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The Autocracy and the Muslim Clergy in the Russian Empire (1850s–1917)

Russian expansion to the south and east continued for almost as long as the empire existed, resulting in Muslims becoming its largest non-Orthodox group. The significant increase in the percentage of Muslims in the empire forced the authorities to seek out ways of integrating them into the structure of the Russian Orthodox state. The sixteenth century's religious persecutions and forced conversions of Muslims to Orthodoxy gave way in the eighteenth century to a policy of religious tolerance that ultimately became a state-building principle. From the second half of the nineteenth century on, the empire's attempts at modernization and the maintenance of state integrity became important elements in imperial ideology. This, however, did not result in a single, consistent policy toward Muslims. This article seeks to demonstrate the complexity of Russian policy toward its Muslim subjects through examining the issue of the administration of Muslim religious affairs as it was discussed in government circles.

The authorities' first attempts to regulate Muslim religious life by law and to incorporate Muslim spiritual leaders into Russian governmental structures took place during the reign of Catherine the Great (1762–96).¹ After Russia annexed the Crimea in 1783, it handed over supervision of local religious affairs to the muftis, who then became part of the system of civil administration in the new imperial region. In 1788 an imperial decree set up an assembly

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in Ufa, consisting of two or three mullahs from among the “Kazan Tatars” and chaired by a mufti, to supervise the appointment of mullahs and to examine candidates for religious appointments.² The motives behind the creation of these bodies included political considerations such as the need to establish governmental control over the local Muslim population and the neighboring Kazakhs and the imperial authorities’ intentions of using Islam and the Muslim Tatars to work their way into Central Asia. These actions also corresponded to Catherine’s overall policy, which made room for ideas of religious tolerance but was focused as well on the governmental regulation of religious life and religious institutions.

The activities of the Muslim administration in the Crimea (announced in 1794 in Catherine’s decree) were regulated in 1831 by a Statute on the Tauride Muslim Clergy (Polozhenie o Tavricheskom magometanskom dukhovenstve).³ The rules under which the Ufa Assembly operated were not a systematic body of laws but were based on enactments issued at various times and not collected until 1857, when volume 11 of the *Compendium of Laws* (Svod zakonov) was published.

Thus, a system of religious administration was created for Muslims in the eastern part of Russia and the Crimea that was largely under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior. Russian law defined both higher and lower clergy, with the former staffing the two major organs of local religious administration, the Tauride Muslim Spiritual Governing Board (*pravlenie*) in Simferopol and the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly in Ufa.⁴ The area covered by the Simferopol Board included Tauride Province and the western provinces, while the law described the Orenburg Assembly as responsible for “all other provinces and regions except the Transcaucasian region, [the lands of] the Asian natives (Tashkent and Bukhara), and those living in certain Siberian towns who have not become [Russian] subjects” (Article 1142).

The religious administrative bodies were collegial, comprising two or three individuals under the chairmanship of a mufti. Candidates for the position of mufti were to be elected by the “Mohammedan community” (the Tauride Statute defined the electoral process in greater detail) and subsequently presented by the Ministry of the Interior for confirmation by the emperor (Articles 1236, 1159–70). On assuming their duties, higher-ranking Muslim officials had to swear an oath of loyalty to the sovereign (Articles 1371, 1469, 1584). Salaries, staffing levels, and procedures were specified by law. These religious institutions were charged with superintending the mosques and the schools with *wakuf* belonging to them, with appointing and superintending parish clergy, and with reviewing matters raised in the parishes in their charge.

The parish clergy occupied the lower rungs of the hierarchy. They examined and decided matters pertaining to Muslims—such as the conducting of

prayer services, the performance of religious rituals, marriage, and divorce—adjudicated law suits relating to inheritance and the division of hereditary property, and maintained the parish registers (Articles 1143–46, 1156, 1196, 1211). The clergy had to submit to government agencies statistical information on the size of their congregations and on births, marriages, and deaths. Mullahs were elected by parish communities and confirmed by the provincial governments. In Tauride District, spiritual titles were exclusively hereditary (Article 1178), but even so, in cases where several candidates were vying for a given appointment, preference was to go to those who spoke Russian (Article 1207). In Orenburg District, candidates for religious appointments had to be examined by the local assembly on their knowledge of Muslim law (Article 1238).

The Muslim clergy, the position it occupied, and its relationship with the authorities were constantly on the government's mind in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In view of the enormous influence that clergy exerted on the Muslim population, the authorities were eager to "bind that class of people" to the state by instituting a legal definition of its position. In the 1850s–60s the Ministry of the Interior sought to create a uniform system of religious administration for Muslims under the purview of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly and the Tauride Spiritual Governing Board. But events such as the partial relocation of the Crimean Tatars to Turkey at the end of the Crimean War (1854–56), the drafting of an order in 1863 to bring the Bashkirs under lay administration, and anxiety that those undertakings would "ignite religious fanaticism" forced the ministry to postpone the practical transformation of Muslim religious institutions and limit itself to preparing documents on the subject.

The issue of the Muslim clergy and its position vis-à-vis the authorities resurfaced a few years later in ruling circles, revived by a personal report to the emperor (*vseppoddanneishii otchet*) covering the period from February 1865 through March 1866 and a subsequent report (*predstavlenie*) to the minister of the interior by Orenburg Governor-General Nikolai Andreevich Kryzhanovskii. In his capacity as administrator of a region whose population adhered to various creeds (pagans, Muslims, Old Believers, and Orthodox), Kryzhanovskii considered this wide variety of religious faiths "harmful." He was particularly disturbed by the spread of Islam. The increase of the Muslim population in the empire following the conquest of Turkestan and the ongoing Muslim unrest in the western provinces of China gave Kryzhanovskii grounds to raise a political problem: the "Mohammedan Question." He argued that the Muslim clergy—an "insular group"—was using its vast influence on the minds of the Muslim population to hamper that population's integration into the structure of the Russian state. He also pointed out that, in response to clerical influence, Muslims had begun to assess steps taken by the government in that area as attempts to convert them to the "Russian faith,"

which they then boycotted. To “draw the Muslims closer to Russia,” Kryzhanovskii deemed it essential to place the Muslim clergy in a “more appropriate relationship to the government,” by bringing its actions under closer supervision.⁵ To this end, he recommended a reform of the Spiritual Assembly that, in his view, should begin with the following measures: (1) the introduction of a Russian government official into the assembly to monitor its enactments; (2) the appointment of assembly members who could read and write Russian and would eventually be graduates of the gymnasias; (3) the conducting of official correspondence and the maintenance of parish registers in Russian; (4) the replacement of collegial consideration of certain matters by administrative action; (5) the appointment of clergy in place of their election; (6) the conferral of a government stipend on all members of the clergy, with the aim of “prohibiting all support from the faithful” and “rendering the mullahs dependent on the government,” combined with a direct tax levied on the Bashkirs to support their clerics, which in Kryzhanovskii’s opinion could well weaken their attachment to the clergy; and (7) an injunction against Bashkir and Tatar mullahs teaching the Kirghiz [modern-day Kazakhs].⁶

These and other suggestions made later by Kryzhanovskii were engendered by more than his fear of Islam. In part, they also reflected the reformist impetus of the government under Alexander II (1856–1881). When viewed by the local authorities in this context, the “benighted” Muslim population and its clergy were contrasted to the government’s strivings toward modernization.

