

# HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN CENTRAL ASIA: ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE

№ 1  
2026

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SCIENTIFIC JOURNAL

*Founded in 2026  
Frequency of publication: twice a year*

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### **Founder:**

Institute of History  
Siberian Branch  
Russian Academy of Sciences

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The journal is registered  
with the Federal service  
for supervision  
of communications,  
information technologies  
and mass communications  
(Roskomnadzor)  
on February 23, 2021,  
EL N FS 77-890976

Articles submitted for publication  
in the journal are independently  
peer-reviewed and checked  
for originality.

When reprinting materials  
from the journal  
«Historical Research in Central  
Asia: Analysis and Critique.  
Scientific Journal»,  
a link to the source is required.

Editor-in-Chief  
*A.I. Savin*  
Designer  
*T.V. Soboleva*

Signed for printing 20.07.2026  
Release date 21.07.2026  
Format 60×84/8  
Headset Cambria  
Conditional printing l. 7,75

## Editorial

*Historical Research in Central Asia: Analysis and Critique. Scientific Journal* is a peer-reviewed biannual founded by the Institute of History of Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Novosibirsk. The journal aims to form and steadily promote objective knowledge about the history of Central Asian peoples and states and the role of Russia in their development. The periodical specializes in historiographical reviews, paper summaries, and analytical articles by Russian and foreign authors, and post-publication peer review. The journal will contribute to creating a balanced picture of historical research in the neighboring countries, while informing Russian scholars about the latest publications, major research directions, and developments in the humanities of the Central Asian states. On the other hand, the periodical will communicate research on Central Asia by Russian historians. All in all, the journal will complement the few Russian journals on Central Asian history and occupy the highly essential niche of historiographical analytics among them, as well as provide terrain for bringing together specialists from different countries. Articles are published in Russian and English parallel, which makes us expect to be included in Russian, Central Asian, and international scientific databases.

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УДК 94(575)"17/19":327(470):633.51

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## REFLECTING UPON HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE IN UZBEKISTAN: REALITIES AND PROSPECTS

**Abstract.** Over the years of independence, historical science in Uzbekistan has evolved from liberation from the ideological frameworks of the Soviet period to the formation of its own methodological framework and integration into the international scientific community. Research approaches have been significantly updated, thematic and source-based fields have expanded, and interdisciplinary methods have been actively implemented. Significant advances have been made in archaeology, allowing for a reconsideration of the chronological framework of the region's ancient history and the identification of new sites and archaeological cultures. Contemporary research covers a wide range of topics – from the development of statehood and civilizational processes to the history of Islam, Jadidism, the Soviet period, and the ethnogenesis of the Uzbek people. However, methodological and organizational challenges persist: the predominance of political history over social history, insufficient transdisciplinarity, weak integration of academic and university research, and limited international scientific exchange. A reflection on historical knowledge in Uzbekistan shows that the development of historiography requires not only the accumulation of facts but also a rethinking of theoretical and methodological foundations and active participation in global scholarly dialogue. The future of historical scholarship is seen in combining national research traditions with global academic standards and in recognizing the history of Uzbekistan as an integral part of world civilization.

**Key words:** Historical science, historiography, reflection, methodology of history, post-Soviet space, Uzbekistan, interdisciplinarity, source studies, historical knowledge, scientific development.

Over the years of independence, historical science in Uzbekistan has undergone drastic changes: from abandoning Soviet ideological clichés to joining global research community. What has happened during this time? What have the country's historians achieved? What does society expect from their research? Over this period, historical research in Uzbekistan has clearly seen a transformation in methodology, as well as novel fields, topics, and problems. The study of history on an interdisciplinary basis has intensified, and historiography has been replenished with a new body of research in diverse areas. A young generation of historians has emerged, who have had the opportunity to train in the world's leading research centers. New textbooks have been created for stu-

dents of history. These days, the role of historical knowledge in the spiritual and cultural development of society is increasing. What is its dynamics like? Let us consider the development of historical science in Uzbekistan, its achievements, shortcomings, and prospects using the example of the main directions of historiography. In recent years, it has been replenished with new sources, archaeological data, on the basis of which new conclusions have been drawn. This applies to all periods of Uzbek history, including the most ancient ones.

The Stone Age sites discovered on the territory of Uzbekistan allow us to date the emergence of humans to significantly earlier times than previous research suggested. For instance, in the Obi-Rakhmat grotto in the Tashkent region, ar-

chaeologists found skeletal remains of an ancient man who lived there 70, 000 years ago. An analysis of archaeological materials has shown that the remains belonged to the oldest representative of modern man in Central Asia. Thus, this discovery, unique on a global scale, sheds light on the peculiarities of human evolution. The Russian Academy of Sciences declared The Obirakhmatian man discovered by the Uzbek-Russian archaeological expedition Find of the Year<sup>1</sup>.

By 2010, 10 new Neolithic monuments had been discovered around the Neolithic Ayakagytma monument, located in the Kyzylkum desert in Bukhara region, which made it possible to extend the Celteminar culture by more than 3,000 years<sup>2</sup>.

