18, and during its early years, discontent in Central Asia grew. In 1916 a ukaz was issued calling up the local population for non-combatant military service from which they had formerly been exempted. This caused the smouldering fires of rebellion to blaze up. Vigorous military action was required to suppress the revolt and the brutality with which it was put down further alienated the local population and predisposed them to support the revolutionary movement of 1917.⁽⁴⁴⁾ When revolution finally broke out Central Asia, like the Caucasus, was thrown into a state of disorder, conflicting interests dividing the various groups. The course of events is extremely complicated. After the October revolution anti-Bolshevik regimes were set up in Ashkhabad⁽⁴⁶⁾ and in Bukhara.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Neither was able to achieve more than temporary success. The failure of the movement led by Enver Pasha would seem to support the view that there was little unity between the Muslims of Central Asia.⁽⁴⁸⁾

In January 1919, the khan of Khiva was forced to abdicate and in June the revolutionary party with the help of Russian communists proclaimed the Soviet Republic of Khorezm.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Similarly in Bukhara the Young Bukharan Party, who had started propaganda against the absolute rule of the emir in 1908, eventually succeeded in 1920, as in Khiva with the help of Russian communists, in setting up a Soviet Republic.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The government of Soviet Russia unlike that of Tsarist Russia clearly has a Muslim policy and various phases in this can be distinguished. Its attitude towards its Muslim subjects is affected even more closely than that of the Tsarist government by its foreign relations. But whereas Tsarist Russia had been largely concerned to impose her control over Muslim groups in areas, the control of which she disputed with Turkey and Persia, Soviet Russia was concerned in the early period to prevent hostile powers using the Muslim communities within her borders against her, and secondly she was and is concerned to win over to the cause of world revolution Muslim communities beyond her borders. Not only is her Muslim policy thus complicated by her foreign relations, but it is also closely affected by her ideological hostility towards religion in general, by her policy towards the various nationalities within her borders, and lastly by her economic policy, since the old dichotomy between Russian settler farmer and Muslim nomad to some extent still persists.

In the early period of the Bolshevik revolution the support of the Muslims was sought. It is difficult, however, to disentangle Soviet policy towards the Muslims from the nationalities problem,⁽⁵¹⁾ and Soviet policy was concerned for the most part with Muslims organized in national groups and located in clearly defined geographical areas. The proclamation launched by Lenin and Stalin to Muslims on 19th December 1917, is often regarded as defining the attitude of the Soviet towards Muslims. It reads: "Muslims of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, Turks and Tatars of Transcaucasia, Chechens and mountaineers of the Caucasus, and all you whose mosques and places of worship have been destroyed, whose customs have been trampled underfoot by the tsars and tyrants of Russia, your beliefs and customs, national and cultural institutions are free and inviolable. Organize your national life in all liberty. It is your right. . . To the Muslims of the Orient, Persians, Turks, Arabs, Indians, and all who have been exploited during past centuries, and to all those whose goods the plunderers of Europe wish to divide, we declare the secret treaties of the tsar, concerning the seizure of Constantinople, and also those confirmed by Kerensky, to be today annulled. The Russian republic and its government, the Council of Commissars of the people, declares itself against the seizure of foreign countries. Constantinople must remain in the hands of the Turks. We declare null and void the treaty concerning the partition of Persia. . . and the treaty concerning the partition of Turkey."⁽⁵²⁾ The two aspects of Soviet policy towards Muslims, (i) the appeal to Muslims inside Russia, and (ii) the appeal to Muslims outside Russia, can be seen in this document. In the early period before the Muslims of Russia had been brought under control it was important that the two appeals should run on broadly similar lines. The dominant consideration from the first, however, appears to have been the appeal to Muslims outside Russia because of the contribution it was hoped they would make to the consummation of world revolution. Once the control of the central government had been firmly established there was less need for the two appeals to correspond. In January 1918, a Commissariat for Internal Muslim Affairs was set up.⁽⁵³⁾ In November 1918 a congress of Muslim communist organizations was held in Moscow to set up a central bureau of these organizations.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Notwithstanding Soviet expressions of sympathy with "oppressed" Muslim peoples, the Muslims of Russia showed considerable hostility to the Bolshevik regime. This is not altogether surprising in view of the fact that from the first the actions of the Bolsheviks, notably in Bashkiria, were contrary to the spirit of the declaration of December 1917.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Further, from early in 1918 there was active intervention against the so-called "bourgeois" nationalist governments which had appeared between the March and October revolutions. Although these governments were to some extent led by intellectuals, the influence of the religious classes in them was not negligible. Vigorous attacks were made on the Muslim religion, its traditions and practices, partly, no doubt, with a view to destroying the influence of the religious classes.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The strength of Islam appears to have been

stronger than was expected and by the end of 1919 a policy of uncompromising hostility was abandoned and an attempt was made to win over the younger members of the religious classes. (57) It is noteworthy that when the Congress of the Soviets of the mountain people (Gortsy) of the North Caucasus was finally convened in April 1921, the commissars appear to have been for the most part Russians, not Muslims of the local population. (58)

Once the Soviet power became firmly established a change of approach towards the peoples on the periphery of the empire can be seen; emphasis was no longer laid on ethnical principles; the new basis for autonomy was economic and regional. (59) In other words the formerly autonomous regions were transformed into administrative units of the Soviet federation. Already by 1920, the trend away from national autonomy towards administrative and political centralization can be seen. From 1920 onwards, the affairs of the national groups were dealt with by the Commissariat for the Affairs of Nationalities. National autonomy was replaced by regional autonomy by the decrees of 19th May and 4th November 1920. (60) This development could not but adversely affect the position of the Muslim groups, closely connected as they were with ethnical groups. Nationalism was useful as a slogan for rousing hostility to and getting rid of the Tsarist Russian regime, but once the new regime had become firmly entrenched, it had no use for the nationalist movements or their leaders. (61) Thus, as the Bolshevik movement became stronger and extended its influence among the Muslims, so it was felt to be increasingly repressive and hostility towards it increased. This, in turn, meant that Soviet policy became more harshly repressive. Hatred of a common enemy had temporarily united the Muslims with the revolutionaries, but once the common enemy had been overthrown the Muslim national groups attempted to go their several ways. The activities of Enver Pasha and the Basmachi movement in Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khorezm moreover, no doubt heightened Russian fear of the pan-Islamic and pan-Turanian movements.

Fear of the potential threats to the Bolshevik regime from the national groups is apparent in the report to the Xth Congress of the Communist party made by Stalin as People's Commissar for the Affairs of Nationalities in March 1921. He accused indigenous communists of "emphasizing the importance of national groups in the work of the party, ignoring thus the interests of the working classes, confusing these sometimes with national interests. Thus they allowed themselves to be led towards an indigenous nationalism, which in the orient took the form of pan-Islamism and pan-Turanism." (62) A recognition of the need to combat Muslim nationalism is also apparent in the speeches of Safarov and other speakers at the same congress. (63) Safarov attacked both those who supported the ancient culture, represented in particular by the shari'a and the 'ulama, and also the reform parties who were developing towards Muslim nationalism. Significant of this trend is an article which appeared in the Red Soldier in Moscow in December 1921, which stated that

"the power of the Soviets will not favour any national movement whatever in the forms which have been manifested in the Caucasus, the Ukraine, or the Republics of the Tatars, etc. These essentially bourgeois forms have no other end than to reduce to slavery the indigenous working classes." (64)

The attack against the Muslims proceeded along three main lines. First, Muslim nationalism was weakened by administrative measures, which included the redrawing of the frontiers of the Transcaucasian and Central Asian Republics. The steps taken to destroy the pan-Turanian movement also affected the Muslims since a large proportion of the Muslims were Turks of one sort or another. (65) Secondly, the Muslims were weakened by Soviet economic policy. A large proportion of the Muslim inhabitants of Russia, probably the majority, were nomadic or semi-nomadic. This fact as well as the question of race and religion differentiated them from the rest of the population. It meant also that the Muslim element was more acutely affected than any other by Soviet economic policy so far as it involved the settling of the nomads. Such a policy was not directed against Muslims as such, but it inevitably affected primarily the Muslim and Turkic elements of the population. (66) Thirdly and more directly the Muslims were attacked on grounds of religion. Steps were taken to break the influence of the Muslim darvish leaders and to resume waqfs. (67) The emancipation of women was encouraged. Already at the time of the 1905-6 revolution a movement for the emancipation of Muslim women had begun and numerous women's committees had been set up after the revolution of 1917, especially in Azerbaijan and the Crimea. But it was not till 1926-7 that a campaign for the abandonment of the veil was begun. (68) The attack against the shari'a proceeded slowly and in some cases indirectly. Thus, in Daghestan where the religious classes were relatively strong the Communist party encouraged a pro-Soviet Muslim group to advocate the revision of the shari'a, and a People's Commissariat for the shari'a was set up in 1921, to be dissolved later when Soviet rule had to be consolidated. (69) In 1922, however, tribunals were established which gave judgment according to the shari'a. (70) and in 1924-5 the government had recourse to mullas to obtain a fatwa in favour of its agrarian policy. (71) From 1930 onwards permission was refused to reprint copies of Islamic lawbooks. (72) The introduction of the latin alphabet in 1927 and the progressive substitution of the cyrillic for this among the various nationalities from 1938 onwards was also, in effect, an attack on Islam. (73) Meanwhile throughout the period of 1918-38, there was a continuous spate of anti-religious propaganda, which attacked and ridiculed Islam, though alongside this certain writers presented communism in Islamic dress, representing Lenin as Muhammad and Moscow as Medina. (74) Article 124 of the Constitution of 1936 decreed the separation of church and state and accorded to all citizens liberty of cult and also liberty to undertake anti-religious propaganda. (75)

Nevertheless pronouncements continued to be made from time to time on the incompatibility of religion and Leninist Marxism. From 1938 onwards there appears to have been what may perhaps be termed collaboration between "official" Islam and the state. In that year the Council for the Central Administration of the Muslim Community stated that Islam as the religion of all mankind far from being in opposition to the proletarian state could be and ought to be one of its essential bases.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Mullas, moreover, appear to have been appointed in regions with a Muslim majority as functionaries on the budget of the kolkhoz.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The official figures for the Muslim religious classes in the Soviet Union in 1938 also suggest that Islam was regarded with relative favour; they numbered 44,752, or four times as many as the orthodox priests and deacons and rabbis together.⁽⁷⁸⁾ In 1948, the Sunni Muslim community was administered by four administrative councils, each presided over by a mufti, namely (i) Russia in Europe and Siberia, (ii) Central Asia, (iii) Transcaucasia, and (iv) Daghestan and North Caucasia.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The Shi'is in Baku were under a shaykh ul-islam.⁽⁸⁰⁾ In 1945, a number of Muslims from the Soviet Union were permitted to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca which had been made impossible since 1920 by the law which forbade Soviet citizens to leave Russia.⁽⁸¹⁾ In the same year the shaykh ul-islam of Baku visited Persia.⁽⁸²⁾

In spite of the collaboration between "official" Islam and the state attacks against Islam as reactionary and conservative and as the basis and justification of feudalism nevertheless continued. Moreover it seems that the fear of deviation among the Muslim peoples was not dead. In 1949, Osman Yusupov, secretary-general of the Uzbek Communist Party, in a speech at the Tashkent Congress, and Zahidov, professor of philosophy at the University of Tashkent, in an article, both attacked pan-turanism, pan-iranianism, and pan-islamism.⁽⁸³⁾ Zahidov decried pan-iranianism as an excessive leaning towards Persian literature and writers, who had formerly had great influence on the classical literature of Uzbekistan, but which could not offer any constructive elements, and bitterly attacked Bartold and Bertels in this connection.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Pan-islamism was attacked on the grounds of its alleged inspiration by Anglo-American imperialism.⁽⁸⁵⁾ On 11th November 1954, however, a decree was issued warning against the giving of offence to religious susceptibilities, since when up to the time of writing no attacks appear to have been made on Islam.

