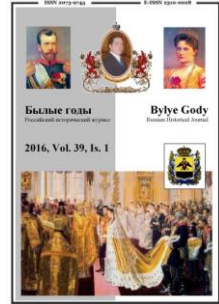


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Confessions in Imperial Russia: analytical overview of historiography

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Abstract

Scholarship on confessional history—the history of religious institutions, practices, and interaction—has undergone profound change, especially in the last quarter century. Although bibliographical resources are woefully inadequate, the change has been enormous, reflecting all four dimensions of “confessional history”: (1) institutional religion (and its servitors); (2) believers; (3) ethno-confessional interrelations; and (4) the state’s relationship to all of the foregoing. That massive accumulation, and of late more diversified and independent, makes possible a systematic analysis of the “confessional factor” in ethnic issues and the state’s response to them. It is essential, as all this literature demonstrates, to emphasize not only the diachronic (temporal) but also spatial (geographic) dimension, for the role of the religious factor varied sharply, not only for particular confessions, but also over time and space. The historiography has undergone a corresponding evolution, reflecting at once the dynamics and desiderata of Russian political history as well as the disciplinary evolution of scholarship on religion in the modern world. In the Russian case, this evolution falls into three main periods: pre-revolutionary, twentieth-century (Soviet), and post-Soviet, a periodization that applies for both Russian and foreign scholarship.

Keywords: Russian Empire, confessional policy, historiography.

Pre-revolutionary Historiography: An Uneven Legacy

There is no single, comprehensive bibliography on “religion in Russia,” but such works do exist for specific confessions. In the case of the Russian Orthodox Church, by far the most inclusive is the encyclopedic bibliographies (Smolitsch 1964, 1991). The online “Oxford Bibliographies” provide annotated, continually bibliographies for specific ethnic and national groups; the most valuable include “Jews,” “Islam in Central Asia,” “Islam in Russian,” and “Caucasus.” A full list of bibliographies (available by paid subscription only) (URL: <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/obo/page/subject-list> (accessed 15 September 2015)).

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries represented a period of “institution-building”—not only for the state (administrative organs, system of law, civil service, and the like), but also for individual confessions, including the Russian Orthodox Church. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Orthodox Church had constructed a network of secondary schools (seminaries) and tertiary institutions (spiritual academies), with a lay and clerical faculty who constituted the principal source of historical scholarship on Russian Orthodoxy. At its peak, this system generated a plethora of dissertations and publications; whether published in the extended system of ecclesiastical journals or as self-standing monographs, that research focused overwhelmingly on the Church’s institutions and clergy (especially prominent hierarchs). Like its secular counterpart, Church scholarship relied initially on legal documents, but increasingly turned to archival materials—even to reconstruct the history and operation of institutions, such as the Synod or the office of the

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chief procurator (*ober-prokuror*) Верховской 1916). By the late nineteenth century that elite scholarship found replication at the provincial level, as parish priests and seminary teachers zealously published documents, books, and articles (often in the diocesan gazette [*eparkhial'nye vedomosti*]) about their own diocese and seminary, and many became active, productive participants in provincial learned societies and serials. Although the volume of output grew exponentially, this scholarship remained very “confessional”—i.e., inclined to reflect and propagate the views and interest of the Church itself. This confessional scholarship was subject to an unrelenting ecclesiastical censorship that was that proved far more rigorous than state censorship and tended to impose a straight-jacket on provincial church scholarship (Freeze, 1983: 42-48, 131-132, 197-198, 215-216, 230-234, 336-340, 414-417). As a result, “church history” was precisely that—the history of the institutional Church, with little attention to its worldly role, to the role and impact on believers (let alone adherents of other confessions). Hence, the mass of Church scholarship concentrated narrowly on the Church and “official Orthodoxy,” tending to disparage “popular Orthodoxy” and to deride the baneful influence of superstition or (in areas, like the Western provinces) the proselytizing of other confessions (especially Roman Catholicism).