Over many years of research, a technology has been developed for cleaning ancient petroglyphs from modern inscriptions. Based on this technology, hundreds of ancient images have been cleaned at the Sarmishsai site, which is one of the most unique rock art monuments not only in Uzbekistan, but also on the scale of Central Asia.

One of the biggest discoveries of Uzbek archaeology in recent years has been made near the town of Chelek in Samarkand region. It is Kuktepe monument, the ruins of one of the oldest cities in Central Asia. Kuktepe is a one-hectare monumental temple and a magnificent palace. In antiquity, the sepulchre of the so-called "Saka Princess" was arranged on its ruined territory. The study of the monument has shed light on the religious and secular views of ancient peoples, their culture, and architecture. Based on the material sources, it was proved that the ancient settlement of Kuktepe is the ruins of the legendary ancient town of Basileia, the second capital of Sogdiana, referred to by Greek historians<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Derevyanko A.P., Islamov U.I., Petrin V.T., Suleymanov R.Kh., Alimov K., Krivoschapkin A.I., Anokin A.A., Milyutin K.I., Sayfulaev B.K. Studies of the Ob Rakhmat grotto (Republic of Uzbekistan) in 1999 // Problemy arkheologii, ehtnografii, antropologii Sibiri i sopredel'nykh territorii. Novosibirsk, 1999

<sup>2</sup> Muhiddin Khudzhazarov, Karol Szymczak. The neolithic stove and the artefacts inside it from Ayakagytma "The Site" Kyzyl-kums, Central Asia // Multas per Gentes et multa per saecula. Amici Magistro et collagae sssuuuo Ioanni Christopho Kozlowski Deducant. Pawel Valde – Nowak, Krzysztof Sobezyk Marek Nowak, Jaroslaw Zralka (Editors). Krakow 2018. P. 277-228.

<sup>3</sup> Isamidin M.H. The Origins of the Urban Culture of the Samarkand Sogd. Tashkent, 2002; Rapen K., Isamidin M., Khasanov M. The «Aristocratic» Tomb of Nomads at the Koktepe Settlement Near Samarkand // Arkheologiya i istoriya

During excavations at the Khumbuztepa monument in Khorezm region, a monumental Zoroastrian temple was discovered. Currently, this temple, dated to the 6th century BC, is the oldest temple of the Zoroastrian ecumene. The findings also allow a reconstruction of the Zoroastrian funeral ritual of the 8th – 4th centuries BC<sup>4</sup>.

During the excavations of the Akchakhan fortress, located in the Republic of Karakalpakstan, a temple was also discovered. In its corridors, archaeologists found wall paintings belonging to an unknown dynasty that ruled Khorezm in the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD<sup>5</sup>. On the hill north of the Karatepa monument in Old Termez, a magnificent rectangular Buddhist stupa was excavated and thoroughly explored. Yet another artifact is ceramic fragments with inscriptions in Brahmi and Kharoshti<sup>6</sup>.

During large-scale excavations at the Baysarytepe monument in the village of Sazagan, which is in Nurabad district of Samarkand region, archaeologists unearthed ruins of an early Antique settlement on the territory of Sogda. It was the first discovery of this kind in the region. Among the findings was a silver coin, the Seleucus tetradrachma, minted in Ecbatana<sup>7</sup>.

Tsentrāl'noi Azii v trudakh frantsuzskikh uchenykh. Vol. 1. Samarkand: International Institute for Central Asian Studies, 2014. pp 70 – 116.

<sup>4</sup> Baratov S.R. On the Origins of the Urbanized Culture of Ancient Khorezm // Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v Uzbekistane 2017. No. 2(15). pp. 3-24.

<sup>5</sup> Yagodin V.N., Betts A.G., Iskanderova A.D., Amirov S.S. The Results of Work on the Kazakly-Yatkan Monument (Akshakhan-Kala) in 2013 // Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v Uzbekistane 2013-2014. Samarkand, 2016. Issue 10. pp. 340-345.

<sup>6</sup> Pidaev S.R., Kato K., Mkrtichev T.K. Stone Sculptural Decoration at Karatepa (Excavations of 1988-2000) // SCRIPTA ANTIQUA. Voprosy drevnei istorii, filologii, iskusstva i material'noi kul'tury. Al'manakh. Vol. 3. K yubileyu Ehdvarda Vasil'evicha Rtveladze. Moscow, 2014. pp. 574-613.

<sup>7</sup> Berdimuradov A.E., Raimkulov A.A., Kholmatov N.U., Franceschini F., Mantellini S. The Uzbek-Italian archaeological expedition to Boisaritepa in 2004-2005: Study Results // Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v Uzbekistane – 2003 god. Tashkent, 2004. Issue 4. pp. 65-73; Berdimuradov A.E., Raimkulov A.A., Kholmatov N.U., Franceschini F. Excavations of the Uzbek-Italian Expedition to Boisaritepa in 2004 and 2005 // Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v Uzbekistane 2004-2005 gody. Tashkent, 2006. Issue 5. pp. 65-73; Berdimuradov A.E., Khasanov M., Franceschini F. About Working on Boisaritepa in 2007 // Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v Uzbekistane 2006-2007 gody. Tashkent, 2009. Issue. 6. pp. 57-65.