After Kryzhanovskii’s report, Alexander II recommended further study of this question, a job he entrusted to the Ministry of the Interior. The governor-general’s suggestions received the attention of Petr Aleksandrovich Valuev and his successor as minister of the interior, Aleksandr Egorovich Timashev. Valuev believed that demanding a high-school education from mullahs could leave congregations without officiants and worried that this could lead to mullahs going underground and operating there without any official oversight.⁷ Timashev, who shared the governor-general’s opinion that the chief task of the proposed reforms was to weaken the Muslims’ institutional opposition to “Russian civilization,” held that Muslims might interpret introducing a Russian official into the assembly and requiring the use of Russian in official communications and in parish registers as “religious persecution.” Hence, while acknowledging those steps as desirable, the Ministry of the Interior saw their introduction as fraught with “substantial impediments.”⁸

A copy of Kryzhanovskii’s suggestions was submitted to the governor-general of Novorossia and Bessarabia for an opinion in 1867, and in 1868 the Tauride provincial government discussed limiting the influence of the Muslim clergy, concluding there was a need to reduce staffing in the mosques. The governor-general, convinced that these measures fell short, instead favored

educating the Crimean Tatars to bring them closer to the Russian population while also making the Tauride Governing Board a department of the provincial government.⁹

At that time, the Ministry of the Interior compiled and distributed to the governors-general of Orenburg and Novorossiiia/Bessarabia a list of questions regarding the proposed reform of Muslim religious institutions. In 1870 a committee was set up in Orenburg Territory to discuss these matters, manned by the governors of Ufa, Orenburg, Ural, and Turgai regions and chaired by the governor-general.

When the opinions laid out in Kryzhanovskii's report and in the enactments of the Orenburg Territory Committee and those expressed by the committee and the governor of Tauride Province (the post of governor-general of Novorossiiia and Bessarabia had been abolished by then) were brought together, it could clearly be seen that their views were diverse. The Orenburg governor-general himself changed his position considerably: in 1867 he had considered reform of the Spiritual Assembly essential, but in 1870 he saw the goal of the transformation as the elimination of this organ as a discrete institution, basing his argument on the idea of the separation of religion and governance.¹⁰ Both of Kryzhanovskii's reports had underlined the need to appoint rather than elect candidates to fill religious vacancies, but the committee issued orders for the mullahs to be elected by the community and confirmed by the authorities. Members of the clergy were required to know Russian in 1867, but in 1870 these conditions were dropped and it was even proposed to eliminate testing. The governor of Tauride Province was against dissolving the collegial body, holding that such a step could lead to abuses by the muftis, but he favored retaining the hierarchical organization of Muslim governance.¹¹ This lack of unity forced Timashev to abandon the notion of formulating any general principles, and the Ministry of the Interior decided not to take any general measures, fearing that far-reaching reform might lead the Muslim population to "suspect infringements on their religion."¹²

Various government institutions spent a long time reviewing the issue of setting up administrative structures for the Muslim clergy in the Transcaucasus; not until 1872 was there a legislative decision. Drafts of relevant statutes were compiled on instructions from the local administration, but military hostilities prevented any of them from becoming law. When the Caucasus War ended, several problems reasserted themselves, including, together with sundry local administrative and judicial matters, the organization of Muslims' religious administration. In a plan to organize the clergy in the Transcaucasus drawn up in 1869, Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolaevich, viceroy in the Caucasus, specified six goals, which, in his opinion, the authorities should pursue in the impending reform: "(1) furnish the government with the means to monitor members of the clergy; (2) act to oppose any increase in corporate spirit within the

clerical estate; (3) obstruct the entry of foreign clerics from Turkey and Persia; (4) limit, as much as possible, the clergy's sphere of activity among the Muslim population; (5) render the influential segment of the clergy directly dependent on the government, by joining its material interests to state service; and (6) establish oversight of religious institutions."¹³ Now that the war was over, the viceroy maintained, the government could be "freer in pursuing its goals,"¹⁴ since earlier plans (the one, for instance, drawn up in 1849 under orders from Prince Mikhail Semenovich Vorontsov), which made substantial concessions to *Sharia* and contained no provisions for governmental oversight over the clergy, had become obsolete.¹⁵

Two religious directorates were set up in Tiflis—one for Sunnis, headed by a mufti, and one for Shi'ites, headed by a *sheikh-ul-Islam* ["scholar of Islam," a high-ranking Shi'ite cleric—Trans.]—with responsibility for all parts of the Transcaucasus except those that came under the Military-People's Directorate (*voenno-narodnoe upravlenie*).¹⁶ The emperor appointed the mufti and the sheikh-ul-Islam based on recommendations from the Ministry of the Interior.¹⁷ Administration of the Transcaucasian clergy took place through a three-tier system, with the provincial *mejlis*—collegial bodies whose members were appointed by the governor with the consent of the Spiritual Governing Board (Article 1463)—serving as an intermediary between the parish clergy and the governing boards. Legislation enacted in the Transcaucasus brought the clergy under stricter regulation than before. Important conditions for receipt of an appointment were that the candidate be a Russian subject (*poddannyi*) (Articles 1454, 1569) and willing to give assurances that he had no ties with Muridism [militant Islam—Trans.] (Article 1458).

The Transcaucasian clergy had access to special privileges. Members of the clergy and their children did not have to pay various duties and taxes, and, after twenty years of service, the children of the higher clergy were accorded the same rights as the children of personal nobles and personal honorary citizens.¹⁸ The responsibilities of the parish clergy, the lowest echelon of this hierarchy, included conducting prayer services, performing religious rituals, and supervising mosques and the schools attached to them. They were also charged with maintaining vital records. The solemnization of marriage fell to a special order of the Muslim clergy called *qadi* [a Muslim cleric and judge, also *qazi*—Trans.]. Members of the clergy also had a special duty "to instill into their coreligionists an unshakable faith in, and devotion to, the sovereign and obedience to the established authorities" (Articles 1483, 1598).

In his commentary on the plan, Aleksandr Kasimovich Kazem-Bek, a consultant on Muslim affairs for the Interior Ministry's Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Creeds, expressed his doubts about a prohibition on contacts between Muslim clerics in the Caucasus and their counterparts elsewhere.