Significantly, secular scholarship on the Orthodox Church was remarkably thin. In part, that was due to the Russian university system, which lacked the theological faculties of European counterparts and therefore did not support a corps of lay church historians. Important too, no doubt, was the growing irreligious attitudes of the Russian educated elite, its secularity further reinforced by the commonplace European anticlericalism and by the view that the Russian Church was a mere “handmaiden” of autocracy (hence a barrier to “progress”) and in any case doomed to irrelevance by an inexorable “secularization.” (Bailey, 2001; Frede, 2011; Freeze, 1991). Even when interested in the history of Orthodoxy and the Church, secular scholars faced serious obstacles: apart from the menace of ecclesiastical censorship, lay scholars had difficulty gaining access to Church archives. As a result, scholarship on Russian Orthodoxy was massive but confessional created by the Church and devoted to the interests of its institutions and clergy (Freeze, 1986).

The pre-revolutionary historiography on other confessions was considerably more modest. The scholarship generated by state officials and, later, by the new discipline of ethnography did generate some research on non-Christians—Jews, Muslims, and Buddhists—but in relatively small quantity compared to that produced by the Russian Orthodox Church. Here, however, Lutheran and Catholic scholarship represent a significant exception, as scholars within and outside the Russian Empire produced substantial and sophisticated research. That was particularly evident for the Lutheran Church, especially with respect to the Baltic provinces; ecclesiastical and secular elites, along with peers in Germany itself, produced substantial works on their church, especially after the confrontation with St. Petersburg in the 1880s (Stael v. Holstein, 1901; Dalton, 1887, 1881, 1889). The Roman Catholic Church, regarded by Russian authorities as seditious and incendiary (and especially suspect because of the Polish rebellions of 1830-1831 and 1863), produced works to defend its interests and to challenge the official Russian representation of confessional history (Likowski, 1880).

Historiography in the Soviet Era

Soviet power not only disestablished the Church but interdicted its scholarship—not so much by repression as by the forcible closing of the Orthodox educational establishment and confiscation of the ecclesiastical press and publishing houses. The prerevolutionary flood of publications turned into a mere trickle and then disappeared entirely for nearly three decades. Although the regime itself published some works, these were predictably polemical and increasingly tendentious, determined to demonstrate the Church’s subservient role under tsarism and its own history of exploitation and repression (Кандидов, 1926, 1927, 1927b, 1928, 1928b, 1930). Even biased, antireligious publications largely disappeared after the “Great Turn” in religious policy in 1929, when the regime shifted from disestablishment to destruction, with its full-scale assault directed not only at the clergy but at lay believers as well. Coercion replaced suasion—and hence obviated the imperative for much antireligious propaganda about the Church’s tainted historical past (Кандидов, 1935; Эвенчик, 1939).

The seismic shift in religious policy in 1943, resulting in the reestablishment of the patriarchate and the reopening of churches and monasteries, also entailed a partial re-establishment of the ecclesiastical educational system, and that in turned enabled the Church to resume some research and a very modest level of publications (Борисов, 1973). In particular, the Leningrad and Moscow academies, despite police controls and scant resources, did generate some research and produce some dissertations for advanced degrees (Сапсай, 1959; Лозинский, 1969). The antireligious campaign of 1958-64 curtailed such activities, but in the last phase of Soviet rule the Church did produce occasional studies, but its publications concentrated on theological-liturgical, historical subjects (Zhurnal moskovskoi patriarkhi, 1943-2016; Bogoslovskie Trudy, 1960-2016).

In the post-Stalin era Soviet historiography continued to marginalize and ignore religious history: the mainline historical periodicals rarely published articles on religious history, even of an anticlerical and antireligious variety. Apart from scattered works aspiring to demonstrate the “counter-revolutionary” role of the Church, and sometimes giving attention to non-Russian and non-Orthodox peoples (Лисник, 1974; Лаурайтис, 1974; Солдаткин, 1974), most historians ignored Orthodoxy and the other confessions, partly because official secularist policy excluded the subject from the academic “plan,” but partly because secular

historians had neither sympathy nor understanding for a religious culture that “secularization” apparently predestined to extinction in any event (Религия и церковь, 1975). To be fair, however, the post-Stalin era did produce some substantive if biased work, chiefly on church-state collaboration and popular anticlericalism (Козлов, 1970; Кадсон, 1963, 1969, 1972, 1973, 1981; Емелях, 1965, 1975; Платонов, 1960; Зырянов, 1984). Only in the 1980s, especially with the onset of *perestroika*, did the quantity and objectivity palpably increase, with the first wave of dissertations and publications reflecting a new, emerging accommodation for the country’s religious institutions (Нечаев, 1988; Денисова, 1986; Фоминых, 1987; Фруменкова, 1986).