Archaeological investigations at the Paykend settlement, a city of merchants of Western Sogd, revealed a Zoroastrian sanctuary. Another finding was a medieval cathedral mosque with remains of a mud brick minaret, dating back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD. Both structures are located on the territory of the city citadel. The first one is assumed to be the ruins of the Paykend temple of fire worshippers, referred to in the “Shahnameh” by Firdausi, and the second is like the “cathedral mosque with a shining mihrab” in the writings of Al-Muqaddasi. A lavish hoard of copper coins from the 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> centuries was also discovered during the excavations<sup>8</sup>.

Over a decade of extensive archaeological excavations of the Kafir- Kal settlement, located by the Dargom waterway in the southern part of Samarkand, about 600 bulls of the Early Medieval period have been found. The findings enable researchers to localize the ancient town of Rivdad here, the country residence of Samarkand rulers during the early Middle Ages. Another finding is a wooden panel with 46 carved figures. These unique carvings area find of global significance in the archeology of Sogd<sup>9</sup>.

Equally important was the discovery of a palace at the Afrasiab settlement, decorated with an entire gallery of murals dating back to the reign of the Karakhanids in Samarkand (the 12<sup>th</sup> century). Experts suggest that the king depicted on the throne is Khan Usman of the Karakhanid dynasty<sup>10</sup>.

As a result of recent research, archaeologists have found steel samples and swords at the Akhsiket settlement, the capital of the medieval Fergana Valley. In the 10<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries,

such weapons were considered the highest quality steel. These days, they are known all over the world under the name “Sword of Damascus”.

In recent years, based on archaeological finds in Uzbekistan, new discoveries have been made in the field of the history of textile production, including sericulture. In particular, the textile remains on the Bronze Age Djarkutan monument are more than 3,200 years old; it is the oldest fabric discovered in Central Asia.

Applying modern methods of studying silk remains obtained during the excavations of Munchak-Tepe, researchers demonstrated that silk production in the Ferghana Valley dates back to the beginning of our era, and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries one of sericulture centers was formed on the territory of Uzbekistan<sup>11</sup>.

During the archaeological excavations of the Chilhujra monument in Namangan region, it was established that in ancient times it was a city with an area of 10 hectares, and its origin dates back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. At 2000 meters above sea level, the remains of two ancient metallurgical urban settlements were discovered<sup>12</sup>.

Hence, the archeology of Uzbekistan has made numerous discoveries, which gave rise to significant revision and update to the history of Uzbekistan from antiquity to the late Middle Ages. These discoveries were presented at international conferences and recognized by international research community.

Uzbek archaeologists, along with historians, contributed to determining the age of the ancient cities Samarkand, Bukhara, Karshi, Shakhrisabz, Khiva, Termez, Tashkent, and Margilan. Besides, archaeologists were involved in studying the scientific heritage of Ahmad al-Ferghani, Imam al-Maturudi, Imam al-Bukhari, Burkhoniddin Marginani, Amir Temur, and Mirzo Ulugbek; they

<sup>8</sup> Mirzaakhmedov J. et al. Report on the Excavations in Paykend in 2013 and 2014 // *Materialy Bukharskoi arkheologicheskoi ehkspeditsii*. Issue XIII. St. Petersburg, 2016; Mirzaakhmedov Zh. et al. The Report on the Excavations in Paykend in 2015 and 2016. // *Materialy Bukharskoi arkheologicheskoi ehkspeditsii*. Issue XIV. St. Petersburg, 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Berdimurodov A.E., Bogomolov G.I., Uno Takao, Begmatov A. Bulls with a Buddhist Plot From the Settlement Kampir Tepe // *O'zbekiston archeologiyasi*. 2016. No 2 (13). pp. 51-60; Berdimurodov A.E., Bogomolov G.I., Uno Takao, Begmatov A. Unique Finds from Kampir Tepe Settlement // *Fan Va Turmush*. 2018. No 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> Reutova M. La peinture des Ambassadeurs (VII s.) a Samarkand: une nouvelle presentation museographique. L utilisation du cyclododecane pour la depose de peintures murals // Paris, 2017. P. 237-245.

<sup>11</sup> Matbabaev Bokijon, Feng Zhao, Yang Zhou, Meng Li. Early Medieval Textiles and Garments of Ferghana Valley. Shanhai, 2010.

<sup>12</sup> Maksudov F., Frachetti M., Pardaev M. et al. Archaeological Research of the Uzbek-American Expedition at the Toshbuloq Monument in the Jizzakh Region in 2015 // *Ўзбекистонда археологик тадқиқотлар*. 2015-2017 йиллар. 11 сон. Samarkand, 2018; Robert N. Spengler, Farhod Maksudov, Elissa Bullion, Ann Merkle, Taylor Hermes, Michael Frachetti. Arbooreal Crops on the Medieval Silk Road: Archaeobotanical Studies at Tashbulak. PLOS ONE <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0201409> August 14, 2018.

took an active part in celebrations of those prominent figures' anniversaries. The celebrations under the auspices of UNESCO demonstrated the scale and effectiveness of archeological and historical research in Uzbekistan over the past two and a half decades.