Kazem-Bek was of the opinion that, since Sharia sometimes prescribed communication with members of the clergy in other countries to resolve controversial issues, the unconditional prohibition of such contacts could simply send the relationships underground.¹⁹

Even so, the bill became law on 5 April 1872, at which time the State Council's combined Legal and State Economy Departments stated clearly that the statute, once published, ought not to be used subsequently as a basis for administering the Muslim clergy in the internal provinces. These clerics' situation was unique because of their distance from foreign Muslim states, ethnic distinctions that gave them little in common with the Transcaucasus, and a habitation pattern characterized by pockets of Muslims encircled by Orthodox.²⁰

As Russia annexed more and more of the Muslim-populated regions to the east and southeast, the state developed another style of interaction with the Muslim spiritual leaders, which was implemented in parts of the Steppe Territory, Turkestan, and the Caucasus that were not already under the jurisdiction of existing religious directorates and were governed under special statute. In the Steppe Territory, pursuant to a statute dated 25 March 1891, the regional administration exercised primary jurisdiction over Muslim religious affairs, while at the local level religious administration was in the hands of mullahs elected (among the Kirghiz) not by parish communities but by cantonal (*volostnoi*) congresses comprising heads of household and subsequently confirmed by the governors.²¹ The statute regulated clerical activity in the most general terms, covering it in four articles (97–100). It gave official standing to members of the clergy but limited their numbers. It also left undefined the duties and privileges of mullahs, since according to this Steppe Territory Statute, mullahs functioned only as officiants (they had to pay taxes and duties like the rest of the Kirghiz).²² They were, moreover, no longer authorized to consider matters relating to marriage and the family, which were to be resolved on the basis of *adat* (Muslim common law). The Steppe Statute was not extended to the Tatars, whose parishes were governed by the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly.

Elsewhere in the empire, the spiritual life of Muslims went unregulated. In the North Caucasus, in the Kuban, Terek, and Dagestan regions, and in Stavropol Province, the supervision of Muslim religious affairs rested on the practices and directives of the local administration. Mullahs were elected by the populace and confirmed by the regional and provincial authorities. The Kuban and Terek regions came under the Transcaucasian Statute of 1872, but the *qadis*, who also sat on the highland courts (*gorskii sud*), could adjudicate only marital questions, while cases involving inheritance or wardship were heard only in the common-law courts (*gorskii slovesnyi sud*). The Dagestan region also had people's courts (*narodnyi sud*). During the Caucasus War, the

Muslim clergy was predominantly anti-Russian in its sentiments, and therefore Shamil was able to institute Sharia throughout the region. Meanwhile, in its efforts to limit Islam's influence, the tsarist administration in the Caucasus endorsed *adat* as a counterweight to Sharia. Unable to rely on the local clergy to exert ideological pressure on their Muslim parishioners, the authorities on occasion had to rely on clerics from Muslim districts of the empire's internal provinces, Prince Mikhail Vorontsov being among those who espoused that practice.²³

There were still no laws to regulate the religious life of the Kirghiz members of the Inner Bukeev Horde of Astrakhan Province and the Muslims in the Transcaspian Territory and Turkestan. The 1892 Statute on the Government of Turkestan Territory granted the Muslim clergy there no official standing, while questions of marriage and inheritance were to come before the people's courts and be adjudicated in accordance with *adat*.²⁴ The approaches to Muslim clerics in Turkestan Territory took shape under Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman [1818–1882, first governor-general of Russian Turkestan—Trans.], who believed that the best way to weaken Islam was to ignore it.²⁵ Thus, the law recognized the clergy of the Orenburg, Tauride, and Transcaucasus districts as an estate and classified its religious organization as a government agency. Over much of the empire, though, the government still refused to regulate the religious affairs of Muslims and thus deprived the Muslim clergy of official status.²⁶

From the 1870s on, the authorities began to force through an integration policy that relied extensively on the use of Russian and on the intensification of governmental control over clerical activities—a move that is well illustrated by steps taken toward the clergy operating under the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly under the aegis of a program of “enlightening the Eastern aliens [*inorodtsy*]” into Muslim religious schools. Despite the support of Mufti Selim-Girei Tevkelev [appointed Orenburg mufti in 1865—Trans.], these measures met with opposition from Muslim clergy and Muslim communities alike. Under such circumstances, the government decided to Russify the clergy first by making knowledge of Russian a condition for holding a religious post in the Orenburg area as of 1890. On numerous occasions in later years, the government discussed the possibility of extending that 1890 statute to other regions inhabited by Muslims, but the idea had to be abandoned because of the Muslim clergy's disinterest in learning Russian and concerns that in the absence of a sufficient number of candidates able to read and write Russian some Muslim congregations could find themselves left with no officiants at all.

The government ascribed considerable significance to the personality of Muslim spiritual leaders and chairmen of the religious administration.²⁷ Such individuals, the authorities felt, should exert “a moral influence on their coreligionists” and be “sponsors of the idea of rapprochement between the Mohammedan population and the Russians.”²⁸ Initially the law envisaged putting

all clerical posts up for election, but that was not implemented.²⁹ The government spent much effort on selecting candidates for the position of mufti. So, for instance, Gabdel'vakhit Suleimanov was appointed Orenburg mufti in 1840 by a special decree resulting from the intercession of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, former commander in chief of the military training institutions where Suleimanov instructed Muslim students in religion.³⁰ He was also known to the Ministry of the Interior, being an imam in St. Petersburg at the time of his appointment as mufti. When Suleimanov died in 1862, the position of Orenburg mufti remained vacant for some time, though petitions coming in to the Interior Ministry from the Muslims of Orenburg Territory urged the government to appoint a new mufti with all speed.³¹

In 1862, on the grounds that "the Mohammedan clergy in Russia has had no common and defined political orientation that would demand particular vigilance in the selection of members of the higher clergy, such as is the case, for instance, with respect to the Roman Catholic clergy," the Ministry of the Interior opted to make no legal modifications to the procedures for electing muftis, instead limiting itself to the passing of temporary rules.³² To justify this approach, in a draft of a presentation to the Council of Ministers in 1864 Valuev pointed out: "At present, it is easier for the government to offset any unfavorable results of the election of a mufti by reserving to itself, on the basis of existing law, the right to refuse to confirm a candidate who does not conform to the government's views and to prefer a more worthy candidate selected by the Mohammedans themselves than to assume all moral responsibility for this choice. When the public participates in the selection of a mufti, the moral responsibility for an unsuccessful choice falls on the public, and the Mohammedans will not be able to blame government arbitrariness for any untoward consequences of its own mistake."³³ In 1865 the government duly gave its approval to Tevkelev, a nobleman and Russian officer. In 1886, on recommendations from the chief procurator of the Holy Synod, Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev, and the missionary Nikolai Ivanovich Il'minskii, the emperor confirmed Mukhamed'iar Sultanov as mufti. In 1889, however, the Ministry of the Interior advised the State Council to replace election with the direct appointment of muftis and the assembly.³⁴ This procedural change was motivated by the important role played by the leader of the Muslim clergy and the limited likelihood that the Muslims themselves would ever elect individuals who "conformed to the views" of the government. The procedure whereby the emperor was to appoint the Orenburg mufti while the interior minister appointed assembly members became law on 9 January 1890. On 27 May 1891, based on an opinion issued by the State Council and approved at the highest level, it was extended to the Tauride mufti and *qadiasqar* (justice of the peace).³⁵