Even before *perestroika*, however, Soviet historiography showed far more interest and even sympathy with respect to Old Believers and sectarians. That sentiment had strong roots in the early Soviet period, when the new regime gave preferential treatment to Old Believers and sectarians—long-time adversaries and targets of tsarist repression (Müller, 1989). The re-emerging school of historical anthropology, gathered around A.I. Klibanov in Moscow (Huhn в печати), produced some significant scholarship on the sectarians, not only field research on the contemporary situation, but also historical studies (Клибанов, 1965; Балаева, 1971). Another highly productive center of scholarship was Novosibirsk, where N.N. Pokrovskii and his students produced a steady stream of high-quality research on Old Believers and, occasionally, on their adversary, the official Orthodox Church (Pokrovskii, 2009; Гурьянова, 1988; Байдин, 1983; Зольникова, 1981).

Far more expansive scholarship appeared outside the Soviet Union, especially on the Russian Orthodox Church. While some works date back to the Stalin era (most notably, John S. Curtiss’s monograph on the Church in late Imperial Russia) (Curtiss, 1940), the scholarship proliferated in the postwar decades, initially in the Federal Republic of Germany, later in the United States and elsewhere (Jockwig, 1971; Rouët de Journel, 1922). One striking, original theme was the autonomy and progressive engagement of the Church—in contrast to the negative descriptions prevailing in Soviet works (Cunningham, 1981). Although this scholarship initially relied solely on printed sources (Cracraft, 1971; Верховской, 1916) from the 1970s Western scholars began to tap unpublished materials in Soviet archives, producing the first wave of dissertations and monographs from the 1970s (Freeze, 1977, 1983). In many respects, however, much of this “new” research was not new: it tended to focus on institutions and the clergy, with relatively little attention to believers and religious practice, and in some cases drew heavily on prerevolutionary scholarship (Bissonnette, 1962; Kyriakos, 1985). Western scholars, like their Soviet counterparts, also displayed a particular interest in dissenters (especially Old Believers) (Hildermeier, 1990; Klippenstein, 1984), but produced far less on non-Christian confessions (Bennigsen, 1960; Glazik, 1954; Glazik, 1959; Zenkovsky, 1967). By far the most extensive research concerned the Lutheran Church, especially in the Baltics. Some of this work went beyond the traditional institutional history to address both the conversions of the 1840s as well as the confrontation of Lutheranism and the state in the 1880s (Amburger, 1961; Koch, 1929). The Jews also elicited growing attention in Western scholarship, which now sought to transcend the traditional “lachrymose” historiography (bemoaning oppression and purely negative) and began to portray a far more complex, protean interaction with the Russian state and society (Klier, 1986; Stanislawski, 1983; Zipperstein, 1985; Aronson, 1990; Rogger, 1986; Frankel, 1981; Hildermeier, 1984; Löwe, 1993, 1978).

It would not be unfair to say that, compared to any other Western country, the historiography on confessions in the Russian Empire—by the time the Soviet Union was dissolved in 1991—was extraordinarily deficient. For decades German, French, British, American, and other national historical schools had posed essential questions, collected mass data, and at the very least charted the patterns of development of religious institutions and (increasingly) quotidian religious practice in their own countries. Such was obviously not the case for “Holy Russia”—notwithstanding the Church’s institutional prominence or the extraordinarily high rates of religious observance by ordinary believers. Partly because of the Russian intelligentsia’s cultural secularity, partly because of the Soviet government’s conscious secularization and antireligious policies, by 1991 scholars had produced only the barest outlines of confessional history and the government’s attempts to manage the religious sphere in a multi-national, multi-confessional empire.