Currently, the Institute of Archaeological Research of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan is scrupulously mapping and cataloging over 8,000 archaeological sites. Based on modern technologies, an extensive database is to be created for each of these archaeological sites, and information about all monuments of Uzbekistan is to be systematized. A new research center – the National Center of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan – has been established, giving rise to new research directions.

During the years of independence, a new research field was formed – the history of statehood in Uzbekistan. According to historians, it emerged in the late second millennium BC, with ancient agricultural civilizations at its origins<sup>13</sup>.

Throughout its history, the statehood of Uzbekistan has known periods of prosperity and rise, embodied in the Ancient Khorezm and Kushan kingdoms, Kangju, the Hephthalite state, the Turkic Khaganate, the states of the Samanids, Karakhanids, Khorezmshakhs, and especially in the era of Amir Temur, which set the course for the development of the Middle East and India. Scientists have found out that even under foreign dominance, the substratum, the core of the statehood, remained unchanged. Researchers arrived at this conclusion upon finding what principles of governance were adopted in the region when it was part of foreign states, which local features were rejected and prohibited, and what the reason for the national liberation struggle was. The first specialized paper on this topic was a monograph on the history of Uzbekistan's statehood, which covers the period from the second millennium BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD<sup>14</sup>.

The theory of the civilizational approach has been widely used in analyzing the statehood as well as the history of Uzbekistan in general. That was employed in a number of studies on the peculiarities of the development of civilization in the ancient period and the early Middle Ages in various regions of Central Asia, such as the Kushan Empire, the states of Kangju, Davan, Khorezm Kingdom, Sogd, Chach, the Hephthalite state, the Turkic Khaganate, or Ferghana. There is every reason to consider the history of these regions with regard to their contribution to world civilization since those states of a new type were directly connected with China, Iran, and the Byzantine Empire<sup>15</sup>.

Notably, the new archaeological and numismatic data extracted by the leading Uzbek specialists also justified this research context<sup>16</sup>. Central to the study of civilizations that developed on the territory of Central Asia is the role of the Great Silk

<sup>15</sup> Rtveladze E.V. *Civilizations, States, and Cultures of Central Asia*, 2nd Ed., Tashkent, 2008. 300 p. E. Rtveladze E.V. *The Great Indian Road: From the History of the Most Important Trade Routes in Eurasia*. St. Petersburg, M., 2012; Suleymanov R.Kh. *The Ancient Nakhshab: The Problem of the Civilization of Uzbekistan From the Seventh Century BC to the Seventh Century AD*. Samarkand-Tashkent, 2000; Shaidullaev SH.B. *Northern Bactria in the Early Iron Age*. Tashkent, 2000; Atakhodjaev A. *Turkic-Sogdian Relations in Political, Socio-economic, and Ethnocultural Processes in the Early Middle Ages*. Doctoral dissertation. Tashkent, 2011. p. 59.; Babayarov G. *Chach in the Era of the Turkic Khaganate (based on numismatic data) / Ўзбекистон тарихи моддий маданият ва ёзма манбаларда*. Tashkent, 2005. pp. 197-208.

<sup>16</sup> Babayar G., Kubatin A. *Ancient Turkic Coins of the Chacha Oasis (6th – 8th Centuries)*. Tashkent, 2007; Babayar G. *Köktürk Kağanlığı sikkeleri Kataloğu The Catalogue of coins of Turkic Qaghanate*. Ankara, 2007; Kubatin A.V. *The System of Titles of the Turkic Kaganate: Genesis and Continuity*. Tashkent, 2016; Livshits V.A. *Sogdian Epigraphy of Central Asia and Jetisu*. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University, Department of Philology, 2008; Malikov A.M. *Turks in the Central Asian Interfluvium in the 6th – 8th Centuries*. Samarkand, 2000; Masson V.M. *Cultural Genesis of Ancient Central Asia*. Saint Petersburg, 2006; Musakaeva A.A. *Turanian Coins of the 6th – 8th Centuries*. Tashkent, 2013; Rtveladze E.V. *Ancient and Early Medieval Coins of Historical Regions of Uzbekistan*. Vol. 1. Tashkent, 2002; Rtveladze E.V. *History and Numismatics of Chach (the Second Half of the 3rd – the Middle of the 8th Century AD)*. Tashkent, 2006; Babayarov G. *The State System of the Western Turkic Kaganate* // diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2012. 55 p.; Babayar G., Kubatin A. *About Coinage in the Western Turkic Khaganate (based on numismatic materials of the Tashkent oasis)* // *Turkology. Turkestan*. 2005. No. 6. pp. 97-105.