Clearly Soviet policy could not tolerate the existence of republics, the cohesive force of which was Islam, and which, moreover had no real interest in the success of the proletarian revolution so far as it meant the domination of the peasant and the nomad by the Russian worker. The fact, however, that the principal peoples of the Transcaucasian and Central Asian regions of Russia had links with the peoples beyond the frontiers of Russia meant that the preservation of their identity, or its fiction, was important for Russia's relations

with the outside world.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Accordingly, once the Soviet regime had become firmly established it sought to substitute for Islam the central government as the cohesive force.⁽⁸⁷⁾ To facilitate this the frontiers of the various regions were redrawn, and a new "nationalism" was imposed from above, which, not being based on the memory of a former existence as a national state, was not likely to be hostile to Soviet patronage but rather grateful for it. Typical examples of the new nationality policy are afforded by Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan. In either case the Soviet aim was to give the inhabitants of the republic an ideology designed to separate them from their traditional Islamic background and to link them closely with Russian culture, while nevertheless annexing the cultural legacy of the civilization to which the area had formerly belonged.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The fact however that the Soviet government has found it necessary even since the last war to transport or to liquidate Muslim groups such as the Crimean Tatars, Ingush and Chechens, suggests that it has not been uniformly successful in convincing Muslims within Russia of the benefits of the regime.⁽⁸⁹⁾

Facts indeed would seem to point to a certain contrast between Soviet actions towards the Muslim groups and Soviet declarations such as the declaration of December 1917, and to reveal the essentially dualist nature of the Soviet approach to the Muslim world, which is also evident in the approach to other religious communities, whether they be Armenian Gregorian Christians, Russian Greek Orthodox, or Jew. Inside Russia the religious community is undermined and coerced but not actually suppressed provided it is prepared to collaborate with the Marxist holders of power, but it is nevertheless made clear to the younger generation that advancement in the administration is incompatible with membership of a religious group. This undermining and coercion is, however, combined with a certain wheedling and coaxing of the religious group outside Russia into the fold. The appeal of this dual approach to the Muslim world is likely to be more successful in proportion as the community is more remotely situated from Russia and therefore has had less opportunity for direct observation of Soviet internal Muslim policy.

Meanwhile, the main appeal to Muslim communities, whether inside or outside Russia, is likely to be through nationalism divorced from Islam. The force of the appeal of this policy to those who have attained to position and power under the new regime is clear; so too is the attraction of the technical and scientific advances made under the new regime, both to those who have not suffered expropriation in the furtherance of these advances and to Muslims outside Russia who are striving to promote the technical and scientific advance of their own countries. Certain other aspects of Soviet policy and propaganda are also likely variously to attract different groups in Muslim countries. Thus, the liquidation of the former ruling classes and the alleged liberation of the national communities from imperialism will almost

certainly have an appeal for the "underprivileged", and may even be expected to attract the Muslim nationalist; while the conception of nationalism divorced from Islam may well have an appeal for the westernized intellectual who has lost touch with his own tradition and partly for that reason fails to carry the people with him and so feels frustrated at his inability to obtain or exercise effective power. Lenin in the early days of the revolution realized and made use of the revolutionary factors in nationalism, (90) both in Tsarist Russia and especially in the borderlands. It seems that the present leaders of Soviet Russia have not forgotten this lesson, but whereas Lenin's primary concern was to harness the forces of nationalism in the territories formerly belonging to or on the borders of Russia, Soviet propaganda today is designed primarily to attract the national communities outside the Soviet Empire. So far as those sections of the Muslim communities still strongly influenced by Islam are concerned, the ambivalence of Soviet policy leaves the door open. The main aim of Soviet policy meanwhile is to harness behind the communist movement the forces of nationalism which are sweeping through the Muslim world. With this in view nationalism is identified with anti-imperialism, social reform and economic equality. Such an interpretation is well calculated to appeal to those who for years have been taught to regard their own rulers as the puppets of imperialist powers. If Soviet propaganda can persuade Muslim peoples that they are faced with a choice between a return to, or an indefinite continuation of, the misrule of the past and joining the communist block, the latter course might well appear to them the lesser evil.

Notes

- (1) J. Castagne, Le bolshevism et l'islam in Revue du Monde Musulman, October, 1922, pp.49-50
- (2) R.M.M., p. 50
- (3) R.M.M., pp.51-2
- (4) R.M.M., p. 57
- (5) R.M.M., p. 53
- (6) R.M.M., p. 54
- (7) R.M.M., p. 61
- (8) R.M.M., pp.57-9
- (9) R.M.M., pp.60-1
- (10) V. Monteil, Essai sur l'Islam en U.R.S.S., in Revue des Etudes Islamiques, 1952, pp.102 ff.
- (11) Kolarz, Russia and her Colonies (London, 1952), p. 39
- (12) Cf. Monteil, op.cit. pp.107-9
- (13) See also Kolarz, pp.200-1
- (14) Monteil, op.cit. p. 14
- (15) See O. Caroe, Soviet Empire (London, 1953), pp.140 ff. on Russian colonization and Russianization in Central Asia
- (16) B.H. Sumner, Survey of Russian History (London, 1944), pp.23 ff.
- (17) Sumner, p. 181
- (18) Sumner, p. 40
- (19) R. Grousset, l'Empire des Steppes (Paris, 1948), pp.509 ff.
- (20) Sumner, p. 43
- (21) Sumner, pp.290 ff.

- (22) Sumner, pp.291 ff; J.F. Baddeley, The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus (London, 1908), pp.23 ff.
- (23) Sumner, p. 292
- (24) Sumner, p. 292
- (25) Sumner, p. 293
- (26) Sumner, p. 293
- (27) Sumner, pp.294-5
- (28) After the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) Paskievitch distributed land in Transcaucasia to Armenians who had migrated from Turkey and Persia. Later, in the middle of the 19th century, Vorontsov made efforts to settle Russians in Transcaucasia, including forty-nine settlements in the Mughan steppes, and in the early 20th century Vorontsov-Dashkov made an unsuccessful attempt to settle several thousands of Russians in Transcaucasia. (F. Kazimzadeh, The Struggle for Transcaucasia, New York, 1951, pp.22-4.)
- (29) See also O. Caroe, pp.67 ff.
- (30) Cf. Caroe, pp.77 ff.
- (31) Monteil, op.cit. pp.13-14
- (32) Monteil, op.cit. p. 45
- (33) Caroe, p. 89
- (34) The Eastern Turks must to some extent be excepted from this statement (see Caroe, p.98)
- (35) According to Carr the first meeting of the all-Russian Muslim Congress took place in May 1917 (The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923, London, 1950, i, 317)
- (36) Monteil, op.cit. p. 69
- (37) Carr, i, 315-6
- (38) Kazemzadeh, pp.15 ff.
- (39) Kazemzadeh, p. 32

- (40) Kazemzadeh, p. 51
- (41) Kazemzadeh, p.331
- (42) Caroe, p. 89
- (43) Cf. Caroe, pp.102 ff.
- (44) See Caroe, pp. 89-91
- (45) -
- (46) R.M.M., p.192
- (47) R.M.M., p.226
- (48) See also Caroe, pp.123 ff.
- (49) R.M.M., p.207
- (50) R.M.M., p.217 ff.
- (51) It is also difficult to separate "national" from "colonial" questions, which were commonly linked together in Soviet literature (Cf. Carr,i,315). See also W. Kolarz, Russia and her Colonies (London, 1952)
- (52) R.M.M., pp. 8-9
- (53) R.M.M., p. 10
- (54) Carr, i, 319
- (55) Cf. Caroe, pp.105 ff.
- (56) See Carr, i, 319-20
- (57) Cf. Carr, i, 325. Carr suggests that the opposition of the Muslims was intensified by the intransigence of the Soviet emissaries who "had in their minds a vague picture of oppressed peoples awaiting emancipation from superstitious Mullahs as eagerly as from Tsarist administrators"
(i, 324)
- (58) R.M.M., p. 93; but see also Carr, i. 376

- (59) R.M.M., p. 4-5
- (60) Konstitutsii i Konstitutsionnyye akty RSFSR (1918-1937)
(Moscow, 1940) pp. 81, 89
- (61) Cf. Caroe, pp.149 ff. who gives an illuminating account of this phase of Soviet expansion in Central Asia.
- (62) R.M.M., p. 24
- (63) R.M.M., pp.27-9
- (64) Quoted by R.M.M., pp.14-15
- (65) Cf. Caroe, p.149, where Soviet policy in Central Asia is described as "cantonization conceived with the object of working against any conception of the unity of the Eastern Turks and bringing the disjecta membra under the influence of overwhelming forces of assimilation from without"
- (66) Monteil, op.cit. pp.27 ff. See also Caroe, pp.173 ff. for a discussion of the suppression of nomadism in Central Asia.
- (67) Monteil, op.cit. p. 23
- (68) Monteil, op.cit. p. 36
- (69) Kolarz, pp.198-9
- (70) Monteil, op.cit. p. 49
- (71) Monteil, op.cit. pp.49, 62
- (72) Monteil, op.cit. pp.49-50
- (73) Kolarz, pp.34 ff.
- (74) Monteil, op.cit. pp.46-7
- (75) Monteil, op.cit. p. 47
- (76) Monteil, op.cit. p. 62
- (77) Monteil, op.cit. p. 62
- (78) Monteil, op.cit. p. 62

- (79) Monteil, op.cit. pp.62-3
- (80) Monteil, op.cit. p. 63
- (81) Monteil, op.cit. p. 54
- (82) Monteil, op.cit. p. 55
- (83) Monteil, op.cit. p.110
- (84) Monteil, op.cit. p.121
- (85) Monteil, op.cit. pp.22 ff. See also Kolarz who maintains that Islam is still unvanquished by Bolshevism in Central Asia, pp.299-300
- (86) Cf. Kolarz, p.259 and pp.282 ff.
- (87) Kolarz states that the dominant feature in the Soviet nationalities policy since the thirties has been the fight against local nationalism. He also shows the extent to which the various administrative areas were controlled by the centre (pp.16 ff.)
- (88) Cf. Kolarz, pp. 243 ff. and pp.279 ff.
- (89) Cf. Kolarz, pp. 67 ff.
- (90) Carr, i, 257

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF
ISLAMIC STUDIES IN THE USSR

By N. A. SMIRNOV

The following analysis is designed to indicate the general scope of the book. All the opinions expressed are either those of the author, N.A. Smirnov, or of the writers and others whom he quotes.

. . .
Author's Preface

In the teaching of Marxism-Leninism great importance is attached to the exposure of the social function of religion as part of the "super-structure" of class society, and the pronouncements made by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the subject of Islam point to the need for Soviet scholars to subject to critical examination everything written on the subject in Russia both before and after the Revolution. "The study of Islam conducted by the Russian bourgeoisie covered a great deal of ground and has bequeathed many works containing a rich store of factual material and many valuable observations and conclusions of genuine scientific significance. One aim of the present work is therefore the selection of what is of interest to Soviet historical science in its task of demonstrating the social function of Islam in the history of the peoples of the East and of combatting its survivals in our country."

Lenin emphasized the importance of studying the works of bourgeois writers on religion, but considered them to be impregnated with prejudice and subservience to bourgeois ideology. This applies to the majority of bourgeois students of Islam, whose works are "characterized by complete ignorance of the material and economic basis of the historical process and by an endeavour to explain the origins and spread of Islam by the activities of prominent personalities. . . to explain them only as the result of a struggle in the realm of ideas."

The second aim of the book is "to expound the new element introduced into the Soviet study of Islam, to describe its achievements and also the main points in which it differs from its bourgeois counterpart, that is, in its methodology and in the definition of its aims." "On the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory Soviet scholars are able to expose all the un-

scientific and idealistic theories of foreign bourgeois students of Islam and at the same time to detect the errors which have found their way into the works of certain Soviet historians and philosophers dealing with questions relating to Islam."

In the period following the Revolution the counter-revolutionary forces united with "reactionary religious elements" in their fight against the Soviet regime. In defining the Party's aim of destroying the link between these two forces, Lenin insisted on the need for the widest possible scientific anti-religious propaganda. "At the same time," he said, "care must be taken to avoid giving offence to the feelings of believers, for this might merely strengthen their religious fanaticism." In these circumstances, the publication of books explaining the origin of religion and unmasking the "pseudo-scientific" character of bourgeois writings on the subject was - and still is - a matter of prime importance.