Post-1991: “The Religious Turn”

Although some antecedents can be found earlier (whether in Western scholarship or in some innovative works under *perestroika*), the radical shift and explosion of interest in confessional history came in the 1990s. Two factors help to account for a sudden interest and rapid increase in scholarly production. The first factor was most important inside the former Soviet Union: breakup of the USSR and elimination of the communist monopoly on power ended decades of antireligious policy and the downsizing of the ecclesiastical academia. On the one hand, post-Soviet authorities embarked on the famous “archival revolution” of the 1990s; despite persisting (even renewed) restrictions, historians gained access to previously closed materials in central and, more important, provincial archives (Фриз, 2007). That access enabled a less institutional approach, one driven less by what the chief procurator and Synod collected than by the richly anarchic collection of materials at the local level. Simultaneously, the Church not only reestablished its earlier system of seminaries and academies but also created new institutions, such as the Pravoslavnyi Sviato-Tikhonovskii humanitarnyi universitet. Significantly, because the Russian government (as in prerevolutionary times) does not recognize “theology” as a scholarly (“scientific”) field, many would-be

theologians turn to history as the subject of dissertations, thereby conforming to the policies of the Vysshiaia attestatsionnaia komissiiia (pri Ministerstve Obrazovaniia) and significantly enhancing the volume of publications in church history.

The second factor has been important in Western scholarship: religion suddenly loomed much larger in significance. Initially, that was because of the “cultural turn” (valorizing a shift from institutional and social history to culture, including religion) and increasingly because of the critique of the long-prevalent “secularization” thesis. “Secularization,” once conceived as self-evident, ubiquitous and inevitable, has been the focus of theoretical and empirical criticism. Recent scholarship has largely rejected this paradigm (at least in its classic formulation) and, even where the data suggest a sharp decline in traditional institutional religion, has recalibrated the periodization and rate, emphasizing differentials over space, and recasting the analysis as transformation rather than disappearance of religiosity (Chaves, 1994; Clark, 2012; Gorski, 2008; Crockett, 2006; McLeod, 2003; McLeod, 2007; Morris, 2012; Nash, 2004; Pollack, 2009). Adumbrated by Max Weber and Emile Durkheim a century earlier, codified by Western sociologists in the 1960s (such as Peter Berger), the secularization thesis suddenly appeared vulnerable and just plain wrong. Berger himself publicly recanted his earlier work (*The Desecularization*, 1999), and the explosion of ethnic and confessional conflict in the 1990s led social scientists to appreciate anew the importance of religion—as in Samuel Huntington’s seminal thesis about the clash of civilizations (Huntington, 1996). All that seemed particular salient in the countries of post-Soviet space, with the surge of ethnic and confessional tensions both in the Russian Federation and in the “near abroad.” It was no longer difficult to demonstrate the *aktual’nost’* of a dissertation on some aspect of religious and confessional history, and the result has been a tremendous increase in the sheer volume and enormous variety of published works. Western scholars, whether inspired by the “religious turn” or sudden surge of funding and appointments for religious and ethnic minorities in former Soviet space, have also joined in the rush to produce an unprecedented volume of scholarship.

The new research on the Russian Orthodox Church has also led to a fundamental revision in the traditional stereotype of “handmaiden of the state”—popular among the prerevolutionary intelligentsia and the Soviet anti-religious propagandists. On the contrary, the clergy—high and low—demonstrated growing alienation from the state (Freeze, 1999). In fact, from the very outset, the Synodal system had generated frictions, and the tensions steadily increased over time, but especially from the mid-nineteenth century (Freeze, 1985). The government, despite its traditional ties to the Orthodox Church, showed a growing inclination toward *raison d’état*, preferring social stability to preservation of the Church’s privileges and perquisites. As the newer research demonstrates, that policy provoked growing discontent from Church authorities, who were increasingly concerned about signs of disbelief and dissent—as, for example, in the reported (and clearly under-reported) growth of the Old Belief and various sects. As recent scholarship has shown, relations grew increasingly tense under the imperious, intrusive chief procurator K.P. Pobedonostsev (Полунов, 1996), and only increased after his demise—partly because of the proclamation of freedom of conscience in 1905, partly because of the reputed (if exaggerated) influence of “dark forces” like Grigorii Rasputin-Novykh, but also because of state intrusion even into sacrosanct spheres like canonization (Бычков, 2002; Завьялова, 2005; Полунов, 2010). It is important, however, to recognize not only the state’s impact on the Church, but the contrary as well; A.A. Dorskaia and N. S. Nizhnik have stressed how the Church and canon law shaped state law and policy (Дорская, 2004, 2007; Нижник, 2006: 11-198).