<sup>13</sup> Rtveladze E.V., Saidov A.Kh., Abdullaev E.V. *Essays on the History of the Civilization of Ancient Uzbekistan: Statehood and Law*. Tashkent, 2000; *Essays on the History of the Statehood of Uzbekistan*. Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 2001; *History of the Statehood of Uzbekistan*. Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 2009. Vol. I. 560 p.

<sup>14</sup> *History of the Statehood of Uzbekistan*. Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 2009. Vol. I. 560 p.

Road, which was formed and began functioning at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC<sup>17</sup>.

The Great Silk Road, as a system of transcontinental and local trade links, protected by the largest ancient states, changed the meaning of Central Asian cities for their population and transformed the urban structure. This shaped the territories of Khorezm, Sogda, as well as Ustrushan, Chacha, Ferghana and Tokharistan, as part of the Kangju states, and gave rise to new values of the eastern civilization of farmers and pastoralists in the Hephthalite State and the Turkic Khaganate. Research in this area suggests interaction and syncretism of cultures and the contribution of the peoples inhabiting the two rivers between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya to the civilizations of Central Asia and the whole world<sup>18</sup>.

The next historical period, when the region became part of the Arab Caliphate, has not received sufficient coverage. It is only textbooks and a few monographs on the history of Islam that address this topic<sup>19</sup>. This epoch's Arabic-language sources are used exclusively in studies on the historical geography of the region<sup>20</sup>. The peculiarities of the socio-economic situation of the territory are awaiting their researchers. As is known, despite the rule of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates, the advancement of the local nobility, both indi-

viduals and dynasties, as leading forces in government (Barmakids, Tahirids, Safarids, Samanids) began as early as at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. These crucial processes also need special study.

One of the best-developed topics is the spread of Islam in Central Asia<sup>21</sup>. Researchers emphasize that when introduced on this territory, which had already had rich cultural traditions, Islam contributed to the birth of a novel philosophy and a new model of civilization, to which Western historiography refers to as the "Muslim Renaissance".

Virtually all intellectual domains of the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries are quite thoroughly studied. Among the central areas of interest there have been the development of science and education, the formation of the "Mamun Academy", and its role in the spiritual development of society. The contribution of Uzbek scientists and educators, e.g., al-Khwarizmi, Ibn Sino, Beruniy, and Fergani, to world science, their role in shaping the intellectual potential of the country, as well as the importance of madrasahs as advanced educational institutions, was described based on the sources stored at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan and other institutions<sup>22</sup>. Archaeology has made a significant

<sup>17</sup> Buryakov Yu.F. Bukhara on the Caravan Routes of Khorasan and Transoxiana // ONU. 1997. № 9-10. pp. 45-52; Buryakov Y.F., Baipakov K.M., Taschboeva K., Yakubov Y. The Cities and Routes of the Great Silk Road. Tashkent: Sharq, 1999. 128 p.; Buryakov Yu., Gritsina A. Transoxiana on the Great Silk Road. Samarkand – Bishkek, 2006. 206 p.; Khodzhaev A. The Chinese Factor in Central Asia. Tashkent: Fan, 2004. 172 p.; Khodzhaev A. The Great Silk Road. Tashkent, 2018, and other publications.

<sup>18</sup> Kobzeva O.P. The History of the Studies on the Great Silk Road in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Tashkent: "Zar Qalam", 2006. 161 p.; Kobzeva O.P., Jalilov O.Z. A Few Pages From the History of the Great Silk Road: Silk, Spices and Tea. Tashkent, 2013. 140 p.; Kobzeva O.P., Jalilov O.Z. Uzbekistan and China on the Reviving Silk Road. Tashkent, 2015. 103 p.; Hansen V. The Great Silk Road. Seaport Routes Through Central Asia. China-Sogdiana-Persia-Levant. Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf, 2014. 477 p.

<sup>19</sup> Khasanov A., Komilov N., Uvatov U., Azimov A., Rakhimjonov D. Ислом тарихи [History of Islam]. Tashkent: "Toshkent islom universiteti" nashrieti-matbaa birlashmasi, 2008; Марказий Осиё динлари тарихи. (Муаллифлар жамоаси) [The History of the religions of Central Asia. (Team of authors)]. Tashkent, 2006.

<sup>20</sup> Kamaliddinov S.S. Historical Geography of Southern Sogd and Tokharistan According to Arabic-Language Sources of the 9<sup>th</sup> – Early 13<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Tashkent: Uzbekiston, 1996.

<sup>21</sup> Islamization and Sacred Bloodlines in Central Asia. The Legacy of Ishaq Bab in the Narrative and Genealogical Traditions. Volume I. / research, text compilation, translation into Russian and English, commentaries and indexes: Ziyadov Sh.u. et al. Almaty-Bloomington: Dyke Press, 2013. 638 p.; Qoriev O. Ал-мажмуъ ал-Усманий. Илмий-танқидий матн ва таржима [Al-Majmu al-Uthmani (Collection of Osman). Critique and translation]. Tashkent: Movarounnar, 2014. 170. (хаммуаллифликда) [coauthored].