Sergei Mikhailovich Dukhovskoi, governor-general of Turkestan, again

questioned the religious organization of Muslims, both regional and empire-wide, in a report submitted to the emperor in 1899. Writing after a recent attack on a Russian garrison at Andizhan (Fergana Valley) by Turkic peasants and nomads, Dukhovskoi recommended Muslim policies articulated in terms of “the struggle with Islam as a political force.” Among all else, Dukhovskoi suggested abolishing all the religious directorates and transferring their functions to the local administration.³⁶ He viewed the directorates primarily as bodies that united Muslims in “anti-Russian and anti-Christian propaganda”³⁷ and hindered the penetration of Russian culture and ideas of assimilation.³⁸ He also deemed it essential to narrow the range of matters that could be resolved by application of Sharia.³⁹ Dukhovskoi’s radical plan found no support in the higher echelons of government.

Orthodox missionaries were particularly active in their insistence on limiting the activities of the Muslim clergy. In their eyes, the muftis were anti-Russian elements that promoted Muslim insularity. They also held that in matters of state, the Orthodox Russian government could not trust the “infidel, alien, fanatical, and single-minded specialists, the muftis,” and that the government had erred in creating bodies to manage the religious affairs of Muslims.⁴⁰ Certain conservative periodicals shared this view.⁴¹

In terms of practical policy, the authorities did their best to avoid introducing abrupt changes affecting the Muslim clergy. In 1900 Finance Minister Sergei Iul’evich Witte, in comments on Dukhovskoi’s plan, noted that Russia should tread especially carefully in its dealings with its Muslim subjects at a time when the Muslim issue had foreign policy implications.⁴² As examples of a right-minded policy with regard to Muslims, Witte cited Vorontsov in the Caucasus and Kaufman in Turkestan.

After 12 December 1904, when a decree that announced official plans to abrogate current constraints on religious practice and to review legislation on the rights of the non-Orthodox was promulgated, the Council of Ministers began receiving petitions from the empire’s Muslims, many mentioning the organization of religious administration and the status of the Muslim clergy. The petitions pressed for elections of muftis to be restored, the Russian-language requirement for candidates for religious posts abolished, and rights equalized between the Muslim clergy and their Orthodox counterparts.⁴³

The Council of Ministers used these petitions to help it define the questions associated with individual non-Orthodox creeds that stood in need of legal review, and toward that end a special extradepartmental conference chaired by Count Aleksei Pavlovich Ignat’ev set to work on 29 November 1905. The first meeting was held after the installation of the State Duma and the establishment of new procedures, whereby bills had to be introduced in the Duma by departmental heads after preliminary examination by the Council of Ministers.

The conference's mandate was thus modified, limited to preparing materials and drawing up the basic principles of future bills.⁴⁴ The conference included members of the State Council and representatives from the Holy Synod and the Ministries of Justice, the Interior, and Education. Muslim issues were discussed at meetings held on 20 and 24 April 1906. Originally it was proposed that representatives of the Muslim clergy be invited to attend, but given the changes in the conference's mandate, that idea was rejected.

The organization of the Muslim religious administration in the empire and the position of the Muslim clergy were high on the agenda of the conference's Muslim sessions.⁴⁵ Vladimir Petrovich Cherevanskii, a member of the conference who also sat on the State Council and was charged with the preliminary exploration of those issues, prepared a memorandum "Regarding Matters of Faith Among Sunni Muslims" (*Po delam very musul'man-sunnitov*), with two appendices "On Kirghiz Litigation" (*O sudebnom dele kirgizov*) and "On the Situation of Muslim Women" (*O polozhenii musul'manskoi zhenshchine*). Cherevanskii's memorandum focused on the religious administration of Muslims. He based his considerations on the notion that Muslim law lacked any concept of the clergy, and consequently of any clerical hierarchy. Noting the lack of a unified system, either in law or in policy, toward the religious administration of Muslims in Russia, Cherevanskii did not propose a unified approach to all the empire's Muslims. Instead, citing the opinions of local authorities, he deemed it essential to keep things as they were in Turkestan, leaving Muslim religious affairs unregulated in law and not creating any special religious institutions.⁴⁶

His attitude toward the Kirghiz (Kazakhs), however, was quite different. On hearing of the upcoming conference, representatives from the Kirghiz Turgai Region had appealed to Ignat'ev, urging that a separate Muslim directorate be set up for them or that they be brought under the jurisdiction of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly. Citing no less an authority than August Müller, a historian of Islam, the petitioners noted that the Kirghiz had accepted Islam in the thirteenth century and therefore, as true Muslims, had won the right to their own special religious institutions.⁴⁷ Cherevanskii was, however, of the opinion that Kirghiz claims to be true Muslims had no foundation. Expressing a prevailing point of view in Russia at the time, he claimed that the religious practices of the Kirghiz up to the eighteenth century had been shamanic; and he attributed the spread of Islam among them to the Russian authorities, claiming that this had been done in hopes of pacifying the Kirghiz and inducing them to abandon their nomadic ways, thus easing the way to an acceptance of Christianity. But, Cherevanskii maintained, this tactic had actually facilitated the spread of Tatar culture across the Kirghiz steppe and had therefore been a mistake. He stated that the authorities' hopes of bringing the Kirghiz to Or-

thodoxy had not been realized and a portion of the Kirghiz had already become Muslim, and he therefore offered up the possibility of creating for them a Muslim Kirghiz-Kaisatsk local governing board, with a view to preventing "the cultural leveling of the population by the Tatars."⁴⁸

The situation with respect to the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly received separate consideration. Since the establishment of the assembly, the empire's territory, and with it the number of its Muslim subjects, had grown significantly, rendering unclear the territorial scope of the assembly's competence. The Orenburg mufti had submitted a reorganization plan in which he suggested expanding the assembly's range to include part of European Russia (excluding Tauride Province, the western provinces, and the Transcaucasus), the North Caucasus, and Siberia, but Cherevanskii saw this as an effort to create "a state within a state." The centralization of Muslim religious affairs in Ufa would, he felt, serve to turn that city into a kind of "Muslim Rome," and to prevent that, he recommended the opposite: dividing the jurisdiction of the Orenburg mufti both geographically and ethnically. He also suggested reducing the territorial extent of the Tauride Governing Board and bringing the North Caucasus under the Transcaucasian governing boards.⁴⁹