As in Western scholarship, researchers have increasingly shifted the focus from central institutions to local history, recognizing the kaleidoscopic differences in religiosity, resources, and results among the various dioceses. That new research, both Russian and foreign, has produced some path-breaking diocesan studies, which survey a broad range of issues, draw on local archives, and provide a grass-roots perspective on the diversity of the Church. While still largely in form of dissertations, even those that are analytically shallow nonetheless bring into *nauchnyi oborot* valuable local data—on the Church regions and dioceses like Orenburg (Королева, 2007), Zabaikal’e (Анохина, 2000), Voronezh (Ерошов, 2007; Chulos, 2003), Simferopol (Катунин, 1994), Tambov (Лисюнин, 2006), Middle Volga (Мендюков, 2001), Vologda (Shevzov, 2004), Perm’ (Вяткин, 2005), Volyn’ (Жилюк, 1996), Iakutiia (Юрганова, 2003), Ufa (Абдулов, 2006), and Dal’nii Vostok (Курбатов, 2003). While that focus is still largely institutions, some scholars have also given attention to the parish (Freeze, 2001; Белоногова, 2010; Ключарева, 2009; Фриз, 2012) and to para-ecclesiastical organizations, especially the fraternities and charitable organizations that proliferated after the middle of the nineteenth century (Голованова, 2004; Цысь, 2003).

Significantly, however, recent scholarship has underscored the political “defection” of rank-and-file parish clergy. A number of monographs, such as the pioneering work of T. G. Leont’eva, have shown the development of a liberal sentiment among the parish clergy, and that in turned fueled their social engagement in the final decades of the ancient regime (Леонтьева, 2002; Herrlinger, 2007; Scarborough, 2012). That attitude shaped widespread clerical support for the “liberation movement” and their radicalism in 1905-7 (and again in the first months of 1917) (Freeze, 2014b; Pisiotis, 2000). Parish clergy also demonstrated a growing determination to “serve the people” if not the tsar (Freeze, 1988, 1989; Зубанова, 2002; Скутнев, 2005, 2012). The Church laid particular emphasis on education, which became increasingly important in the socialization of youth and combatting problems like “hooliganism” and unbelief. Although secular educators were wont to disparage parish schools, some recent studies (Веденский, 2003; Житнев,

2004; Козлов, 2004; Мудролюбова, 2006; Наумова, 2002; Осипов, 2002; Фидченко, 2003; Шуклина, 2005) have given a much less negative picture and help to explain why most believers so adamantly defended them after the Soviet decree “on the separation of Church from state and the Church from the School” in January 1918.

While most post-Soviet scholarship has focused on the Church and clergy, it has begun to give more attention to the main dynamo of religious history—the believers. While that quotient remains relatively small, attention to “everyday Orthodoxy” is essential: while state policy and Church engagement are important, the most important—and determining element—is the response and behavior of rank-and-file believers. That has long been the principal focus of Western scholarship, where the paradigms of “individuation” and “privatization” have provided central elements in the reassessment and reconceptualization of religious history. Whatever the dynamics of “state-church” relations, ultimately what mattered most was the religiosity and attitudes of rank-and-file believers (Freeze, 2014, 2004; Барабаш, 2006; Никифорова, 2006; Смилянская, 2004).