The imperialists, and most of all the "American monopolists", still use religion as a means of justifying their racial and "anti-human" policy, directed as this is against "peace, democracy, culture and progress." In the East they make great play with such organizations as the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. "The Muslim hierarchy in many countries of the non-Soviet Orient live at peace with the colonial regime."

It is the duty of all Soviet historians to spare no effort in laying bare these principles and designs of imperialism, and to wage unceasing war against the survivals of capitalism represented by Islam, survivals which, in the words of Malenkov at the XIXth Party Session, "will not die out of themselves, are very much alive and may grow." According to Stalin, "the Party cannot be neutral towards religion and will conduct anti-religious propaganda against each and every religious prejudice."

The author explains that in compiling the first part he has relied mostly on books and has had only occasional recourse to periodicals. He has, however, made a thorough examination of the articles, notes and reviews on the subject written by "the revolutionary democrats", who played an important part in developing Russian social thought. In the second part he has drawn extensively on magazine material as well as on books.

Chapter I

Material on Islam in Written Russian Records of the Feudal Period

(A) Information about Islam in ancient Russia (eleventh-thirteenth centuries)

The earliest information about the East which reached the Russian people relates to the Kiev period and was compiled not only from Greek writings but also from descriptions of travellers and as a result of the direct intercourse between the Russian people and their nomad neighbours. The influence of the Christian church being paramount at that time, interest was largely concentrated on the Islamic and Jewish religions as possible rivals of Christianity.

For details of Russian chronicles referring to Islam during this period reference is made to Krachkovskiy's book OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF RUSSIAN ARABIC STUDIES (1950). These chronicles were concerned principally with the morals, customs and beliefs of eastern peoples and included some critical accounts of the prophet Muhammad, then known as "Bokhmich" or "Bakhmet". Foreign travel by Russians virtually came to an end during the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century.

(B) Information about Islam in the Russian chronicles of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries

The wars between the Russian people and the Mongols and nomads, who often fought under the banner of Islam, greatly increased the interest taken by the Russians in the Muslim religion. This interest increased still further after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. The history written during this period reflected "the ideology of the ruling class", the formation of which had been strongly influenced by the clerical element.

During the fourteenth century eastern travel was renewed in spite of the conquest of the Balkans and Constantinople by the Turks. Most of the travellers were merchants, the principal of them being Afanasiy Nikitin whose book TRAVELS BEYOND THREE SEAS (edition published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1948) is a work of great importance.

At the end of the fifteenth century a large number of translations from foreign languages on the subject of Islam began to appear. These included descriptions of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina and of the life of Muhammad.

(C) Material about Islam in Russian literature from the end of the fifteenth to the first half of the eighteenth centuries

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Russian State entered into direct trade and diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire and with the Safavid rulers of Azerbaydzhan and Persia; attempts were also made to establish friendly relations with the Mogul Empire in India. Interest in Islamic countries correspondingly increased, and to the accounts of travellers were added the reports of diplomatic envoys. A considerable amount of source material is contained in the COMPLETE COLLECTION OF RUSSIAN CHRONICLES including particularly the so-called RUSSKIY KHRONOGRAF. The subjects treated in the matter include the life and exploits of Timur and the early history of the Turks. In some of the chronicles reference is made to two prophets - "Moamed" and "Bakhmet" as if they were separate persons.

During the seventeenth century, the aggressive policy pursued by Turkey against Russia caused the Russians to pay particular attention to the study of the religion and characteristics of their enemy. Much of the literature written during this period is therefore concerned with Islam as practised in the Turkish Empire.

"Long before Peter I, whose name is generally associated with the development of Russian knowledge about the East, descriptions of Islam can be found in chronicles, travel literature and other works based on Russian as well as foreign sources. . . These works reflect the interest of the ruling classes and the Church, and tend to criticize Muslim beliefs as "false" and as opposed to the "truth" of the Christian religion. Nevertheless, they in no sense advocate intolerance or demand the persecution or destruction of Islam, widespread as it was among the many people who constituted the Russian State."

The stimulus given by Peter I to oriental and Islamic studies was considerable. In 1702 a special school was established for the study of eastern languages. The first translation of the Koran was produced and other works such as Dmitriy Kantemir's THE SYSTEM OR CONDITION OF THE MUHAMMADAN RELIGION (Petersburg, 1722) were compiled by royal command. The religious mission established in Peking as a consequence of the treaty with China in 1689 carried out extensive research into the practice of Islam in the western and southern provinces of China "and the scientific and practical value of their work has by no means been exhausted."

(D) The study of Islam in the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries

From the second half of the eighteenth century the feudal system in Russia began to experience a crisis. A bourgeoisie and an intelligentsia emerged and this gave a fillip to the development of social and political life. The foundations of the materialist tradition were laid by Lomonosov and Radishchev, the latter paying particular attention to the peoples of the East. Although all writing on Islam was still powerfully influenced by the Church, there were some instances of "progressive" thought. In 1769, for example, a professor of philosophy, Anichkov, developed the notion that "the combination in a single person of temporal and spiritual power is a sign not of heavenly grace, but of the age of barbarism." The "progressive" trend in oriental studies increased still further after the victory of 1812, particularly among university youth. This trend was stimulated by the eastern campaigns and by the annexation of Georgia, Azerbaydzhan and eastern Armenia. Notable works were those of Bronevskiy on the Caucasus, Khanykov on the Khanate of Bukhara (1843) and of Bichurin on the peoples inhabiting Central Asia in ancient times (1851). There was a decline in "progressive" thought during the oppressive reign of Nicholas I, when the work of orientalists clearly reflected "the official point of view" and "the convictions of the clerical element". The IMITATIONS OF THE KORAN written by Pushkin when in exile was the first literary production which introduced Russian people to the Koran.

The works of Professor Berezin are singled out for special attention. Although Berezin recognized Islam as an obstacle to progress, he failed to appreciate the political significance of Muridism, that is the movement developed by Shamil in the Caucasus. He wrongly regarded Muridism as something opposed to Islam and failed to understand that it was "encouraged by Turkey and Britain". In common with other contemporary writers he missed the essential point of Muridism which was its reactionary character and the extent to which it resulted in the extinction of the individual and the entire subjection of the murid to his imam and ultimately to the Khalif, that is, the Sultan of Turkey. Nevertheless, all these writers provide a rich store of factual material which well repays study.

The anti-religious attitude developed by the "revolutionary democrats", Belinskiy, Herzen, Chernyshevskiy, Dobrolyubov and Pisarev between 1840 and 1860 is treated in detail. Of these it was Dobrolyubov who was principally concerned with Islam. In his critical review of Washington Irving's LIFE OF MAHOMET he developed the theory that "it is not personality which is the mainspring of historical events." In an article entitled "The Significance of our latest Moves in the Caucasus" Dobrolyubov described Muridism in a way "much more accurate and more penetrating than the works of several Soviet historians." In particular, Dobrolyubov considered that "Muridism was in no sense a new religion. It

was the Islamic doctrine which had long been known to the mountaineers (of the Caucasus) but which until then had not been practised by them." In the conclusion of this article he declares that "from the facts which the history of the Caucasus recalls to us it is clear that it was not the fortuitous appearance of personalities like Shamil, nor even the strict doctrine of Muridism which caused the revolt of the mountaineers against the Russians. The basic reason was the hatred of Russian domination."

Of great importance are the works of the Azerbaydzhani, Mirza Fathali Akhundov (1812-1878), who came out strongly against Islam and its clogging effect on progress, and in favour of the Russian connection. Another outstanding figure was Chokan Valikhanov (1835-1865), a Kazakh educated in Omsk, who began to criticize the role of Islam in Central Asia before it came under Tsarist control. Another Kazakh critic of Islam was Ibrahim Altynsarin (1841-1889).

"In their scientific importance, Dobrolyubov's works on eastern themes, and the pronouncements of other revolutionary democrats, including Akhundov, are immeasurably superior to the works of many noted European and American orientalists and specialists on Islam written during the same period."

The great significance of the works of Dobrolyubov and Akhundov consists in the fact that in Russian scientific literature they mark the first new approach to the solution of the problem of the origin of Islam as a religion.

Chapter II

The Study of Islam in the Capitalist Period (1860-1890)

(A) K. Marx and F. Engels on Islam

In this brief section some account is given of the references to Islam found in the works of Marx and Engels. Their conclusions are summed up in a quotation from Engel's work AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY. "Islam is a religion adapted to the inhabitants of the East and particularly to the Arabs, that is to say, on one hand to the town-dwellers occupied in trade and industry, and on the other to the nomad Bedouin. But in this lies the embryo of periodically recurring clashes. The town-dwellers grow rich, abandon themselves to luxury and become negligent in the observance of "the law". The Bedouins, on the other hand, are poor and in consequence of their poverty, are strict in the observance of the moral code, and regard these riches and luxuries with hatred and disgust. They then unite under the leadership of some prophet (Mahdi) in order to punish the

traitors, to re-establish respect for the ceremonies and the true faith, and by way of retribution to acquire for themselves the wealth of dissidents. Naturally, after about a hundred years they are discovered in exactly the same position as were formerly the dissidents; a new clarification of the faith becomes necessary, a new prophet arises, and the game begins afresh. . . . Obscured by the panoply of religion, all these movements merely arise from economic causes. But even when the movements are victorious they leave untouched the previous economic conditions."

Marx and Engels attributed the exploitation of religion by the bourgeoisie to the fact that religion suggested to the toiling masses the inevitable existence of a ruling and enslaving class and promised those who fell under its yoke a reward in heaven for their sufferings on earth.

(B) The study of Islam 1860-1890

The development of capitalism and the accentuation of class differences had their effect on Russian culture and scholarship, and also on Russian oriental studies. Although the government directed these studies along channels which would further the interest of Tsarism and its colonial policy, and relied upon idealistic philosophy and religion, Russian scholarship nevertheless evinced a "progressive" tendency based on a solid materialist tradition. Many of the works produced in this period displayed an acquaintance with Marxism. Since, however, the government feared and discouraged "the culture of the people," writers who strove towards a better understanding of oriental peoples were dissuaded from studying the contemporary East and its political, economic and cultural problems. Many of them displayed a prejudiced and hostile attitude towards eastern peoples professing Islam, and regarded them as being a lower order. "They seldom took into account the fact that Islam had not retained the form which it had assumed between the seventh and ninth centuries but had followed a tortuous process of adapting itself to the requirements of feudal class rule in the countries of the East."

The principal works of such eminent Russian orientologists as Grigor'yev, Kazembek, Rozen, Sablukov, Tornau, Pozdneyev, Segal and Zhukovskiy are described. In general, the merits of these works lie in the factual material which the writers collected in the course of their studies and travels rather than in any scientific light which they threw on the political and social functions of Islam. A book by the "philosopher and mystic" Vladimir Solov'yev entitled MAHOMET, HIS LIFE AND RELIGIOUS TEACHING is found to be without any factual merit and indeed wholly pernicious. This work, which was favourably received by "the reactionary classes", was based throughout on a "blind faith in God" and in the divine mission of the Prophet. "It was hostile to the materialist explanation of religion and

could thus have only the most harmful effect on the study of Islam". The opinion expressed by Academician Bartold that Solov'yev's is "the best biography of Muhammed in the Russian language" was an error due to the "idealistic" standpoint from which Bartold regarded the historical process.

As examples of "the tendentious literature which was deprived of any scientific importance and which served as an instrument of the policy of russification conducted by Tsarism among eastern peoples" the titles are quoted of the twenty-one collections and the twenty-five separate publications which appeared between 1853 to 1898 under the auspices of the "missionary and anti-Muslim department" of the Kazan' Religious Academy.

Although during the second half of the nineteenth century bourgeois scholars, equipped as they were with an excellent knowledge of eastern languages and mediaeval history, made an important contribution on problems relating to Islam and its various sects, their works are marred by their religious and "idealistic" approach and by their "metaphysical" view of nature. This attitude and these views were vigorously opposed by the "progressive" element represented by the "revolutionary democrats". In general it must be admitted that "in the theoretical field, Russian oriental studies relating to the history of the East, and more particularly to Islam, lagged seriously behind the general level of Russian science."