In describing Russian Muslims, Cherevanskii applied widespread stereotypes, such as "insular" and "ignorant." For him, the ignorance of the Muslim religious leaders was a reason for not granting the Muslim clergy rights equal to those of its Orthodox counterparts. Equality in this instance he considered unjust, since then "it would become necessary to square in terms of civil law, culturally absolute ignorance with thoroughgoing academic education."⁵⁰ Even so, he maintained that the Russian authorities ought not to push a policy of rapprochement to the point where they intruded into the everyday lives of Muslims: he believed, for instance, that the Muslim clergy should retain its competence over questions of marriage, the family, and inheritance. "The significance of Russian prestige," he wrote, "will rather be undermined should these matters be handed over to the general institutions of the state." He held that new concepts had to be gradually introduced into Muslim life. To contend with polygamy, for example, and spread the institution of monogamy among Muslims, he suggested making monogamy a qualification for posts in society and government, including religious posts.⁵¹

Cherevanskii sought not only to point up the religious and legal constraints on Muslims in current law and practice but also to offer steps that might potentially be taken by the government in that sphere, to further general state interests. He highlighted the peril attaching to Tatar efforts to extend their cultural influence into the "Russian Muslim world" and thereby unite it.⁵² In his policy recommendations, therefore, Cherevanskii pursued the goal of counteracting that danger.

Cherevanskii's approach won majority support and agreement with his basic conclusions from the conference. Endorsing his suggestions on organizing

the religious administration of Muslims, the conference members expressed a desire to unify administrative systems. For the essential purpose of offsetting religious unification among Muslims, they also supported the idea of creating additional religious institutions but defined neither their number nor their location.⁵³

The conference finished its work on 28 May 1906. The minutes of its meetings and all relevant documentation were handed off to the Council of Ministers, which sent them on to the Ministry of the Interior for further examination. The Interior Ministry viewed its task more broadly than the conference had and proposed, rather, to review all legislation relating to Muslims and especially that covering the structure of their religious administration.⁵⁴ Throughout 1906 and 1907, the ministry reviewed the ongoing influx of Muslim requests. Also subsequent to the conference, Count Illarion Ivanovich Vorontsov-Dashkov, viceroy of the Caucasus, submitted his conclusions on the issue of religious governance in the Caucasus. Muslim representatives from the Terek and Kuban regions had been called to meet in Vladikavkaz on 24 June 1906 to discuss that very point, and they had concluded that the North Caucasus needed a separate Muslim religious directorate. The viceroy endorsed that resolution.⁵⁵

Under the impact of the Revolution of 1905, public opinion became an important factor in political life. In response to government initiatives in the ongoing discussion of issues relating to the religious administration of Muslims, “progressive” Muslims at the Third Muslim Congress in 1906 advanced their own proposal, which involved the creation of five muftiates—two for the Caucasus and one each for Orenburg, the Tauride, and Turkestan, each headed by an elected sheikh-ul-Islam. An additional proposal involved creating the supreme religious post of *rais-ul-Islam* [leader of Islam—Trans.], whose holder would represent all Russian Muslims and be entitled to submit reports directly to the emperor. In the delegates’ minds, these five governing bodies should be the focal point for not only the religious but also the educational and charitable affairs of Muslims. It was further proposed that the government refrain from interfering in the actions of the governing boards. The delegates also insisted that the Muslim clergy be accorded the same rights as those enjoyed by the Orthodox clergy.⁵⁶ This blueprint, much like subsequent suggestions made by members of the Muslim faction of the State Duma, was never employed in later governmental reforms.

The political polarization of Russian society impinged on Muslims separating them into liberal and conservative elements; and the clergy, too, was affected by the “new tendencies.” Although the authorities often acknowledged that the prevailing sentiment among the Muslim clergy was one of “unreserved loyalty,”⁵⁷ they found the emergence of “a new type of mullah”—a political and national activist—disturbing. Concerned that antigovernment ideas of a

liberal or similar cast would make inroads among the Muslim clergy, the Ministry of the Interior demanded that the provincial governing boards assure themselves “in the most painstaking manner” that candidates presented for religious appointments had no affiliation with the “Muslim movement.”⁵⁸ The authorities viewed the religious-national “Muslim movement” as “antigovernment” and as a threat to “state interests.” In 1911–13 many members of the Muslim clergy were arrested on suspicion of belonging to the pan-Islamic movement.

Among manifestations of contemporary Muslim life, the authorities saw the Tatars’ increasing cultural influence on neighboring non-Muslim ethnic groups—“Tatarism” or “pan-Tatarism,” as it was called in government circles—as a particular danger to the state. In their search for measures to counteract this influence, the authorities again turned their attention to the interaction between the government and the Muslim clergy.

The issue was officially discussed at a special conference convened in 1910 under the auspices of the Interior Ministry and chaired by Aleksei Nikolaevich Kharuzin. Though not defining any general principles of religious governance for the empire as a whole, those attending the conference suggested measures that they felt must be taken with regard to the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly, which was in Tatar hands and therefore, in their opinion, a vehicle of Tatar influence in the empire’s eastern reaches. The decentralization of the system of religious management in the East was suggested as a means of weakening that influence, and it was proposed to change the existing procedures of examinations for status as clergy making it possible to receive this status outside of the assembly through the creation of temporary special provincial examination committees.⁵⁹

Most of the conference participants believed that the authorities, in implementing these measures—for example, in asserting government control over Muslim religious schools—could rely on the conservative Muslim clergy (in government parlance, clerics loyal to the regime).⁶⁰ A minority, including Bishop Andrei and Nikolai Alekseevich Bobrovnikov, minister of education and member of the Council of Ministers, advocated a view traditionally held by the Orthodox clergy to the effect that the Muslim clergy did not need an organizational presence in the empire, nor did the authorities have to cooperate with that clergy’s representatives.

While the Orthodox clergy was criticizing the authorities for bestowing too much trust on the Muslim clergy in matters of governance, liberal Muslims were criticizing the authorities for preferring conservatives over liberals. That said, the government did not cooperate as wholeheartedly with conservative circles, and especially with conservative representatives of the Muslim clergy, as it must have seemed to many contemporary observers. First, Muslim clerics

were consulted on such specific issues as staffing or pay scales in the religious agencies. In discussing the general directions of official policy toward Muslims, however, the government chose to talk with representatives of Russian Orthodoxy rather than the Muslim clergy. For all their reliance on conservative Muslims, the authorities were not inclined to assist the unification of conservative forces in the Muslim world, not even with the ultimate goal of supporting the monarchy and combating leftist tendencies among Muslims. Any type of unification (such as a conservative Muslim initiative to rally Muslim loyalists in an organization comparable to Russian monarchist organizations) provoked arguments that the government would find it difficult to monitor any such association (the fear that it would be penetrated by “undesirable” elements) and that similar initiatives might emerge among others of the empire’s nationalities.⁶¹ Apparently any association of Muslims, regardless of its political orientation, would be “undesirable” from the government’s viewpoint; and the authorities preferred to deal not with organizations but with individuals who enjoyed the government’s trust.