Scholars have also given much more attention to “new believers”—converts won through the Church’s “inner mission” working to proselytize among other faiths and convert the “other” to Orthodoxy. Aaron Michaelson’s dissertation surveys the Russian Orthodox Missionary Society from its founding in 1870 to 1917, showing motives, resources, and results of this “religious and educational enterprise” (Michaelson, 1999). The substantial volume by Aleksandr Kravetskii similarly provides a comprehensive account of the inner mission to the various confessions outside the Church (Кравецкий, 2012). That work accompanies specialize studies on particular areas and specific confessions (Михайлова, 2010; Князева, 2000; Исааков, 2008; Курляндский, 2002) on the activities of Orthodox fraternities (*bratstva*) (Гажва, 2008; Носова, 2006; Johnson, 2005), on the role of missions in buttressing state authority and integration of new territories (Kozelsky, 2010), and on missions to specific confessional populations (Гусейнова, 2004; Далецкая, 2004; Камзина, 2004; Морохов, 2004).

While most post-Soviet scholarship has focused on the Russian Orthodox Church, some historians have examined the problem of confessional history more broadly. Some of that new scholarship has focused specifically on the state and its confessional policy. Heinz-Dietrich Löwe published one of the first generalizing works, drawing on his own research on Jews and offering a comparative study that also included Catholic Poles and Muslim Tatars (Löwe, 2000). Ralph Tuchtenhagen’s monograph compares state policy in the late Imperial period toward all the various confessional minorities, showing where—in the wake of the manifesto on religious tolerance of 1905—the state acted to continue or to stall further accommodations (Tuchtenhagen, 1995). Some attention has been given to the intellectual history of the confessional question, such as the evolution in the meaning of “freedom of conscience” (Werth, 2012; Пинкевич, 2000; Полунов, 2012; Сафонов, 2007; Шингарева, 2006). Several monographs and collections examine different aspects of state confessional policy, leading to a better appreciation for the complexity and heterogeneity of the “confessional question” and the state’s differentiated response (La Religion de l’Autre, 2009; Of Religion and Empire, 2001; Кадырметова, 2004; Леонтьева, 2012). The most systematic treatment of religious policy for the entire imperial period is the monograph by Paul Werth, who examines the state’s interaction with the non-Orthodox populations from the late eighteenth century to 1914. It traces the state policy in the first half of the nineteenth century, as the state sought to institutionalize and regulate the various other confessions, from Buddhism to Catholicism. This work shows how state policy demonstrated growing anxiety from the 1860s, its tendency to see religious fervor as political, and its inability to resolve the dilemma between maintaining the privileges of the Orthodox Church and establishing real freedom of conscience for other confessions (Werth, 2014; Лиценбергер, 2005).

The confessional question, however, has elicited particularly intense interest with respect to the western provinces and Ukraine — not only because of their geopolitical importance, but also because of the fusion of confessional and national identities. Irina Vibe’s study examines state confessional policy in the prereform era (Вибе, 2009), Robert Blobaum investigates the interconnection of Catholicism and Polish nationalism (Blobaum, 1990), Mikhail Dolbilov and Darius Staliunas examined proposals in the Russian government to unify Catholicism and Orthodoxy (Долбилов, 2010), and Dolbilov published a monumental study of interconfessional conflict and policy in the western provinces (Долбилов, 2010b). Of particular importance is the research by Ricarda Vulpius, who has analyzed the critical interrelationship between Ukrainian identity and religion and developed a broader conception about the “sacralization of the national” (Himka, 2001; Vulpius, 2005, 2001).

The German Evangelical-Lutheran Church has also been the subject of continuous attention. Most attention has been directed at the Baltics, where the German Lutheran dominance faced growing challenges both from the indigenous minorities and from the Russian Church and state (Freeze, 2004b). Daniel Ryan’s doctoral dissertation provides a systematic, archivally based reexamination of the conversion issue from the initial wave of non-Germans embracing Orthodoxy to the protracted conflict over the following three decades (Ryan, 2008). Building on the wealth of prerevolutionary publicistics and other sources (primarily German), recent historians have examined the general thrust of policy under the influence of K.P. Pobedonostsev (Polunov, 2001), and Karen Weber has produced a close study of the controversial decision to prosecute and then punish or deport Lutheran Pastors (Weber, 2013).