<sup>22</sup> Хоразм Маъмун академияси [Khorezm Mamun Academy]. A photo album. Tashkent: Sharq, 2006. 168 p.; Akhmedov A. Мухаммад ал-Хоразмий [Muhammad al-Khorezmi]. Tashkent: Uzbekiston, 2011. 55 p.; Abu Ali ibn Sino. Тиб қонунлари. I-жилд [Canon of medical science. Volume I] / Nashrga tayyorlovchilar: M. Gasaniy, S.U. Karimova. Tashkent: Muharrir, 2013. 688 p.; Abu Ali ibn Sino. Тиб қонунлари. II-жилд [Canon of medical science. Volume II] / Nashrga tayyorlovchilar: M. Gasaniy, S.U. Karimov. Tashkent: Navro'z, 2014. 773 p.; Abu Ali ibn Sino. Тиб қонунлари. III (1) китоб. [Canon of medical science. Book III (1)] / Uchinci nashrni tayyorlovchilar: M. Hasaniy, S. Karimova. Tashkent: Turonzamin ziyo, 2015. 750 p.; Bahodirov R.M. "Mafati al-ulum" by Al-Khorezmi as a Source of Information on the Classification of Sciences / Izvestiya natsional'nogo tsentra arkhografii i istochnikovedeniya. Astana, 2011. No. 1. pp. 62-74; Bahodirov R.M. Абу Абдуллоҳ ал-Хоразмийнинг фалсафий қарашлари ва унинг илмлар таснифи масаласига ёндашуви [Philosophical views of Abu Abdullah al-Khorezmi and his approach to the classification of sciences] / Uzbekistonda izhtimoiy-falsafiy fikri tarikhida ilmiy-marifiy goyalar.

contribution to these studies, revealing the pivotal role of cities as economic, cultural, and research centers of the era. Much has been learnt about the Islamic heritage, namely, the works of famous Muslim theologians, such as al-Bukhari, at-Termiziy, Moturudiy, and Marginoniy<sup>23</sup>.

However, these publications do not fill the gap in the history of the period when Central Asia joined the Arab Caliphate. On the list of unexplored issues are the formation and implementation of the new type of statehood, its subsequent replacement by the local forms of government, the economic conditions, social situation, and people's liberation movement.

On the contrary, research on Amir Temur and the Temurids' era has advanced considerably over the past two decades<sup>24</sup>. The source study has

reached a new level: more than a dozen main sources, including "Zafarnoma" by Shami, "Zafarnoma" by Yazdi, "Tuzuki Temur", the writings of Ibn Arabshah, Abdurazzaq Samarqandi, Hafizi Abru, Natanziy, Khondamir and other authors, have been subjected to a new analysis and translated into Uzbek and Russian<sup>25</sup>. In the same years,

Toshkent, 2011. pp 98-129; Ўрта аср Шарқининг буюк олим ва мутафаккирлари. Китоб-альбом. [Great scientists and thinkers of the medieval East. Album]. Toshkent: Uzbekiston, 2014. 156 p.; Gulom Karimiy. Лангар фожиаси [The Langar tragedy]. Toshkent: Sharq, 2014. 440 p.; Khodjaev A. Фарғона тарихига оид маълумотлар (қадимий ва илк ўрта аср Хитой манбаларидан таржималар ва улarga шарҳлар) [Information on the history of Ferghana (early medieval Chinese sources: translations and commentaries)]. Toshkent, 2013. 186 p.; Abu Rayhan Beruni. Monuments of past generations (Chronology) / Translated by M. Salye. Additions, corrections, preparation for publication, introductory article and comments by Ashraf Akhmedov. Toshkent: Fan, 2014. 800 p.; Muammadrizo Mirob. Ораҳий "Зубдат аттаворих" [Zubdat at-tavarikh ("The flower of history")] / Nashrga tayyorlovchi Khilola Nazirova. Toshkent-Samarkand, 2015. 306 p.; Buriev O. Марказий Осиё тарихий географиясидан лавҳалар (ёзма манбалар тадқиқи ва таржималар). Ўқув қўлланма [Essays on the historical geography of Central Asia (a study of written sources and translations)]. (Textbook)]. Toshkent, 2015. 196 p.

<sup>23</sup> Qoriev O. Бурхонуддин Марғиноний. [Burhan al-Din al-Marghinani]. Toshkent: Uzbekistan, 2011. 38 p.; Al-Hakim at-Termiziy. "Ҳаж ва унинг сирлари" ["Hajj and its secrets"] // Arab tilidan ilmiy izohli tarzhima. Tarzhimon va izokhlar muallifi ZH. Khamroqulov. Toshkent: Movarounnahr, 2015. 160 p.; Al-Hakim at-Termiziy. "Инсон одоби" // Араб тилидан илмий изоҳли таржима. Таржимон ва изоҳлар муаллифи K. Raqimov ["Human etiquette". Academic translation from Arabic with comments. Translated and commented by K. Raqimov]. Toshkent, 2015. 120 p.; Usmonov I. N. Ҳаким Термизийнинг (ваф. 932 й.) "Наводир ал-усул" асаридан [Al-Hakim al-Tirmiziy (d. 932) from "Navodir al-usul"] // Islomda keksalar qadri. Toshkent: "Toshkent islom universiteti" nashriyot matbaa-birlashmasi, 2015. 104 p.