Chapter III

The Study of Islam during the Period of Imperialism (1895-1917)

The first part of this chapter is taken up with an exposition of the teaching and pronouncements of Lenin and Stalin on the subject of religion and national culture. Their teaching consistently emphasized the need for an unrelenting fight against established religions and for the development of "those undeveloped elements of democratic and socialist culture which exist in every national culture in the same way as in every nation there are exploited masses whose living conditions inevitably gave birth to democratic and socialist ideology." At the same time Lenin is quoted as saying that "the atheist propaganda of social democracy must be subordinated to its basic task - the development of the class war of the exploited masses against the exploiters."

"For eastern peoples, who are still under the yoke of their feudal rulers, landowners and bourgeoisie and of the Muslim religion which supports them, these pronouncements of Lenin are of the first importance. They underline with special force and conviction the role of clericalism as a tried instrument in the hands of the exploiting classes."

During the imperialist period, the wars conducted by the Tsarist regime against the movement for national liberation are generally reflected in Russian bourgeois historiography. The literature dealing with Islam falls broadly speaking into two groups: to the first group belong the works of such writers as Ostroumov, Cherevanskiy and Tsvetkov, who adhered to the "monarchic and reactionary camp" supported by the government and the Church; they were first and foremost active supporters of the colonial regime and were closely connected with missionary circles. To the second group belong such writers as Rozen, Bartold, Zhukovskiy and Mednikov. These were scholars who represented the "so-called academic orientalism" and occupied a "non-political" position. They shared the philosophical and historical conceptions "typical of the liberal-bourgeois idealistic historians."

As regards the works of the second group of writers, the most striking feature is their misunderstanding of "the objective regularity of the historical process, their representation of the state as a force standing above all classes, their complete ignorance of the position of the peoples' masses and the class war, and their incorrect presentation of the role of Islam and of religious figures in the history of eastern peoples." In spite of this, many of their works, and especially those of Bartold, contain evidence of profound scholarship, as well as a vast store of factual material which throws light on a number of matters relating to Islam, and especially to its various sects. Of particular value to Soviet historians is the bibliographical work produced by Bartold, Krymskiy, and Krachkovskiy. The work of Krachkovskiy, however, has the defect common to many bourgeois writers of tending to concentrate on the work of foreign orientalists and of minimizing the importance of the work done by Russians.

Before considering the work of the political writers belonging to the first group, and also that of V.V. Bartold, the greatest of Russian orientalists, who straddled the imperialist and Soviet periods, the works of some of the writers in the second group are examined in detail. Although Rozen did not himself produce any great works on Islam apart from a telling criticism of the anti-Muslim literature emanating from the Religious Academy of Kazan, he inspired considerable creative activity in his brilliant pupils Mednikov, A.E. Shmidt, Shebunin and Krachkovskiy. Those of their works described in detail include Shmidt's *OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF ISLAM AS A RELIGION* which appeared in the magazine *MIR ISLAMA* (The World of Islam), and the numerous books produced by Krymskiy. The latter, in spite of his great erudition, was unable to determine the position of Islam in the historical destiny of the peoples of the East; and he was even less able to expose its class significance. This was because for Krymskiy, "religion was not an ideological superstructure with a clearly expressed class character, but a kind of force which stood above class and which served as almost the only standard of political, economic and cultural maturity of the people. For Krymskiy there was not and could not be any social life for the people outside religion."

Of considerable interest is the literature on the Babis and Bahais produced by such writers as Batyushkov, Umanets, Zhukovskiy, and Bakulin. But some of these writers, and particularly Bakulin, failed to grasp that "there was a vast difference between the teaching of the Bab, which was clearly directed against the unjust feudal regime, and the teaching of Behaullah, which excluded every kind of political element from its preaching and advocated class-peace and an uncomplaining subordination to the authorities." Unaware that Babism and Bahaism were two entirely different doctrines, Bakulin tried to prove that the murder of Shah Nasreddin could not have been the work of the Babis. After Bakulin's death, Zhukovskiy collated and edited the material which Bakulin had collected on Bahaism and which included a supposed autograph letter written by Kurret-al-Ain.

Another sect of Islam which attracted the attention of Russian orientalists was that of the Ismailis, notable writers on this subject being Bobrinskiy and Semenov. In 1912 the latter published in MIR ISLAMA an interesting article on the religious beliefs of the Ismailis of Shugnan.

Other works of outstanding importance were Kazanskiy's MYSTICISM IN ISLAM (Samarkand, 1906) and K. Smirnov's THE PERSIANS: AN OUTLINE OF THE RELIGION OF PERSIA (Tiflis, 1915). Kazanskiy concluded that Dervishism constitutes the most negative phenomenon in the religious life of the people of the East; but this conclusion "did not permit him completely to expose Sufism, Dervishism, or Muridism which constitute not only the most repulsive and reactionary phenomena in the religious life of eastern peoples, hotbeds of vice, obscurantism and ignorance, but an instrument of the social subjection of the masses which was directed by the more reactionary social forces." Smirnov's book contains a great deal of interesting material taken from Persian sources, but "his opinions on Islam and the Shariat (canonic law) are extremely primitive and demonstrate the extent to which he was influenced by foreign sources." Smirnov also produced a work entitled THE DERVISHES AND THEIR POLITICAL ROLE, which was published in the bulletin of the headquarters of the Caucasian Military District.

After the failure of the first Russian revolution of 1905, Tsarism mustered all its forces to meet the growing opposition of the Communist Party and the Russian proletariat. Much of the literature on Islam produced at this time reflected the official fear of the danger which was supposed to lie in wait for Russia from the direction of the awakening forces of Islam. An example of this official point of view is afforded by Cherevanskiy's THE WORLD OF ISLAM AND ITS AWAKENING. In this book, "the author says that by Islam we must understand not some kind of independent religion, but merely a religious and political institution which lays claim to a universality not possessed by any other of the world's religions." Throughout he persists in regarding

Islam as a religion inferior to Christianity and asserts that "so long as the Koran remains 'the sole educational guide in the world of Islam', no hope can be entertained of its awakening or of its sincere rapprochement with Christendom." Statements like this which conceal the "colonial designs of Tsarism" are typical of the literature on Islam reflecting "the ideology of the ruling circles during the imperialist period."

Another book of somewhat similar character is the four-volume work of Tsvetkov on ISLAMISM. This book does, however, contain much interesting material compiled during the author's long sojourn in Central Asia.

An important representative "of the Tsarist colonial administration in Central Asia was N.T. Ostroumov. . . who was a fervent promoter of the Tsarist policy directed towards the destruction of every vestige of nationhood among the non-Russian peoples, the suppression of their culture, the limitation of the development of their languages, the perpetuation of their ignorance, and finally, towards russianizing them to the greatest possible degree. . . Ostroumov's numerous works on Islam published between 1912 and 1916 are characterized by his religious outlook, the absence of any critical approach to the literature which he used, his slight acquaintance with new scientific research, and his ignorance of original sources of material."

The works of "one of the most outstanding representatives of Russian bourgeois orientalism," Academician V.V. Bartold (1869-1930) are examined at considerable length. "His works on the history of the East, written both before and after the great October Socialist Revolution, are of very great interest and bear witness to the fact that in his person Russian orientalism possessed one of the most outstanding scholars of world stature." His vast erudition and experience enabled him to produce many works which are of lasting importance to Soviet students of Islamic subjects. "But although twelve years of Bartold's life were passed under the Soviet regime, and although during this time he worked honestly and unselfishly as a scholar, and created a whole series of works on the ancient history of many eastern peoples of the Soviet Union, he nevertheless was and remained a scholar of the bourgeois oriental school. . . Bartold perceived that peasant movements in the East often had a religious tinge; but he did not take into account the fact that this tinge was not at all due to the religious requirements of the peasants, for whom Islam served in the event merely as an emblem of their struggle against their taskmasters. Far removed as he was from the materialist conception of history, Bartold did not regard Islam as a form of ideology and he did not depict it in the light of definite social relationships. He was thus unable to distinguish the class character of Islam, or the fact that it always and everywhere serves as an instrument of exploitation and coercion of the toiling masses. He did not attribute any importance to the fact that the ruling classes of eastern feudal society in all its historical phases, and also the ruling classes of Tsarist Russia, consistently supported Islam and the Muslim clerical element, and used them as an instrument with which to enslave the masses."

Bartold paid much attention to the "modernist" movement in the Muslim world. He held that this was directed on the one hand against European attacks on Islam and Muslim culture, and on the other, against the old-style believers who wished to conserve the mediaeval features of the Muslim way of life. "Even at the present time Bartold's researches into the relationship between the power of the Khalif and the Sultan are of great scientific importance. This is particularly true of his study of the "provocational" intrigues of the pan-Islamic organization controlled by reactionary elements in eastern countries, which operates to the advantage of the American and British imperialists trying to turn the countries of the Near and Middle East into colonies."

One of the less well-known pre-revolutionary works of Bartold described in this chapter is his study of the Marvanid sect of Islam, which he based on Semenov's article on the religious beliefs of the Ismailis of Shugnan (mentioned above). (Description of Bartold's post-revolutionary works is reserved for the second half of the book.)

During the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries a number of societies were formed in Russia with the object of promoting oriental study. But none of these met official requirements; and accordingly in 1900 the Imperial Oriental Institute was created with the declared object of "acquainting Russian society with the material needs and spiritual life of the East, and also of promoting closer relations between Russia and eastern countries." In 1912, this Institute produced the first number of a journal entitled MIR ISLAMA (The World of Islam). The object of this journal, as defined by its first editor, Bartold, was strictly academic and as such failed to gain the approval of the authorities. One statesman declared that "if we need anything scientific, we can find it in foreign publications." In 1913 the editorship of MIR ISLAMA was assumed by Pozdneyev and its academic character was largely obscured by its preoccupation with contemporary Islamic problems such as pan-Islamism and pan-Turanianism, which was considered more in line with official requirements. In 1915 Bartold started another journal entitled MUSUL'MANSKIY MIR (The Musulman World) which reverted to the purely academic programme of MIR ISLAMA by whose original staff it was principally controlled.

Other journals concerned with Islamic matters which appeared during this period were VOSTOCHNYY SBORNIK (Oriental Collection), of which only two issues appeared in 1913 and 1916, and SREDNYAYA AZIYA (Central Asia) published in Tashkent in 1910.

In spite of its political, ideological and religious bias and many other limitations, "Russian bourgeois orientalism has bequeathed to Soviet historians much that is good. It brought to the front important specialists on Islamic affairs who created a whole series of

useful works representing a valuable store of scientific material. These include in the first place works devoted to the study of Caucasian Muridism, Muslim sectarianism, in particular the sects of the Babis and Ismailis, works on Muslim law, and finally, research on the theocratic character of the temporal power of the Sultans and Khalifs. Works by Russian authors on Islam in China (P. Kafarov, V. Vasilyev), on Central Asia and the Caucasus constitute a great acquisition for the study of the history, way of life and religious beliefs of the people of the East.

"In all these works there is collected and arranged a vast store of factual material, and many particular problems of Islam are propounded and explained. They constitute a useful and indispensable store for Soviet science and can be made real use of by Soviet research workers provided these apply to them a strictly critical appreciation of the general theoretical conceptions arising out of the bourgeois-idealistic outlook of their authors."

Chapter IV

Islamic Studies 1918 - 1934

Attitude of the Soviet regime to Islam

From 1918 onwards the principal representatives of Islam and its sects encouraged and supported the counter-revolutionary movement against the dictatorship of the proletariat, one of the planks in their platform being "the libellous accusation that the Soviet regime aimed at suppressing religion."

In fact, the Soviet attitude towards religion was based on the Marxist principle of freedom of conscience, and in the proclamation of 24th November 1917, addressed to all the Muslim peoples of Russia, "whose mosques and shrines have been destroyed and whose beliefs and customs have been trampled on by the Tsars and taskmasters of Russia", these were informed that thenceforward their "beliefs and customs, national and cultural institutions are declared free and inviolable".

One of the first practical steps taken by the Soviet regime with regard to the Muslim religion was to comply with the request of the regional Muslim congress of the Petrograd National District that the Holy Koran of Osman, which at the time of the annexation of Central Asia had been removed from a mosque of Samarkand to the State Public Library, should be handed over to them.