Post-Soviet scholarship has also given considerable attention to other segments of the Christian population — Old Believers and sectarians. Research on the latter has shed light on the growing number of protesant-like sectarian movements (Breyfogle, 2005; Coleman, 2005, Urry, 1995, 1989; Zhuk, 2005; Никольская, 2009) as well as more radical groups like the notorious *skoptsy* and little-known nineteenth-century “Judaizers” (Engelstein, 1999). Far more attention has been given to the Old Belief, particularly to state and church policy toward Old Believers, whether at the national level (Апанасенко, 2004; Виноградов, 2008; Ершова, 1994, 1999; Кочергина, 2008; Обухович, 2008; Порватова, 2003; Рыжонюк, 2009; Селезнев, 2008; Стороженко, 2004), or in specialized studies of particular regions (Ершова, 2000; Машковцева, 2002; Морохин, 2005; Суслова, 2002). But some scholarship focused more specifically on the Old Belief itself—its organization, teachings, leadership, and even rank-and-file adherents. For example, O.V. Iagudina explores the development of the Old Belief among the Ural and Orenburg Cossack units (Ягудина, 2005), N.V. Prokofeva draws on local sources to describe the Old Belief in the Upper Volga (Прокофьева, 2001) (showing the complicated relations with local authorities), and A.A. Vinogradov examines Old Belief in Simbirsk (Виноградов, 2008). Other works have reconsidered the dynamics behind the growth in the number, influence, and economy of Old Believers—as in the studies by R.O. Crummey (Crummey, 2011), R.R. Robson (Robson, 1995), and A.V. Pyzhikov (Пыжиков, 2013). Important too is the interdisciplinary research of Irina Paert (with a focus on gender as well as the role of spiritual elders) (Paert, 2003, 2010) and the historical anthropology of Douglas Rogers (Rogers, 2009). Some attention as well has been given to *edinoverie*, the religious transitional zone seeking to entice Old Believers back to the Church by according some recognition and tolerance of their traditional ritual and praxis (White, 2014; Павлова, 2007).

Post-Soviet scholarship has also given more attention to the non-Christian populations. Russian scholars have produced some substantial contributions both on the Jews and on policy toward them (Комолятова, 2009), but still more extensive is the research published abroad. Apart from general overviews (Фельдман, 2005), specialized studies have explored the phenomenon of Jewish conversion (Avrutin, 2006; Endelman, 1997; Schainker, 2010) the impact of military conscription (Petrovsky-Shtern, 2009), the Jewish role in late imperial cultural life (Veidlinger, 2009), the impact of state documentation on Jewish identity (Avrutin, 2010), the Jewish role in the revolution of 1905-07 (The Revolution of 1905, 2008), the emerging public discourse about the “Jewish Question” (Gassenschmidt, 1995; Klier, 1995; Lederhendler, 1989; Миндлин, 2014), the composition and identity of Jewish communities in St. Petersburg (Nathans, 2002) and in the western borderlands (Corrsin, 1989; F. Guesnet, 1997, 1998; Meir, 2010; Weeks, 2006), and the problem of antisemitism and pogroms (Anti-Jewish Violence, 2011; Klier, 2011). ChaeRan Y. Freeze has moved from the traditional political and cultural spheres to explore issues of marriage and gender as well as the dynamics of everyday life; contrary to traditional historiography, she demonstrates that the state not only increased its interaction with the Jewish population but played a progressive role, especially in adjudicating matters of spousal relations and defending the interests of Jewish women (Freeze, 2002). For an interpretive compendium of documents emphasizing the Jewish quotidian, see (Everyday Jewish Life, 2013).