<sup>24</sup> Amir Temur in World History. Toshkent: Sharq, 1996. 1st ed.; 2nd ed., considerably augmented. Toshkent, 2001. 302 p. Темур ва Улугбек даври тарихи. Комуслар Бош тахририяти. [History of the period of Timur and Ulugbek]. Toshkent, 1996. 263 p.; Buriev O. Темурийлар даври ёзма манбаларда Марказий Осиё (тарихий-географик лавҳа-

лар) [Central Asia in the written sources of the Timurid era (historical and geographical essays)]. Toshkent: O'zbekiston, 1997. 186 p.; Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan. History / Comp. D. Yusupova, R. Jalilova. Toshkent: Fan, 1998; Akhmedov B.A., Mukminova R.G., Pugachenkova G.A. Amir Temur. Toshkent: Fan, 1999. 263 p. Akhmedov A., Rtveladze E.V. Amir Temur's State and Its Management Mechanism // Ocherki po istorii gosudarstvennosti Uzbekistana. Toshkent: Sharq, 2001. pp. 84-95; Khabibullaev A. Амир Темур ва Ибн Халдун [Amir Temur and Ibn Khaldun]. Toshkent, 2004; Yusupova D. JU. The Life and Works of Khvandamir. Toshkent: Fan, 2006. 323 p.; Abidzhanova D.S. Transoxiana During the Reign of Amir Temur in the English-language Historiography of the berunis of the 20th Century: diss. abstract. Toshkent, 2001; Shamukaramova F.S. The Life and Works of Mirzo Ulugbek in the Historiography of the 20th Century. Toshkent: Yangi nashr, 2012. 256 p. (in Russian and Uzbek).

<sup>25</sup> Nizomiddin Shomij. Зафарнома [Zafar-nameh ("The Book of Victories")] / Fors tilidan o'g'iruvchi Yu. Hakimzhonov. Tarzhimani qajta ishlab, nashrga tayyorlovchi va mas'ul muharrir A.O'rinboev. Toshkent: O'zbekiston 1996. 528 p.; Abdurazzoq Samarqandij. Матлаи саъдайн ва мажмаи баҳрайн ["Matla' as-sa'dajn va madzhma' al-bahrajn"] ("The place of the rising of two lucky stars and the place of the confluence of two seas"). / Fors tilidan tarzhima va izoxlar muallifi A. O'rinboev. II zild. Birinchi qism. Toshkent, 2008. 632 p.; II zild. Ikkinchi va uchinsin qismlar [Volume II. Parts II and III]. Тошкент, 2008. 832 p.; Abu-Tohirhodzha Samarqandij. Самария / Forschadan A.Sattorij tarzhimasi. Toshkent: Meros, 1991; Ibn Arabshoh. Амир Темур тарихи. Ажойиб алмакдур фи тарихи Таймур (Темур тарихида тақдир аjoyиботлари) [The story of Amir Temur. Ajaib al-makdur fi tarihi Taimur (Miracles of Fate in the story of Timur)] / So'z boshi, arab tilidan tarzhima va izoxlarni U. Uvatov tayyorlagan. Mas'ul muharrir A. O'rinboev. Book I. Toshkent: Mekhnat, 1992. 328 p.; Book II. 192 p.; Клавиҳонинг Самарқандга саёхати [Clavijo's journey to Samarkand] / Rus tilidan tarzhima, kirish suz va izohlar O. Buriev. Toshkent: Adola, 2004; Mirza Muhammad Hajdar. Та'рих-и Рашиди [Ta'rih-i Rashidi (Rashidi's story)] / Introduction, translated from Persian by A. Urumbaev, R.P. Jalilova, and L.M. Epifanova. Notes and indexes by R.P. Jalilova and L.M. Epifanova. Toshkent: Fan, 1996. 728 p.; Muiniddin Natanzij. Мунтахаб ут-таворихи муиний [Selected Chronicles by Muin] / Fors tilidan tarzhima, so'z boshi va izohlar muallifi: F.Karimij. Toshkent: O'zbekiston, 2011; Темур тузуклари ["The Code of Temur"] / Forschadan Alihon Sofunij va Xabibullo Karamatov tarzhimasi. Toshkent, 1991. 110 p.; The Code of Temur / Translated by X. Karomatov. Preface, notes and commentary by B. Akhmedov. Toshkent: Izdatel'stvo literatury i iskusstva imeni G. Gulyama, 1999. 352 p.; Hofizi Abru. «Зубдат аттаворих»дан: «Хазрат Сохибқироннинг мутабар насл-насаби хақида» [From "Zubdat at-tavorih": "About the revered lineage of His Majesty

"Ziji Guragoni" and "Tarikhi arba ulus" by Mirzo Ulugbek were translated and published<sup>26</sup>.