The tasks of the Party in respect of Islam and the people of Muslim countries were defined by Lenin in 1920 as (a) support of the "bourgeois-democratic movement" in backward countries, (b) the fight against

religious and other reactionary and mediaeval elements, and (c) opposition to pan-Islam and similar movements which were endeavouring to identify the movement for liberation from European and American imperialism with the strengthening of the position of the khans, land-owners and mullas. But both Lenin and Stalin emphasized the need for care not to offend the deep seated sensitivities of the Muslim peasantry by too precipitate action.

On the subject of the canonic law (Shariat) Stalin said that "the Soviet Government regarded the Shariat as being as competent a customary law as any which obtained among other peoples inhabiting Russia." Later, in 1921, S.M. Kirov said "the Soviet regime is in no way concerned with individual beliefs. One can believe in, pray to and rely upon what one likes. But when it comes to the Shariat, there is something more than the religious side; there is also the matter of general control." Replying to a Muslim delegate's demand at the Congress of Soviets of the Mountain Republic that they should be allowed to have the Shariat in its entirety, Kirov said that the Soviet regime's task was to create Soviet conditions of life irrespective of tribe, language or creed. If some agitation hostile to the Soviet regime were to move under cover of the Shariat, "we shall always fight it and scatter every anti-Soviet group." At the same Congress Kirov said: "Our Communist Party has never and in no sense aimed at establishing any kind of control over your Shariat. That is your affair. The Communist Party is not concerned with this question from any point of view."

Kirov's statements, pronounced during the years of the Civil War and intervention, "prove what a vast educational work was conducted by the Communist Party during the difficult period of the armed struggle." His initiative "unquestionably played a great positive role and gained the sympathy of a large section of believing Muslims." His pronouncements "clearly showed the difference in the attitude of the Soviet regime and Communist Party towards Islam and the Shariat on the one hand, and towards the counter-revolutionary activities of the Muslim clerical element on the other."

After the victorious conclusion of the Civil War, the Party took up in earnest the matter of anti-religious propaganda. At the XIIth Party Congress of 1923 a resolution was adopted on "the establishment of anti-religious agitation and propaganda." The resolution laid down the general lines on which the campaign was to be conducted. Dealing with the same subject, the XIIIth Congress of the Party adopted a resolution on "work in the country." This included the following passage: "It is essential that any attempts to combat religious prejudices by administrative means should be decisively abandoned. Such means include closing of churches, mosques, synagogues, prayer-houses, and the like. Anti-religious propaganda in rural areas should consist of an exclusively materialistic explanation of the natural and social phenomena with

which the peasants are confronted. . . Particular care should be taken to avoid offending the religious sensibilities of the believer which can only be overcome by long years of carefully planned work of enlightenment. Such caution is particularly necessary in the eastern republics and oblasts."

The results obtained by anti-religious propaganda were reviewed in two conferences held under the auspices of the Agitprop of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in April 1926 and June 1929. These results were later summarized in a series of articles by Em. Yaroslavskiy. He stated that: "The Socialist reconstruction of the people's economy is destroying the economic and material roots of religion. It is on this account that the kulaks are relying upon various religious organizations for the struggle against collectivization. No wonder that the mullas frightened the Kirgiz with the idea that the kara shaytan (black devil), that is, the Turksib locomotives, would soon transverse the steppe. Under the influence of the successes achieved by Socialist reconstruction the atheistic movement has become a mass movement."

Even after the end of the Civil War bourgeois-reactionary elements and the representatives of various Muslim and other religious sects continued a sporadic fight against the Soviet State. In this they were "supported by foreign imperialists exploiting the backwardness of eastern peoples." The state of affairs which resulted from NEP (New Economic Policy) contributed to the revival of bourgeois nationalist ideology. In the resolution of the XIIth Party Congress relating to propaganda it had already been noted that the shortage of propaganda material in non-Russian languages had combined with NEP to strengthen the influence of the petty bourgeoisie and "nationalist-clerical" element among the people using those languages. Among eastern peoples this resulted in the growth of pan-Islam and pan-Turanianism. "Very important for all students of Islam is the resolution's finding that, owing to a number of historical and social circumstances, the influence of the non-orthodox churches and priesthoods among people of non-Russian nationality was and still remains, especially among Muslims and Catholics, stronger than the influence of the Orthodox church." Anti-religious propaganda, said the same resolution, should take this peculiarity into account.

It was the foregoing historical background and defined objects which conditioned the first Soviet literature devoted to the subject of Islam.

Publications on Islamic subjects, 1918-1924

The first Soviet literature dealing with the subject of Islam took the form of articles in periodicals, and of occasional books and brochures. ZHIZN' NATSIONALNOSTEY (The Life of the Nationalities), which first appeared as a daily in 1918, in 1922 as a weekly, and in 1923 as a monthly, contained a number of articles on Islam mostly dealing with its

political aspect. Some of those mentioned are "The Koran and the Revolution" (1920), "The Muslim Poor and the Red Army" (on the experiment of attracting the indigenous population of Turkestan into the Red Army) published in 1920, and "Babism and Bahaism" (1922). Most of the publications of this period were popular scientific works "designed to expose the class character of Islam and the anti-popular and treacherous activities of the clerical element." One book of this kind was THE BASMACHI MOVEMENT IN BUKHARA.

More specifically concerned with Islamic matters was the periodical NOVYY VOSTOK (The New East) which lasted from 1922 to 1930. This was designed to throw light on living conditions in the Soviet East as well as in other eastern countries. It contained a great deal of factual material but "the editors were unable to turn it into a militant scientific and theoretical organ elaborating problems of the contemporary east on the required ideal (i.e. Communist) political level." Some of the notable articles mentioned were "The Religious Movement among the Kizil-Bash of Asia Minor" by Gordlevskiy (No.1 of 1922); "The Brotherhood of Fighters for the Faith" (No.6 of 1924), a description of the Jamiat-ul-Mujahidin founded by Sayyid Ahmed in India; and "The emergence of Islam seen in a new light" (No.4 of 1923 and No.6 of 1924) by Professor Dobrolyubskiy. The last mentioned discussed in detail the theory of the Italian orientalist Caetani who considered Islam to be the final phase of the emigration of Semitic peoples from Arabia, which began in 4000 B.C. Another magazine which paid considerable attention to Islamic matters was KOLONIALNYY VOSTOK (The Colonial East).

During this period the so-called academic orientalists such as Bartold, Krachkovskiy and Shcherbatskiy displayed considerable literary activity, mostly on highly specialized subjects. Bartold in particular was "the first oriental scholar of the old school to recognize the need for spreading among the broad masses of Soviet readers accurate information on Islam based on scientific conclusions and free from any kind of missionary approach." Apart from purely academic work, he wrote a number of popular scientific works on Islam, the chief of which was ISLAM - A GENERAL SKETCH which appeared in 1918. Although these books contain much which is of interest to Soviet students, they tended to minimize the importance of Russian orientalists as a whole. The work of foreign orientalists is described in detail, pride of place being given to the British orientalists Gibbon and Muir, and to others such as Caetani, Goldziher and Lammens.

1926 - 1934

During this period, the Party successfully realized its policy of the Socialist industrialization of the country and solved that most difficult problem, the amalgamation of millions of small peasant farms into kolkhozes. This, together with the liquidation of the kulaks as a

class, "led to the destruction of the last roots of capitalism and to the victory of Socialism." Such an operation naturally necessitated gigantic efforts on the "ideological front" in order to expose all those who were "interfering with the onward march of Soviet society and were supporting and cultivating all kinds of outworn traditions, backwardness and illiteracy." "Religious organizations were widely used by the enemies of Socialism. Particularly in the national regions of the Soviet East, where the laws and traditions of Islam were preserved by the Muslim clerical element, and also by all the various "Ishans, Dervishes and Pirs", they continued to play a very important role in the private life of the people, and especially in their family life in which they were intent on perpetuating the subordinate position of the eastern woman and preventing her from taking her place in society."

Apart from various commissions designed to better the lot of women, "societies of the godless" were created throughout the national republics and oblasts in order both to conduct widespread propaganda work, and to publish anti-religious periodicals, books and popular pamphlets in the national languages. In Moscow special publishing houses called "Bezbozhnik" (the Godless) and "Ateist" were specially created for the latter purpose. The authors of many of these publications, however, were "insufficiently educated on Marxist lines" and their works were consequently "of a very trivial character and quite unable to satisfy their readers." Of outstanding importance, however, are the many anti-religious works of Em. Yaroslavskiy who laid down as a general principle the inculcation "in the child of a hatred of those fetters imposed by religion... and of the greatest love for the people of other races and other tribes."

Much of Yaroslavskiy's anti-religious activity was directed towards Transcaucasia. "Transcaucasia," he wrote, "is to a certain degree the key to the East; in its way it is a strategic gateway, and if the interventionists gain possession of it, they can exercise tremendous pressure on a whole series of states. This ancient "road of the peoples" still has a great political significance. In Transcaucasia, until quite recent times, there has been concentrated the attention of the international counter-revolutionary movement not only of the Georgian Mensheviks, the Armenian Dashnakists, and the Musavatists, but of those who stood behind them - the British, French and other Imperialists. They support the counter-revolutionary clerical element and do not hesitate to give their backing to any new, subtle and "adapted" religion such as Bahaism. Even now (1931) the Muslim hierarchy plays a very important role in the Soviet East. . . . Quite recently they have attempted to create in Azerbaydzhan "saintly" specialists for the struggle against collectivization. Mullas and kulaks have spread rumours that in such and such a place there is a saint whose "speciality" is hostility to collectivization, but, he continued, "no prayers to Allah and other non-existent gods can turn the vast, teeming masses of the population of

Soviet East from the Socialist path."

Most of the anti-Muslim propaganda material mentioned as appearing in this period seems to have been in the Russian language. An exception to this is the magazine FEN-EM-DIN (Science and Religion) published in Moscow in 1925 in the Tatar language. Russian articles appearing between 1927 and 1929 were on such subjects as "The Religious Movement in the Tatar Republic", "Atheist propaganda in Bashkiria" and "Anti-religious propaganda in the Soviet East"; a magazine called REVOLYUTSIYA I GORETS (Revolution and the Mountaineer) published in Rostov-on-Don in 1929 contained articles on such subjects as "Large-scale godless work in the national oblasts", "From the patriarchal family to the atheist family", and "Why I stopped believing in God".

Another prolific writer on Muslim subjects from the anti-religious standpoint was L. Klimovich whose works, and especially SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE EAST AND RELIGION (1929), are still of great importance to students of Islam, in spite of the "numerous defects" which they contain. Klimovich also wrote a book entitled THE CONTENTS OF THE KORAN (1928), the avowed object of which was to set forth the basic propositions of the Koran and "to provide the anti-religious man with a systematic exposition of its ideas." The author claimed that this book was the first exposure of the internal contradictions of the Koran and he draws a sharp distinction between "the exploiters, in the interests of whom the Koran was written, and the exploited, from whom submission, obedience and belief in a future life of heavenly consolation were demanded." The book is, however, "misleading" in many respects since Klimovich shared the theory expounded by Professor M.A. Reysner under the influence of the so-called school of Pokrovskiy about the part played by commercial capitalism in the rise of Islam and the emergence of the Koran.

A book entitled ISLAM AND THE MODERN EAST (1928) by N.A. Smirnov was an attempt to consider in a single volume all the questions relating to the basic teaching of Islam, its political role, the organization of the Muslim hierarchy and the part played by Islam in everyday life. It contains a description of national liberation movements in such countries as Persia, Turkey, India and Egypt. There is much descriptive material written in a popular style but "the theoretical level of the first two editions is very low."

Specialized publications

Various works on Muslim festivals and ceremonies appeared at this period including Klimovich's article "Hajj (pilgrimage), the Vampire of Islam" (ATEIST No.53, 1930); V. Shokhor's THE "HOLY" MONTH OF RAMADHAN (Moscow, 1930); S. Turkhanov's MUSLIM FEASTS (Moscow, 1931);

L. Klimovich's KURBAN-BAYRAM (Moscow, 1931) and the brochure, AGAINST URAZA (fasting), (Moscow, 1933). These combine accounts of the origin of rites and holy-days with modern examples of their "reactionary and poisonous" character.