The Islamic population—amidst all the ethnic conflicts of the post-Cold War era—has predictably been the subject of considerable historical research (Yemelianova, 2002). Apart from isolated studies of earlier phases of Muslim history in Russia (Макаров, 2000; Сатушиева, 2012) much more substantial and innovative research pertains to the status and development of Islam, especially in the late imperial period. In addition to the publication of key primary sources (Арапов, 2006, 2001), historians have produced a number of general overviews, regional studies, and specialized monographs (Bobrovnikov, 2006; Campbell, 2007; Арапов, 2004; Идрисов, 1997; Карпенкова, 2004; Мультигули, 2013; Сатушиева, 2012; Ямаева, 2002). Robert Crews, emulating the Freeze thesis with respect to Jews, argues that the state actually sought not to repress but to recruit Muslims as loyal, productive citizens, and to do that endeavored to rule through, not against, existing Muslim social and political hierarchies (Crews, 2006). Kh.M. Abdullin has focused on a specific sphere of military service (Абдуллин, 2009), and Allen Frank has charted the growing connection between Islamic religious schools and thinkers in Russia and Bukhara (Frank, 2012). Historians have given particular attention to Islam in the last decades of tsarism, when powerful nationalist and confessional identities emerged as the driving forces of popular movements. D.A. Amanzholova’s and Christian Noack’s studies of the nationalist movement among Tatars and Bashkir analyze the interplay of state policy, internal social and cultural development of Islam, and the influence of exogenous pan-Islamic movements (Noack, 2000; Аманжолова, 1995). Other historians have also given particular attention to Islam in Kazan, especially the interaction with the state (Azade-Ayshe, 1986; Geraci, 2001; Naganawa, 2007; Голубкина, 2005); the Caucasus has also elicited some attention, especially the interaction between the central state and the Caucasus Muslims (Mostashari, 2006, Zelkina, 2000). Another focus has been the plight of converts, with their problematic relationship to Russian authorities (state and ecclesiastical) as well as their former co-religionists (Kefeli-Clay, 2001, Taimasov, 2007).

Buddhism, although numerically limited, was nonetheless of considerable interest to the state—and historians—because of the geopolitical implications in Asia. Although Soviet historiography essentially abandoned prerevolutionary Buddhology (Ермакова, 1998), in recent decades scholars have resumed the interrupted research. That new research, which resumed in the late Soviet era (Ламаизм в Бурятии, 1983), has led to a growing body of studies, with particular attention to state policy. Bazar Tsybenov has shed new

light on the spread of Buddhism and interaction with the state, showing how transnational, geopolitical considerations figured heavily in shaping the government's response to the new and growing confession (Баяртуева, 2007; Цыбенков, 2001).

In conclusion, this overview of historiography shows that research has been substantial, draws increasingly on archival documents, and has become increasingly diversified (giving attention not only to the Orthodox Church that serves approximately three-quarters of the population, but to other confessions as well. While that published research is immense, it is still deficient in several respects: most of it is spatially, temporally, or thematically narrow, rarely offering broader conclusions based on theory and comparative analysis. It does, however, provide the essential components for an integrated analysis, one that charts not only state intentionality and institutional development, but also the interaction of state, institutions, and believers, with the task being to see how those three agents interacted in this important confessional sphere.

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УДК 94

Конфессии в Российской Империи: аналитический обзор историографии

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Аннотация. Изучение религиозных институтов, повседневной практики, взаимоотношения разных конфессий испытало фундаментальное изменение в последние 25 лет, которое до сих пор не нашло адекватного отражения в историографии. Этот «религиозный поворот» (эквивалент к параллельному и хорошо известному «культурному повороту») особенно заметно проявился в исследовании четырех проблем: (1) религиозные институты и их служители; (2) верующие и религиозная практика мирян; (3) этно-конфессиональные взаимоотношения; и (4) отношения государства к различным конфессиям и, наоборот, - конфессий к государству. Накопление огромного нового материала, разнообразного и свободного от прежних стереотипов, делает возможным систематический анализ роли «конфессионального фактора» в этнических вопросах и ответ государства на этноконфессиональные вызовы. Это особенно важно потому, что, как показали новейшие исследования, значение религиозного фактора существенно зависело от конкретной конфессии и изменялось во времени и пространстве. Историография прошла соответствующую эволюцию, отражая одновременно как динамику российской политической истории, так и дисциплинарное развитие собственно науки о религии. В российском варианте эта эволюция распадается на три основных периода: дореволюционный, советский и постсоветский. Примерно та же периодизация – довоенный период, двадцатый век и начало XXI века применяется и в зарубежной историографии. Данная статья систематически рассматривает изменения, произошедшие в российской историографии конфессий в дореволюционный, советский и постсоветский периоды.

Ключевые слова: Российская империя, конфессиональная политика, историография.

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