An example of the government’s “limited” cooperation with the Muslim clergy was the Special Interdepartmental Conference on the Muslim Question, which convened in 1914 under the chairmanship of I.M. Zolotarev. Prominent on its agenda was the development of basic propositions for procedures to manage the spiritual affairs of Muslims in localities that then lacked any such apparatus and the discussion of necessary changes in the staffing of existing Muslim religious administrative bodies;⁶² an exchange of opinions on the contemporary situation of Russian Muslims was also proposed.⁶³ The government decided not to publicize this conference’s full program, instead announcing in official communiqués that the discussion would deal exclusively with the religious administration of Muslims.⁶⁴

The representatives of Muslim religious institutions invited to the conference were supposed to attend only sessions on the staffing and pay scales of the Muslim clergy. Even so, Mukhamed’iar Sultanov, leader of the Orenburg Assembly, and A. Karashaiskii, the acting mufti in the Tauride, were unable to accept their invitations because of illness.⁶⁵ As for the attendance of the heads of the Transcaucasus spiritual governing boards, the viceroy of the Caucasus reported that the mufti of the Transcaucasus was old and deaf and the acting sheikh-ul-Islam there knew no Russian. The viceroy also deemed it unnecessary to command the presence of representatives from the Sunni and Shi’ite governing boards, since, as he saw it, they were “insufficiently informed on general issues of governmental import.”⁶⁶ As a result, a member of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly, the acting Simferopol qadi, and the *akhun* (teacher) of Parish no. 2 in St. Petersburg attended.

Even so, Muslim politicians, who classed the problem of organizing religious governance as among their principal “national causes,” appreciated this

Interior Ministry initiative.⁶⁷ They declared so repeatedly when given the floor in the State Duma, while also demanding that additional spiritual governing boards be created and agitating for state financing of the Muslim clergy and the equalization of rights between it and the Orthodox clergy. Speaking of the government's intentions to cooperate with the clergy, Sadretdin Nizametdinovich Maksudov, a member of the Duma's Muslim faction, expressed misgivings that the Muslim invitees would not be able to stand up for themselves, due either to "Eastern diffidence" or their poor command of Russian.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, Russian liberal newspapers were criticizing the government for setting up a bureaucratic conference instead of resolving Muslim affairs in partnership with the Muslim faction.⁶⁹

As at the prior conference held in 1910, those attending the 1914 conference viewed the religious administration of Muslims from the standpoint of government measures aimed to prevent the spread of Tatar cultural and political influence over neighboring non-Muslim peoples. By way of a preparatory briefing, Sergei Gavrilovich Rybakov, an official at the Ministry of the Interior, drew up a memorandum that examined the principles according to which Muslim religious affairs were then organized in Russia. Rybakov's contention was that, by creating a Muslim clergy, the state had indirectly encouraged Tatar-Muslim propaganda efforts in the Volga and Ural regions and in Siberia and had reinforced Islam in Russia. He also held that the system of local governing boards operated more in the interests of Muslims than of the Russian state. As he saw it, there was less conflict with state interests in an approach subsequently adopted in Turkestan, the Steppe Territory, and some districts in the Caucasus, whereby the Muslim clergy received no recognition as an estate and the spiritual and religious life of Muslims was unregulated. It being essential to work out the general principles of the government's attitude toward the religious affairs of Muslims, he suggested basing those principles on complete governmental noninterference in their spiritual and religious affairs.⁷⁰

Rybakov's memorandum was reviewed before the conference first convened by Vasilii Oskarovich von Klemm, head of the Middle Eastern Section of the Foreign Ministry's Asian Department. Von Klemm could see no way of creating identical conditions for all the empire's Muslims and thought that the heterogeneity of Muslims in Russia made Rybakov's ideas impractical. He also surmised that any abrupt reorganization of religious affairs in the Crimea, the Volga region, and the Transcaucasus would not be without its dangers.⁷¹

In 1910–12 the Interior Ministry ordered an inspection of the Orenburg Assembly and the Tauride Governing Board. I.M. Platonnikov's report on the Orenburg Assembly in 1910 underlined the assembly's bureaucratic routine, its members' lack of self-reliance, its empathy for the progressive clergy, and its advocacy of the development of religious schools rather than Russian state

schools. In conclusion, Inspector Platonnikov wrote, “The assembly is obsolete, and it satisfies neither the tasks of government nor the demands of the Muslim population.”⁷²

N.I. Pavlov’s inspection of the Tauride Governing Board in 1912 was less categorical in its assessment. Nevertheless, Pavlov did note the board’s passive approach to education—specifying that frequently, from “lack of knowledge,” it chartered “new method” schools [influenced by the reformist Jadid movement—Trans.] as old-style religious schools—and its failure to counter Turkish influence among Muslims in Russia.⁷³

The documentation from these two inspections convinced those attending the 1914 conference that they could not trust the existing Muslim religious administrative bodies. Given the escalation of the Tatar Muslim issue, they believed the institutions to be dangerous, since, if taken over by “unreliable” people, they could well be used to introduce antigovernment ideas into the Muslim milieu. Furthermore, having arrogated to themselves the religious and cultural affairs of Muslims of diverse nationalities, they served to unify Muslims on the basis of their common religion.

On these grounds, the conference majority rejected the recommendations of the 1910 conference regarding the “decentralization” of the Orenburg Assembly and the formation of additional muftiates, as well as the liberal Muslim demand for a harmonious system of spiritual governance that would apply to Muslims throughout the empire. To them, Rybakov’s suggestion seemed more attractive. But the conference disapproved of abrupt interference in existing Muslim religious institutions, instead endorsing a policy designed to weaken the existing muftiates by restricting their competence and strengthening government control. For areas with no Muslim religious institutions, they recommended maintaining the status quo and imposing no regulation on Muslim religious affairs. To limit Tatar influence on other Muslim peoples, exerted through the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly and the religious schools, the conference advised removing the Tatars of the Steppe Territory from the oversight of the Orenburg Assembly while watching closely to ensure that individuals certified as teachers through examination by the Orenburg Assembly would be allowed to teach only within the area covered by that assembly.⁷⁴ So, to all intents and purposes, almost no changes were made in the current system of Muslim religious administration.