Among works on the subject of woman, N.A. Smirnov's THE CHADIR (1929), on the origin of the Muslim woman's veil and the struggle against it, contained a "now inaccurate" account of the sources of the custom and an interesting chapter compiled on the basis of an address of the Central Committee of the Uzbek and Azerbaydzhani Communist Parties to the workers appealing for the emancipation of women. S. Agamali-Ogly's book NAMUS IN ISOLATED SOCIETIES OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD (Baku, 1929) gives economic independence as the remedy for the imagined loss of namus (respect) by Muslim women. The author acknowledges that compulsion will be necessary, and that therefore legislation on the rights of women must be "re-inforced".

Soviet studies of the Muslim sects have had as their object "the exposing of the reactionary nature which they share in equal measure with Islam itself." A.M. Arsharuni's brochure BAHAIISM (Moscow, 1930) contains a chapter on the pretensions of Bahaism to contain the essentials of Socialist doctrine; the author went "too far" in his attempts to find a revolutionary note in some Bahaist slogans. I. Darov's BAHAIISM - A NEW RELIGION OF THE EAST, an examination of the speeches and letters of Abd-Beha, concludes that between Socialism and Bahaism there lies the same difference as between Socialism and Capitalism. M. Tomar's article "The sources of Wahabism" in ATEIST No. 53, 1930, accounted for the new puritan element in Islam by the economic conditions in the Najd of Abd-al-Wahab.

The theocratic character of the caliphate was the subject of P. Gidulyanov's article "The Caliphate as a Peculiar System of Relations between Church and State" (ATEIST No. 58, 1930). It was based on Bartold's work on the adoption of the title of Caliph by Selim I in 1517, though Bartold himself denies that this happened. Gidulyanov attributes the system to Muslim theories of the "Kingdom of Allah" on earth, and to the influence of Byzantine conceptions of empire. He denies that the Young Turks in 1908 opposed the religious authority of the Sultan. His statement that the Turkish reforms in the relations between Church and State - the abolition of the sultanate in 1922 and of the caliphate in 1924 - were modelled on and influenced by Soviet reforms in the RSFSR, particularly the separation of Church and State, are "completely incredible." This "absurd" assumption vitiates the otherwise interesting discussion of Britain's policy of using the caliphate and Islam to keep her Muslim subjects under control.

"Islam and Land Tenure", an article by M. Tomar in ATEIST No. 58, 1930, combats the opinion of Hammer, Worms, Perron and others that Islam denies the right to own land. M. Tomar affirms that the Koran is not the

real source of Muslim law, but the sunna, which is based on the decisions of Muhammad and of the ashab (the companions of the prophet). He attempts to show that in seventh-century Arabia a system of private ownership was in force. This meant, in fact, that Islām sanctioned the nationalization of the land in favour of the ruling group around the Caliph Omar. Islam's most favoured system of land-ownership, the author concludes, was that of wakf.

Among other articles appearing at this time, S.M. Abramzon's "The Manaps and Religion" (Sovetskaya Etnografiya, No.2, 1932) was the outcome of an expedition to the Chu district of Kirgizia in the summer of 1930. The manaps, says the author, were the first to accept Islam in Kirgizia and used it to increase their hold on the people. By the beginning of this century the interests of the manaps and the mullas came to be completely identified. At the time of the 1916 rising the Muslim clergy agitated against the war with Turkey, and during the first years after the Revolution the number of mosques in Kirgizia grew considerably - which fact the author treats as an indication of the growth of pan-Islamic secret societies.

The Tatar Economic Institute published in 1930 a work by M. Sagidullin, INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE VAYSOV MOVEMENT. This movement took its name from Vaisa-al-Kurani, a legendary associate of Muhammad; they also call themselves "Nakshbendi" after the dervishes of that name. Sagidullin says that they took these names to give an appearance of history to their movement. The sect was founded in 1862 by Bagautdin (Bahauddin), a Turkestan trader, who declared himself as a Ghazi in Kazan and opened a "State House of Prayer". The author claims that their doctrine "reflected the interests of the peasants," and he compares it to the teaching of Tolstoi. Their essential demands were: "Do not acknowledge Muslim assemblies, Tatar mosques, or any Government institutions; do not wear uniform or bear arms as a soldier; do not pay taxes; do not submit to any civil power; do not accept summonses or sign papers." From 1906, the author remarks, Vaysovism began to attract the petty bourgeoisie and to formulate an attitude of staying outside the class struggle, and although they made addresses of loyalty to the Soviet regime, the "Vaysovtsy" after the Revolution were a reactionary movement. (Smirnov comments that the connections of Vaysovism and Pan-Turkism would form a profitable field of study.)

The Ateist collection

A group of scholars on the staff of the magazine ATEIST published in 1931 a collection of articles under the general title of "Islam". The first three articles - L.I. Klimovich's "The Origin of Islam", V. Dityakin's "Islam and Today", and B.N. Nikolayev's "Islam and the State" - were written from the standpoint of the Pokrovskiy school,

that is, of "economic materialism", and are "in contradiction to Marxist-Leninist doctrine". M.L. Tomar's article, "Islam and Communism", however, though it states that the two are incompatible through the conflict of individual points of Islamic law with the principles of Communism and not through a fundamental opposition of Weltanschauung, rightly shows Islam to be "a defender and consolidator of the rights of property"; but he errs in saying that Islam ever was a peasant ideology. Belyayev's and Arsharuni's articles on the sects are an exception to the general level of the collection, which "reflects the level of Islamic studies in 1931 very poorly."

The bibliography, however, although it contains none of the pronouncements of Marxism-Leninism on Islam, is still not without value. It lists 246 Russian and 197 foreign titles under six headings: general works; Muhammad and the Koran; doctrine, ritual, and Muslim law; the sects (mysticism, Sufism, and dervishism); Babism and Bahaism; and Anti-Muslim propaganda. Belyayev, in his general introduction, affirms that the Tsarist Government did not realize the need and importance of the scientific study of Russian Islam, and it must be admitted that he judges pre-revolutionary literature on Islam "with unwarrantable severity". It is not possible to dismiss the work of all but a few authorities; "Russian scholarship has always held the first place in Islamic studies". A similar bibliography of works on Islam in Tatar was compiled by Klimovich for ATEIST (No.58, 1930).

In 1931 Belyayev published an anthology, THE ORIGIN OF ISLAM. His purpose was to supply students of Islam without a knowledge of foreign languages with source material. He quotes Schprenger's and Grimme's theories, and in conclusion that of Caetani which, as he notes, has never found favour in the West although it is undoubtedly "the most developed" of bourgeois theories. Belyayev himself is not sufficiently critical of bourgeois works on Islam and mistakenly proposes that Islam was "a sort of social-economic movement" which is, of course, "ridiculous".

Theories on the origin of Islam

All theories of the rise of Islam, about which there was a particular amount of speculation at this time, took as their starting point the economic situation of the Arab tribes of the seventh century. These theories can be divided into five groups: (1) the theory held by M.A. Reysner, E.A. Belyayev, L.I. Klimovich, V.T. Dityakin, and N. Bolotnikov that the motive force of the nascent religion was supplied by the mercantile bourgeoisie of Mecca and Medina. (2) the theory of N.A. Rozhkov that Muhammad brought about a feudal revolution. (3) the theory of M.L. Tomar that Islam arose among the impoverished peasantry of the Hejaz. (4) the theory of N.A. Morozov - ingenious if unwarrantable - that until the Crusades Islam was indistinguishable from Judaism and that only then did it receive its independent character, while Muhammad and the

first Caliphs are mythical figures. (5) the theory of S.P. Tolstov that Islam was a social-religious movement originating in the slave-owning, not feudal, form of Arab society.

(1) Reysner first propounded his theory in the article "The Ideology of the Koran" and his book IDEOLOGY OF THE EAST (1926-27). He holds that the nomadic tribes of Arabia were an impediment to the development of the foreign trade of Mecca; Muhammad provided the unifying factor in Islam; Allah is "an apotheosized merchant-trader". This theory overlooks the fact that the Koran is essentially "a defence of the ruling classes, and intended to divert the attention of the proletariat from the class struggle". Despite its non-Marxist character, Reysner's theory has had a considerable influence on many Soviet Islamists.

Belyayev in the article "The Role of Meccan Trading Capital in the History of the Origin of Islam" (ATEIST No.58, 1930) holds that Meccan merchants organized caravans in cooperation with the poorer classes of the city, and that the relations between Allah and men were those of trade.

Dityakin in "Marx and Engels on the origin and essence of Islam" (ATEIST Nos.22-23, 1927) tries to support excerpts from the Marxist classics with the work of Caetani and Lammens (quoting K. Dobrolyubskiy's article in NOVYY VOSTOK, 1924). He also uses the work of Reysner ("The Koran and its Social Ideology" Krasnaya Nov', Nos.8-9, 1926) and of Klimovich ("The Question of the Origin of Islam", ATEIST, 1927). In "The Fundamental Principles of an Historico-Materialist Analysis of the Origin and Development of Islam" (ATEIST No.27, 1928) he again claims that the initial work of gathering material has already been done by bourgeois scholars, and especially Caetani, and that the principal task of Soviet scholarship is interpretation. This leads to a neglect of sources such as the hadith (traditions). His reliance on the work of Caetani and acceptance of Bartold's theory that the creators of Islam were the town dwellers involve him in the "mistaken theory of the Pokrovskiy school - trade capitalism", which vitiates the work of all the members of the first group.

(2) Rozhkov's theory is expounded in the eighteenth chapter of his book RUSSIAN HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF COMPARATIVE HISTORY (1928). He relies too much on his sources - Müller, Goldziher, and Kremer - to give a truly Marxist interpretation and he gives too much importance to the personal role of Muhammad.

(3) M.L. Tomar, in "The Origin of Islam and its Class Foundation" (ATEIST No.58, 1930) holds that Islam was not a superstructure on an existing system, but an independent "category" taking its character from the population of Medina, whither trade capital had driven it from

Mecca. This population he believes to have been agricultural, basing this theory on the reports of eighteenth and nineteenth-century travellers, and Islam was therefore a religion of the poorer and depressed classes. The incompatibility of this theory with Marxist views of Islam is evident.

(4) Morozov, in his book CHRIST (1930) propounds in the chapter of the sixth volume entitled "Whence comes Islam?" these theses: In the Middle Ages Islam was merely an off-shoot of Arianism evoked by a meteorological event in the Red Sea area near Mecca; it was akin to Byzantine iconoclasm. The Koran bears traces of late composition, up to the eleventh century. The Arabian peninsula is incapable of giving birth to any religion - it is too far from the normal areas of civilization. The Arian Islamites, who passed in the Middle Ages as Agars, Ishmaelites, and Saracens, were indistinguishable from the Jews until the impact of the Crusades made them assume a separate identity. All the lives of Muhammad and his immediate successors are as apocryphal as the accounts of Christ and the Apostles.

Morozov throughout replaces scientific examination by the construction of hypotheses, often contradictory; for instance, he largely identifies the Koran and the Bible, but gives the date and place of the Koran's first appearance as the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries in the Balkans and not in Arabia.

(5) Tolstov (known today for his work on the Khorezm Oasis) in his article "The Outlines of Early Islam" (SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No.2, 1932) discusses some of the views noted above as presented in the special number of ATEIST (1930). These found the motive power of Islam in the nomadic tribes, the trader bourgeoisie, and in the "impoverished stratum of the agricultural population". Tolstov's main criticism is that all these views tend to regard Islam as an unique phenomenon with an unique cause. In fact, Islam was not the result of any one social cause or the child of any one class. Although Tolstov does not bring out clearly the nature of Islam "as an ideological superstructure", his treatment is the most satisfactory of all the authors examined. Nevertheless, with the exception of Morozov, they all witness to "the originality of growth of Soviet scholarship" at a period when the question of the origin of Islam had proved "beyond the powers" of bourgeois Islamic studies.