An important aspect of relations between the authorities and the Muslim clergy was the state’s financial backing of the agencies that administered Muslim religious affairs. From the moment these agencies came into being, the state provided part of their funding. The Muslim leaders of the religious institutions frequently asked the government to increase their staffing levels and to raise

funding levels, and the Muslim deputies in successive State Dumas applied similar pressure.⁷⁵ The government's position on this, meanwhile, was ambiguous. On the one hand, official spokesmen declared on several occasions that "only the Orthodox Church had the right to receive funds from the government to meet its needs."⁷⁶ The practical expression of that position was the government's attempts to shift the responsibility for financing the religious institutions to the shoulders of Muslims, through wakuf bequests (in the Crimea and the Transcaucasus) or by increasing the marriage tax (in the Orenburg area). On the other hand, having found the Muslim clerics' solicitation for higher stipends "justified," the Ministry of the Interior—while making no general legislative changes—allocated allowances to individual muftis. Mufti Sultanov (1886–1915), for one, had his state stipend raised; and Mufti Baiazitov (1915–1917) received several one-time financial grants. In 1916 the Interior Ministry rationalized raising the salary of the head of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly: "The Orenburg mufti, being the leader of an extensive region populated by Muslims and the supreme governmental authority presiding over those Muslims, bears dual responsibilities, in the capacity of mufti and of chairman of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly, which maintains extensive documentation. His purpose is to express the government's views in matters relating to the government of Muslims. Under present circumstances, it will be difficult to find a suitable candidate for a post of such great political significance, one that requires candidates to have special training and a political orientation that accords with the views of the government."⁷⁷ In practice, the payments made by the Ministry of the Interior accrued not to the post but to particular people; its dealings were not so much with institutions as with individuals.

After the fall of the autocracy, relations between the state and the Muslim clergy retained their relevance. The Interior Ministry's Department of the Religious Affairs of Foreign Creeds kept on file a copy of a memorandum written by Rybakov entitled "In Reference to the Question of Ordering the Religious Life of Russia's Muslims" (*K voprosu ob ustroistve dukhovnogo byta musul'man Rossii*). Composed in April 1917, it reflected the standpoint of the new government, as expressed by one who had participated in the autocracy's attempted reforms. Rybakov recommended creating a single, autonomous system of religious administration for all Muslim areas of the country. He believed that territorial divisions should be established on the basis of ethnicity. He also held that in the new political context, the government should not give its patronage to any particular religion, and that consequently the religious directorates should no longer serve as agencies of state power. Assessing the Interior Ministry's earlier policy toward Muslims, Rybakov judged its orientation toward conservative elements to be a mistake. He did not regard the striving for

national-cultural self-determination as a threat to the integrity of the state, and he emphasized that Russia's progressive Muslims were actually furthering rapprochement with the Russian state.⁷⁸

Both government and public circles in autocratic Russia frequently expressed a desire to formulate a single set of legal norms and a common political path with respect to the empire's Muslim subjects. Certain general principles guided the government in devising its policy, such as religious tolerance, the primacy of the Orthodox Church within the empire, and a striving toward state unity. In practice, though, the authorities never developed a single approach to the Muslims, a situation that found its particular expression in the system of religious administration, which was structured on a variety of different foundations. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the government believed it essential to regulate Muslim religious life, and sought to do so through a detailed legal definition of the management of Muslim religious affairs. This led to the establishment of the Orenburg Assembly, the Tauride Governing Board, and the two Transcaucasian governing boards; and it resulted in the incorporation of the Muslim clergy into the structure of government and the recognition of the place of Sharia in Muslim legal life. Elsewhere in the empire—in areas that did not fall within the purview of the religious administrative bodies—a different principle was in place, whereby Muslim clerics were seen only as fulfilling a liturgical function and preference was given to the *adat* on points of law. In the second half of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries, the first approach met with criticism from the Russian Orthodox clergy and from within the government. The former viewed mullahs and Muslim religious institutions as a means of spreading Islam in the empire and therefore as a threat to the Russian Orthodox Church, which was regarded as an essential part of Russian culture. These concerns focused particularly on the Volga region, where the Russian Orthodox Church faced cases of apostasy involving baptized Tatars. The civil authorities saw Islamic religious beliefs as obstacles to the government's modernization program. With the introduction of the Great Reforms of the 1850s–70s, imperial officials began to perceive support given to Muslim religious institutions as incompatible with the “spirit of the times.” In an era of mass politics and nationalism, the state began to worry that the organs of spiritual administration could be used to serve the Muslim religious-national cause and to spread antigovernment propaganda. These fears caused the government to prefer the second approach to the administration of Muslim religious affairs.

From the latter half of the nineteenth century onward, the government began discussing the potential for creating a uniform system of Muslim religious administration. Even so, in practice hardly any substantial changes were ever made. There are many reasons for this. First, the constant expansion of the

empire and the inclusion of new territories and peoples rendered successful unification objectively impossible. Second, having inherited certain forms of interaction with the Muslim clergy and created a class of religious bureaucrats, the authorities—even while at times placing no trust in what their predecessors had done—were hesitant to make radical changes in the existing order, justifying their indecision by citing their desire not to stimulate discontent (“religious fanaticism”) and “untimeliness” (in fact, the authorities never found an appropriate time for reform). The government tried to enlist the clergy as its agents and to use them as intermediaries in their dealings with Muslims. The authorities probably viewed this collaboration as temporary, as indicated by the explicit doubts expressed in government circles in 1914 regarding the prospects for preserving the traditional authority of the mullahs over Muslim life—especially after 1905, when skepticism with regard to the clergy began to spread throughout Russian society.⁷⁹

Notes

1. On the Muslim policies of Catherine II, see Alan W. Fischer, “Enlightened Despotism and Islam Under Catherine II,” *Slavic Review*, vol. 27, no. 4 (1968), pp. 542–53.

2. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, sobranie 1 (henceforth *PSZ-1*), 49 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1830–55), vol. 22, no. 16710.

3. *Ibid.*, sobranie 2 (henceforth, *PSZ-2*), 55 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1855–85), vol. 6, no. 5033.

4. *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii* (henceforth, *SZRI*), 15 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1857), vol. 11, pt. 1, art. 1140.

5. Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (henceforth, *RGIA*), f. 821, op. 8, d. 594, ll. 43–44.

6. *Ibid.*, ll. 43 ob.–49 ob.

7. *Ibid.*, l. 62 ob.

8. *Ibid.*, ll. 94–97.

9. *Ibid.*, d. 605, ll. 35 ob.–42 ob.

10. *Ibid.*, d. 616, l. 27.

11. *Ibid.*, ll. 28 ob.–31.

12. *Ibid.*, ll. 46 ob.–47.

13. “Otnoshenie namestnika Kavkazskogo ot 15 ianvaria 1869 goda predsedateliu Kavkazskogo komiteta s proektami polozhenii ob upravlenii zakavkazskim dukhovenstvom shiitskogo i sunnitskogo tolkov” (*ibid.*, d. 610, ll. 4 ob.–6).

14. *Ibid.*, l. 5.

15. “Poiasnitel’naia zapiska k proektam nachal’nika Glavnogo upravleniia A.P. Nikolai” (*ibid.*, ll. 43–44).

16. The areas that fell under the Military-People’s Administration were the Batumi, Karsk, and Dagestan regions, Chernomor’e Province, and the Zakatal and Sukhumi districts [*okrug*].

17. *SZRI* (St. Petersburg, 1896), vol. 11, pt. 1, arts. 1576, 1461.

18. *SZRI* (1896), vol. 11, pt. 1, arts. 1465 po prodozheniiu 1912 goda, 1476, 1477, 1588, 1591.

19. RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 610, ll. 92–111 ob.
20. *Ibid.*, ll. 149 ob.–50.
21. Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii (AVPRI), f. 147, op. 485, d. 1258, l. 448.
22. *Ibid.*, l. 448.
23. A.V. Avksent'ev, *Islam na Severnom Kavkaze* (Stavropol, 1973), p. 38
24. *SZRI*, "Polozhenie ob upravlenii Turkestanskim kraem," vol. 2, arts. 210–11.
25. *Proekt vsepoddanneishego otcheta gen.-ad. K.P fon Kaufmana po grazhdanskomu upravleniiu i ustroistvu v oblastiakh Turkestanskogo general-gubernatorstva, 1867–81 gg.* (St. Petersburg, 1885), pp. 207–8.
26. Data from 1912 indicate that territories containing approximately 30 percent of the empire's Muslims, more than half of whom came under the authority of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly, were subject to the jurisdiction of local administrative boards.
27. See Danil' D. Azamatov, "The Muftis of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly in the 18th and 19th Centuries: The Struggle for Power in Russia's Muslim Institution," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, ed. Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, and Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 355–85.
28. "1863, avgusta 25. Donesenie orenburgskogo i samarskogo general-gubernatora A.P. Bezaka ministru vnutrennikh del P.A. Valuevu o kandidatakh dlia vremennogo zameshcheniia dolzhnosti muftiia," in *Tatarskaia ASSR. Materialy po istorii Tatarii vtoroj poloviny deviatnadsatogo veka*, pt. 1 (*Materialy po istorii narodov SSSR*, no. 6) (Moscow/Leningrad, 1936), pp. 167–68.
29. *SZRI* (1857), vol. 11, pt. 1, art. 1236.
30. RGIA, f. 821, op. 133, d. 567, l. 89 ob.
31. "Proshcheniia magometan Birskogo, Menzelinskogo uezdov ministru vnutrennikh del P.A. Valuevu o zhelatel' nosti skoreishego naznacheniia muftiia pravitel' stvom. 1862 g. Dekabr', 15," in *Tatarskaia ASSR*, p. 165.
32. "Proekt predstavleniia P.A. Valueva v Komitet ministrov. 1864 g., ne pozdnee 5 noiabria," in *ibid.*, p. 179.
33. *Ibid.*
34. RGIA, f. 821, op. 150, d. 406, ll. 5–5 ob.
35. *Ibid.*, op. 133, d. 567, l. 9.
36. *Vsepoddanneishii doklad Turkestanskogo general-gubernatora gen. ot infanterii Dukhovskogo Islam v Turkestane* (Tashkent, 1899), p. 18.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
38. "Obshchii svod rabot Komissii po voprosu ob ustroistve musul'manskogo upravleniia v Turkestanskom krae" (AVPRI, f. 147, op. 485, d. 1267, l. 16).
39. *Ibid.*, l. 15 ob.
40. E.N. Voronets, *Nuzhny li dlia Rossii mufti* (Moscow, 1891), p. 5.
41. Voronets's article was reprinted in *Novoe vremia* and *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti*.
42. "Otzyv S.Iu. Witte" (RGIA f. 821, op. 150, d. 409, l. 13).
43. See "Zapiski i proshcheniia, podannye gospodinu Predsedatel'iu Komiteta ministrov po inorodcheskim voprosam," Biblioteka RGIA, Pz. [*pechatnaia zapiska*] 255.
44. RGIA, f. 821, op. 10, d. 27.
45. *Vysochaishe utverzhdennye, 17 aprelia 1905 goda, polozheniia Komiteta Ministrov ob ukreplenii nachal veroterpimosti*, p. 10.

46. Biblioteka RGIA, Pz. 747, pp. 68–69, 31–33.
47. “Dokladnaia zapiska predstavitelei kirgizov Turgaiskoi oblasti A.P. Ignat’evu, 15 iiunia 1905” (RGIA, f. 821, op. 10, d. 29, ll. 4–9 ob., 13 ob.); and “Zapiska predstavitelei kirgizov byvshikh Bol’shoi, Srednei i Maloi ord Ignat’evu” (ibid., l. 20 ob.).
48. Biblioteka RGIA, Pz. 747, pp. 34, 37.
49. Ibid., pp. 38–42.
50. Ibid., p. 71.
51. “Pervoe dopolnenie k zapiske ‘O polozenii musul’manskoi zhenshchiny’ ” (RGIA f. 821, op. 10, d. 27, l. 369 ob.).
52. “Zhurnaly osobogo Soveshchaniia po delam very. Zhurnal No. 6” (ibid., d. 35, l. 56 ob.).
53. Ibid., l. 60.
54. Ibid., d. 633, l. 16.
55. “I.I. Vorontsov-Dashkov–A.P. Ignat’evu, 15 iiuliiia 1906” (ibid., ll. 23–25 ob.).
56. *Tretii vserssiiskii musul’manskii s’ezd* (Kazan, 1906), pp. 8–10.
57. RGIA, f. 821, op. 133, d. 577, l. 11 ob.
58. “Delo Tavricheskogo gubernskogo pravleniia s tsirkuliarami vysshego nachal’stva dlia svedeniia i rukovodstva, 12.12.1911,” in *Ocherki russkoi politiki na okrainakh* (Baku, 1919), ed. A. Krichinskii, pt. 1: *K istorii pritesnenii Krymskikh tatar. Prilozhenie: sekretnye dokumenty*, p. 138.
59. “Predstavlenie A. Kharuzina,” Biblioteka RGIA, Pz. 747, pp. 9–12.
60. RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 26, ll. 151–53 ob.
61. Ibid., op. 133, d. 573, ll. 384–86.
62. Ibid., dd. 573, 576, l. 3.
63. Ibid., l. 6 ob.
64. Ibid., ll. 6 ob.–7.
65. Ibid., ll. 50 ob., 62.
66. Ibid., ll. 71–71 ob.
67. *Vakt*, no. 1397, 1913 (trans. *Mirislama*, 1913, vol. 2, no. 11, p. 754).
68. *Iulduz*, no. 1051, 1913 (trans. *Mirislama*, 1913, vol. 2, no. 11, p. 750).
69. *Utro Rossii*, 1914, no. 100.
70. AVPRI, f. 147, op. 485, d. 1258, ll. 448 ob–50 ob.
71. Ibid., l. 445.
72. RGIA, f. 821, op. 133, dd. 573, 576, ll. 235 ob–41.
73. Ibid., d. 573, ll. 241 ob.–46.
74. Ibid., ll. 264–65.
75. Ibid., d. 620, l. 1 ob.
76. Ibid., dd. 573b, 576, l. 146.
77. Ibid., d. 536, ll. 152 ob.–55 ob.
78. Ibid., d. 567, ll. 2, 25 ob., 13–14.
79. Ibid., d. 577, l. 245.

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