The personality of Muhammad

Morozov's denial that Muhammad had ever existed had a considerable influence on Soviet Islamic studies, particularly on Klimovich's article "Did Muhammad Exist?" (VOINSTVUYUSHCHIY ATEIZM Nos.2-3, 1930) prepared from a paper read to the anti-religious section of the Communist Academy of the Institute of Philosophy. Klimovich points out that all the authors who give biographical details of Muhammad lived some considerable

time after his death, and that it has been assumed by all subsequent historians that every religion must have had a founder. Tolstov, however, in the work mentioned above, remarks that such a purely negative approach to the question is not a sufficient basis for denying Muhammad's existence. Tolstov prefers to abandon the biographical approach to the Koran and to adopt Noldeke's division of the Koran into four groups - two Meccan and two Median. The Koran, he remarks, lacks any mention of the prophet's real name, of the place of the battle with the Kureish, or of the Hejira. The myth of Muhammad has much in common with the central myths of many religions; Tolstov finds parallels in the "deified shamans" of the Yakuts, the Buryats, and the Altays. Ali, who for half of the Muslim world is, if not a god then near to one, is another example of such deification. The social purpose of this myth was to check the disintegration of the political block of traders, nomads, and peasants, which had brought to power the new, feudal aristocracy.

Despite Tolstov's shortcomings, particularly in the field of Arab philology, this approach to the central myths of Islam is interesting and well grounded. Equally interesting is I.N. Vinnikov's treatment in "The Legend of the Call of Muhammad in the Light of Ethnography" (Articles presented to S.F. Oldenburg, 1934). He distinguishes two variants in the legend, the "passive" - Muhammad's opposition to the call, and the "active" - his solicitation of it. Both are typical features of shamanism and are found at the root of all religions. An example of the "passive" tendency - Muhammad's desire to be wrapped up or to have water poured on him - is typical primitive magic. Indeed, the "passive" feature is the more ancient of the two, though both are found in pre-Islamic Arab cults.

Vinnikov's work shows traces of Marr's "work-magic" theory, and he obscures the fact that the "active" element in shamanism represents the transformation of magic into a lucrative profession. It is obvious that further work on the subject of Islam's origin based on the work of the three authors discussed will have great importance in clarifying issues in Islamic doctrines as well.

The work of Bartold and Krachkovskiy

V.V. Bartold, head of the College of Orientalists until his death in 1930. was an Islamic scholar of exceptional authority. His unparalleled knowledge of the sources and his constant attempts to find new principles of interpretation differing from those traditional in European studies, make consultation of his works, with due allowance for his idealist outlook, indispensable for the Soviet research worker.

His article "The Koran and the Sea" (1925) argues that references to sea travel in the Koran cannot be borrowings from Jewish sources,

as the Jews of Arabia did not live by the sea, but must relate to the Persian Gulf or the Euphrates - bahr, farat, and darya all meaning "large river" as well as "sea". The necessity for calling on Allah during a sea journey, referred to in the Koran, implies that sea travel was in the hands of the monotheist Abyssinians; Muhammad's idea of Allah owes more to Christian than to Jewish conceptions of God.

MUSEYLIMA (1924) contains much material for the study of the spread of Islam in Arabia and of the opposition to Muhammad. Bartold believes that Museylima, like another prophet, Aswad of the Yemen, thought himself to be an incarnation of the deity. The pagan traditions disintegrated after the murder of Chosroes II in 628, and the rival prophets who then appeared were forced either to try to come to terms with Muhammad or, in the end, were destroyed by him.

Bartold's outstanding contribution to Islamic studies was his recognition that religious issue from the whole cultural, political and economic situation that determines the life of a particular society; they are not, as bourgeois writers assume, creations ex nihilo which then have to be accommodated to the conditions of real life. This was pointed out by I. Yu. Krachkovskiy in his address to the Academy of Sciences in 1930, "V.V. Bartold and the History of Islamic Studies," published by the Academy in 1934. Krachkovskiy's study is not made from a Marxist standpoint, but is a useful appendix to the article on Bartold in the second edition of the Soviet Encyclopaedia.

The Academy of Sciences also published I. Yu. Krachkovskiy's work on the book by the famous blind Egyptian scholar and statesman, Taha Husain, on pre-Islamic poetry - TAHA HUSAIN ON THE PRE-ISLAMIC POETRY OF THE ARABS AND HIS CRITICISM (1931). He ascribes Taha Husain's rejection of the authenticity of all "pre-Islamic" Arab poetry, and his opposition to fundamentalism in connection with the Koran, to the influence of unstable bourgeois scholarship. Krachkovskiy notes that while Taha Husain's followers, particularly the contributors to THE DAWN OF ISLAM, are less rigid than he, in stating their views, they maintain his position without any diminution and are a force to be reckoned with in other fields than scholarship.

Krachkovskiy has also written "A Russian translation of the Koran in a manuscript of the eighteenth century". (ARTICLES PRESENTED TO A.S. ORLOV, 1934.)

The sects

V.A. Gordlevskiy has been a particularly prolific writer on Muslim sects. He spent the year 1929 in Bukhara gathering material for his monograph "Baha-ud-din Nakshbend of Bukhara" (ARTICLES PRESENTED TO S.F. OLDENBURG, 1934). The name of Baha-ud-din is invoked there as divine, and

the author witnessed a secret zikh lasting four hours in the zikhkhaneh where Baha-ud-din is buried, in which over fifty men took part. Gordlevskiy believes that the sect wished to make the sangimurad stone, an object of pre-Islamic cults, a Central Asian Kaaba. The emirs of Bukhara were respected as defenders of the cult, and in return made pilgrimage to the shrine. Even Timur always showed reverence to Baha-ud-din; the Nakshbendis have always supported the Sunna with great zeal. They were active propagators of Islam in Western Siberia, even reaching the Volga; they were especially strong in the Caucasus under the name of "Murids". Gordlevskiy believes that Muridism originated from Bukhara, and that even Shamil had a link with the doctrine of the Bukharan Nakshbendis in the person of Khas-Muhammad.

It is impossible to regard this analysis as correct, since it is established that Muridism received at any rate its political doctrines from Turkey and Turkish agents, for which the Nakshbendi teaching served as a useful cover. Gordlevskiy himself remarks that the Nakshbendi had considerable importance in Turkey from the time of Mehmet II up to the nineteenth century and were implicated in the risings of 1925 and 1930. His conclusion is that a "liberal" threat to a Muslim community is always met by the opposition of a "mystical, contemplative" movement of the type of the Nakshbendi; but this is an insufficient statement - the Nakshbendi have always been a force of the blackest reaction in the hands of the ruling classes.

Among the numerous studies of the Sufi sheikhs and poets made by Ye. E. Bertel's, "Nur-al-ulum: the biography of Sheikh Abu-l-Hasan Harakani" (IRAN, III, 1929) contains the Persian text and a translation of the poem NUR-AL-ULUM (Light of Knowledge) with an introduction, in which Bertel's concludes that the manuscript (written 1299) is an abridgement of the original. He also gives reasons for the belief that the division of Sufism into two periods made by Nicholson and Browne cannot be maintained.

In the period under examination A.A. Semenov was particularly active in the field of Ismailism. (He remarks that their present head, the Aga Khan is an agent of Britain.) The study of this sect, dispersed as it is among the peoples of Central Asia, Sinkiang, India, and Afghanistan, is extremely complicated, and Semenov's work on it is one of the greater triumphs of Russian Islamic scholarship. Semenov is a member of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences.

K.S. Kashtaleva, who died in 1939, was a protegee of Krachkovskiy. She developed a new, "terminological" approach to the sources which was particularly appropriate to her subjects. Among her works are THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE KORAN IN A NEW LIGHT (1928), THE TERM "HANIF" IN THE KORAN (1928), THE QUESTION OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE 1ST, 24TH, AND 47TH SURAS OF THE KORAN (1927), and PUSHKIN'S "IMITATIONS OF THE KORAN" (1930).

Smirnov devotes some space to an analysis of this last work. In it Kashtaleva concludes that it was the personality of the author that attracted Pushkin to the Koran. While admitting the validity of her examination of Pushkin's attitude, Smirnov finds fault with her acceptance of the view that Muhammad wrote the Koran, which is, he points out, the view of Muslim tradition, and does not accord with our knowledge of the origin of Islam. The Koran is the result of "collective creative activity".

Social and economic problems

Studies of contemporary Islam aim at showing how, in a world where the October Revolution has evoked a universal movement towards nationhood and freedom, Islam is a tool of the ruling classes and of colonial imperialism. This was the theme of many articles and popular works between 1925 and 1934. M. Zoyeva's IMPERIALISM AND RELIGION IN THE COLONIES (1930) showed the connections between British imperialism and the clergy of Afghanistan, and the opposition of Britain's Zionist policy to the "national-liberation" movement of the Arab countries. A. Kamov's THE MUSLIMS IN INDIA (1931) shows the counter-revolutionary role played by Islam in the Indian nationalist movement. The author notes the opposition of the Indian supporters of the caliphate to British policy in the Turkish question; but fails to bring out the British part in the policy of the Indian supporters of the Caliphate, directed against Ibn-Saud (sic). THE MUSLIMS GET A CALIPH was published by L. Klimovich in the context of the pan-Muslim congress held in Jerusalem in December 1931. This is a comment on the imperialist inspiration of the congress and of the attempt to elect a new caliph. Klimovich points out that every power that has had dealings with Islam has attempted to gain control of the caliphate, from the Mongol khans to the Ottoman sultans. Its liquidation was a historical inevitability; but it is to be noted that Turkey has retained forms of religious organization conforming to its bourgeois-republican structure.

S. Turkhanov's article "The ecclesiastical policy of contemporary Turkey" (MILITANT ATHEISM, 1931) stresses this last theme. The Turkish bourgeoisie needs a strong and purified religion to assist it in its task of repressing the proletariat.

It is noteworthy that Islam has regained much of its former strength in Turkey, now that pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism are a part of the foreign policy of the Turks and their American overlords. Klimovich also mentions the activity of Bahai organizations in certain Turkish cities.

Summary: 1918 - 1934

The advent of the October Revolution brought not only a change in the social structure, but a complete change of outlook in scholarship, which it was hardly possible to assimilate immediately. Even the younger generation of scholars, who had learnt their methods under the Soviet regime, were affected by the old traditions, which died hard. Nevertheless, although their works display deficiencies in method in both the study of Islam and in general anti-religious propaganda, they are written from a standpoint completely different from that of bourgeois scholarship. What inspired their composition was a desire to liberate the masses from the toils of superstition and clericalism - and this was a completely new ideal.

Chapter VIslamic Studies 1935 - 19501935 - 1939

This period is notable for the great number of publications of a scientific description but designed to have a popular appeal. Among these are Klimovich's ISLAM IN TSARIST RUSSIA, 1936; ISLAM, 1937; DOWN WITH THE VEIL, 1940; and FEASTS AND FASTS OF ISLAM, 1941. ISLAM IN TSARIST RUSSIA is a series of essays exposing the class role of Islam from the eleventh century to the First World War. It contains an extensive bibliography. The scope of his subject has prevented the author from making an equally clear analysis of all its aspects, and he cannot be blamed for this; but it is a weakness that the Central Asian and Volga Tatar material is so much better presented than the Caucasian, and that the ties of pan-Islamism with the feudal and clerical circles of Turkey are not clearly exposed. Two of the other works mentioned are pamphlets; FEASTS AND FASTS OF ISLAM is a book compiled from material already published, with some new data and a list of sources.

G.A. Ibragimov's pamphlet ISLAM, ITS ORIGIN AND CLASS NATURE (1940), directed at the ordinary reader, uses obsolete material and hypotheses.

Among serious academic studies, the article "Islam" in the first edition of the Soviet Encyclopaedia, written by Ye. A. Belyayev, L.I. Klimovich and N.A. Smirnov, was the first Soviet attempt at a full history of Islam from its beginning to the present day, and is still in the main to be regarded as accurate. Islam is there represented as the ideology of the feudal system in the time of the territorial expansion of the Arab caliphs.

In 1938 the State Antireligious Publishing House issued five

articles by the Hungarian bourgeois scholar I. Goldziher, who died in 1921, under the title of *THE CULT OF SAINTS IN ISLAM* (Muslim Sketches). They had already appeared in part in Russian in a translation by A. Krymskiy. The collection included an article by Klimovich, "The Cult of Saints in Islam and Ignatius Goldziher's research on it". The factual material in these articles is valuable, if unfamiliar, despite the author's idealist philosophy. Klimovich's comments begin by noting the inconsistency of Muslim theology in allowing the cult of saints side by side with a supposedly strict monotheism. He quotes V.R. Rozen's commendation of the work of Goldziher on the Sunna, but blames him for his attempt to separate the Islam of theology from the Islam of popular religion. It is, of course, impossible to speak of any religion as "popular". The elements of hagiolatry are native to Islam, and not foreign to it; Klimovich shows that they were used by the feudal powers to perpetuate their influence as semi-deities. He adduces as an example the Central Asian "saints", Hajji Ahmad Yasabi, Hajji Ahrar, and Baha-ud-din Nakshbend. His conclusion is that Goldziher's work is useful, if approached in a duly critical spirit.

In 1939 the USSR Academy of Sciences published M.S. Ivanov's book, *THE BABI RISINGS IN IRAN (1848-1852)*. The book contains three supplements, one of which is a translation from the Persian of the book of Mirza Jani, which gives the contents of the most important pronouncements of the Babis in Bedasht. Ivanov considers that the task of bringing the suppressed desires of the oppressed classes to the light in nineteenth-century Iran fell to the lot of the followers of Sayyid Ali Muhammad, or the Bab. His book contains a short account of the Bab's doctrine; Ivanov thinks that it was in many points a mere repetition of the teaching of the Sheikhs, but that on the whole it did reflect the interests of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. "Announcing the abolition of the Koran and of the shariat, the setting-up of the holy kingdom of the Babis, the expulsion of foreigners, the confiscation and sharing of their property and the property of the oppressors, the Bab reflected the peasants' dream of a world where everyone would be equal and foreign capital would not destroy their crafts and domestic industries." This thesis Ivanov supports with a reference to Engels' masterly analysis of the German Peasants' War of the sixteenth century.

But Ivanov notes that the Bab was a merchant, and that the merchants found a more exact representation of their interests in his programme than the peasantry. The confiscated property was to be shared not equally, but according to merit; and such inequalities are to be found in many chapters of the *BEYAN* (The Holy Book of the Babis). This Ivanov does not bring out sufficiently; there cannot have been the mass support for Babism that he supposes when the idea of equality was so insecurely rooted in it. He does admit that the Bedasht programme of equality, the abolition of taxes and tributes, and the confiscation of property was not accepted by all the Babis there, and from his further analysis of the Babi risings

it is clear that Babism was primarily a movement of the town-dwellers; the peasants only took part in the rising at Niriz - of which he speaks very little. None the less, the book provides material for the study of Shiism and its leaders and their conflict with the Babi rising.

Two articles by Bartold, published in *ISTORIK-MARKSIST*, Nos. 5-6, 1939, under the title "Two unpublished articles by V.V. Bartold on early Islam" contain an attempt to give a method for the study of the origin of Islam and the life of Muhammad, and an argument that Islam's evolution involved the gradual limitation of the rights of women.

The influence of M.N. Pokrovskiy: Muridism in the Caucasus

The Party resolutions of 1946 (the Zhdanov decrees on literature) exposed many harmful trends in the interpretation of national movements, in particular those of Shamil and Kenesary Kasimov, formerly considered to be progressive and popular. This view, the result of the un-Marxist doctrine of the school of M.N. Pokrovskiy, had been upheld by many authors, notably S.K. Bushuyev in *THE HIGHLANDERS STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF SHAMIL* (Moscow, 1939), R.M. Magomedov (same title, Makhach-Kala, 1939), G. Guseynov in *THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT IN 19TH-CENTURY AZERBAIDZHAN* (Baku, 1949), and also by N.I. Pokrovskiy in his article "Muridism" (Academic Theses of the Historical Faculty of the State Teacher-Training Institute of Rostov-on-Don, Vol.I, 1941), which was a chapter from his doctor's thesis *THE CONQUEST OF THE NORTH-EAST CAUCASUS AND THE HIGHLANDERS' STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE*. N.I. Pokrovskiy had already propounded his ideas in an article "Muridism in power" (*ISTORIK-MARKSIST*, No.2, 1934), where, however, he had been more concerned with political importance of the movement than the religious. In his thesis he tries to show that the movement could not have been initiated by the mullas; the religious overtones were merely the inevitable accompaniment of any movement in the Muslim Caucasus. Islam, before the nineteenth century, had not established itself firmly in the Caucasus; the shariat was less useful to the "feudals" than the existing system of law, the adat. So the spread of Islam was identified with the class movement.

But the author does not try to show that the shariat was in fact more acceptable to the people than the adat; he admits that the war against the Russians was the wish of the leaders of Muridism and not the mass of the people. He says that there is not sufficient data to determine the opposition of the Murids to the alliance with Iran, although he realizes that the Persians were Shiites and that the alliance was engineered by the ruling classes. On the other hand, while admitting that in the Dzhur rising of 1826 the beks had Iran as their base he says that it would be incorrect to ascribe the whole of the Murid rising to Iranian agitation. Finally, he has not shown the ties of Muridism with Turkey, which were a threat not only to Russia, but to

the mountain peoples as well.

The correct view of the movement of Shamil and Muridism was given by the Stalin Prize Committee in their verdict on the work of G. Guseynov mentioned above. It was a reactionary nationalist movement inspired by British capitalists and the Sultan of Turkey. This view has been propounded in subsequent works on Muridism, which have remarked that the most progressive national leaders of the peoples of the Caucasus have always looked for help from Russia, despite the cruelty and oppression practised by the Tsarist Russian colonists. Islam, Shamil and Muridism were all attacked by such contemporaries of Shamil as the Armenian M. Nalbandyan and the Azerbaydzhani Mirza Fatali Akhundov. A. Daniyalov's article "Corruptions in the interpretation of Muridism and the movement of Shamil" (VOPROSY ISTORII, No.9, 1950) describes how the peoples of Dagestan always took the part of Russia, which had delivered them from the ravishers of the East (England and Turkey). Shamil, however, was in communication with the Turkish forces. Documents in the Soviet archives prove that the seeds of Muridism were sown in Dagestan by Sheikh Khalid and Hajji-Ismail, Turkish agents. The activity of the Muslim clergy was directed against the ruling classes only in so far as some members of them were Russian sympathizers. The imposition of the shariat on Dagestan by Shamil was an intolerable burden that retarded its development. Daniyalov concludes his article with a criticism of the work of Magomedov already mentioned. Magomedov uses local material with a strong nationalist bias.

The publication by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR of a new translation of the chronicle of Muhammad Tahir (Institute of Oriental Studies, 1941), first translated under the title "Three Imams" (COLLECTED MATERIAL FOR THE DESCRIPTION OF LOCALITIES AND TRIBES OF THE CAUCASUS, No.45, Makhach-Kala, 1926), could be the starting-point for new studies on the subject of Muridism. The translator, A.M. Barabanov, in his introduction, says that the first translation gave Shamil the air of a fanatical fatalist, in contradiction to his true character, and had an unfortunate influence on many works on the subject, notably Bushuyev's. Tahir, who was Shamil's secretary and took down much of what he said verbatim, wrote THE FLASH OF DAGESTAN SABRES IN SOME OF SHAMIL'S BATTLES between 1851 and 1856; he died in 1882. The manuscript was added to by his son Habibullah, who said that Tahir had taken the stories from Shamil's dictation and translated them into Arabic; the additions go up to Shamil's death in Medina in 1871.

Turkish use of Islam for political ends is the subject of N. Smirnov's "Sheikh Mansur and his Turkish abettors" (VOPROSY ISTORII, No.10, 1950). He gives an account of Mansur's attempt to win the favour of the people of the North Caucasus and of his final resorting to the support of the Turks. A fuller account of Sheikh Mansur by the same author is to be found in "Turkish agents under the flag of Islam" (PROBLEMS IN THE

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND ATHEISM, Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, Moscow, 1950).

Central Asian Islamic studies

MEKTEBS AND MEDRESES AMONG THE KAZAKHS (Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences, 1950), by Nigmat Sabitov, is a review of the education given by Muslim schools in Central Asia and among the Volga Tatars. He shows that they were completely cut off from the world, were forcing-houses of pan-Islamism, and served the interests of American and British imperialism. Sabitov had already shown that pan-Islamism was now inextricably wedded to pan-Turkism, pan-Arabism and pan-Iranism ("Against the reactionary ideology of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism" IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR, No.5, 1949); but this is not here made quite clear. He stresses the uselessness of most of the knowledge gained in these institutions, and the fact that they were not open to the poorer classes. Teaching was given in Arabic, Tatar or Persian; the vernacular was not taught. The reforms of "dzhadidism" - the "new method" - only introduced a few very limited subjects, strongly biased in favour of pan-Turkism. The only real education was provided by the few Russian schools.

MATERIAL ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF UZBEKISTAN (II, 1950, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Institute of History and Archaeology) contained an interesting article by O.A. Sukhareva, "The Problem of the Cult of Muslim Saints in Central Asia". Working on the theory of S.P. Tolstov on the origins of Islam (CAR Vol.III, No.1, p.87), she shows that syncretism was a marked feature of Central Asian Islam. The people of Uzbekistan disregarded the dogmatic stringency of orthodox Islam and many features of its moral law - for instance, in the matter of marriage. She does not pay due attention to the class structure which prompted these tendencies; nor does she remark that Islam, despite them, did not become a religion of the people.

Recent publications

A.M. Dyakov's monograph, THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN INDIA (1948), a work of very faulty construction, contains chapters showing how, by the Morley-Minto reforms, the 1935 Constitution, and finally by the creation of two states, the division between Muslims and Hindus was fostered; and it contains an examination in detail of the role of the Muslim League.

S.R. Smirnov, in "The Mahdi Rising in the Sudan", (N.N. Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnography, USSR Academy of Sciences, New Series, 1950) gave the first Soviet analysis on Marxist lines of the Mahdi's rising. He shows the contradictions between the nationalist character of the movement and the reactionary religious aims of the Mahdi himself.

However, he does not treat the movement entirely from the class point of view, and so overestimates its popular character.

I. Yu. Krachkovskiy's work, *OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF RUSSIAN ARABIC STUDIES* was published by the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1950. It has been of great help to the author of the present work.

Among the latest products of Soviet scholarship, Ye. A. Belyayev's article "The Arab Caliphate" (*SOURCE-BOOK OF MEDIAEVAL HISTORY*, 1, 1951, p.115), and N.V. Pigulevskaya's books *BYZANTIUM AND IRAN AT THE TURN OF THE VITH CENTURY* (Moscow, 1946) which contains a translation of an anonymous Syrian manuscript of 1234 on the life of Muhammad, and *BYZANTIUM ON THE ROAD TO INDIA* (1951) are particularly valuable.

The book concludes:

"J.V. Stalin's last work, *ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR*, has put a new weapon into the hands of Soviet historians.

"The decisions of the XIXth congress of the Communist Party equip Soviet historical science with new principles of theory and open before it new prospects of development.

"They set forth concrete problems for historical investigation, mobilize historians for relentless struggle against all ideological per-versions and mistakes of popularization in interpreting individual historical events, against bourgeois nationalism and other survivals of bourgeois ideology.

"At the present time, when Soviet historians have before them the task of initiating fundamental Marxist investigations into the history of Soviet society, into the history of the struggle of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party to build socialism and gradually to go over to Communism, Soviet historians must similarly prepare works on the history of the lands of the Orient abroad, where religious views and institutions occupy a notable place in the super-structural system.

"The task confronting Soviet investigators of Islam is, without weakening scientific research work in the sphere of the study of the origin and early forms of Islam, to pay more attention to the bringing into being of a literature answering to the demands of science and disclosing the social role played by Islam at various epochs of history, at the same time providing concrete examples. In particular, much more attention must be paid to unmasking the contemporary role of Islam as a support for the exploiter classes and colonial regime, to disclosing the reactionary, anti-

popular essence of the ideology of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism, used primarily by the American imperialists to enslave the peoples of the East.

"Finally, our literature on Islamic questions must instruct Soviet people, especially the inhabitants of those republics and oblasts where this religion still is to be found; it must arm our propagandists with knowledge to assist their struggle with religious survivals in men's consciousness, with the relics of religious traditions, rites and concepts; it must educate the workers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and of the friendship of nations."

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B I B L I O G R A P H Y

The following is a list of the works mentioned in the original text as dealing with Islam and cognate subjects. The list is divided into three sections:

- A. Works listed alphabetically under their authors.
- B. Miscellaneous works and articles of which the authors are not given.
- C. Periodicals dealing with Islamic subjects.

A.

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