All this contributed to the fundamental shift in the historical science of Uzbekistan from one-sided interpretations of the period and the personality of Amir Temur and his descendants to a profound, multidimensional perspective, reflected in a large number of monographs and dissertations. Almost in parallel with that, a separate branch, "Temur studies", was born, which includes historiography of many countries, such as France, England, Germany, the USA, Iran, Turkey, Japan, and the CIS countries<sup>27</sup>.

Sahibkiran"]. (translated by O. Buriev) // Anthology: Amir Temur va Ulugbek zamondoshlari hotirasida. Toshkent, 1996. pp. 289-310; Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi. Зафар-нама. Toshkent, 1992; Sharafiddin Ali Yazdij. Зафар-нама. Мовароуннахр вокеалари. 1360-1370 ["Zafar-nameh. Events in Transoxiana in 1360-1370"] / Mahsus muharir, so'z boshi muallifi va nashrga tajyorlovchi A. Urinboev, B. Bo'riev. / Special editors, foreword and preparation for publication A. Urinboev, B. Buriev. Toshkent: Kamalak, 1994. 290 p.; Шарофиддин Али Ўзидий. Sharofiddin Ali Yazdij. Зафарнома [Zafar-nameh ("The book of victories")]. Toshkent: Sharq, 1997. 254 p.; Sharaf ad-Din Ali Jazdi. Zafar-nameh / Preface, translation from Old Uzbek, commentary, indexes and map by A. Akhmedov. Toshkent, 2008. 485 p.

<sup>26</sup> Ulugbek Muhammad Taragaj. Зиджи джадиди Гурагони [The New Guragan Astronomical tables]. / Introduction, translation, commentary, and indexes by A.A. Akhmedov. Toshkent, 1994. 457 c.; Mirzo Ulugbek. Тўрт улус тарихи [The story of the four uluses] / Fors tilidan B.Akhmedov, N. Norqulov va M. Xasanijlar tarzhimasi. Ma'ul muharir. Kirish suzi va izohlar muallifi B. Ahmedov. Toshkent, 1994. 352 p.

<sup>27</sup> Paul Jurgen Forming a Faction. Paper Presented to the Timurid-Turkman Symposium. Toronto / Canada, November 1989; Bodin J. Les six livres de la Republique, un abrege du texte de l'edition de Paris de 1583. Paris, 1993; The Cambridge History of Islam. Calligraphers and Copyist of the Timurid Early Safavid Periods" – ed. P. Jackson, Cambridge, 1968; Rhandamir, tras., Wheeler M. Thackston. Habibu's siyar, Tome three. Sources of. Oriental Languages and literatures. No.24 Cambridge, Mass. USA, 1994; Devin De Weese. Islamization and Native religion in the Golden Horde. 1994; Babur-Nama (Vaqayi) Critical Edition based Upon Four Chaghatay Texts with Introduction and Notes / by Eiji Mano. Kyoto: Syokado, 1995; Babur-Nama (Vaqayi) Concordance and Classified Indexes / by Eiji Mano Kyoto: Syokado, 1996; Wheeler Thackston The Baburnoma. Memories of Babur, Prince and Emperor. Translated, edited and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston. New York. Oxford 1996; Spuler Bertold. Temur // The mongol period. History of the Muslim World. – Leide / E. J. Brill 1960, copyright, 1969, 1994; Central Asia: the last three centuries of the independency // Last Great Muslim Empires History of the Muslim World / – Leiden 1960, copyright, 1969, 1996; Aubin Jean. Tamerlan a Bagdad // Arabica, 1962. i / 3, P. 303–309; Power, Politics and religion in Timurid Iran. B. Manz., Cambridge University Press, USA, 2007.

In particular, historians gave a well-grounded account of Amir Temur's as a new type of centralized union that went beyond the geographical boundaries of Central Asia. The features of the Timurid judicial and military systems were revealed for the first time. Much was added to the study of the cultural renaissance of this period, including the development of urban planning, science, and education<sup>28</sup>. An important event was the academic publication of a fundamental study on the history of Uzbekistan in the era of Amir Temur<sup>29</sup>. However, military campaigns, which had a negative impact on the population and economies of the conquered territories, as well as the social structure, ethnic processes, and relations between the peoples in the Timurid Empire remain underresearched.

Over the recent decades, it is the time between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries that has been one of the most thoroughly studied periods of Uzbekistan's history. This was facilitated by the publication of numerous new sources, on the basis of which a number of monographs and dissertations were written. New findings on the history of the Bukhara, Khiva, and Kokand khanates were presented, particularly on the administrative system, martial law and international relations, as well as so-

<sup>28</sup> Habibullaev N.N. Ўрта Осиёда қоғоз ишлаб чиқариш тарихи Habibullaev N.N. [The history of paper production in Central Asia]. Toshkent: Fan, 1992; Boboev H. . Ўзбекистонда XIV-XVI асрларда сиёсий ва ҳуқуқий таълимотлар [Political and legal doctrines in Uzbekistan in the 14th–16th centuries]: diss. thesis. Toshkent, 1993. 48 p.; Темур ва Улуғбек даври тарихи [The history of the period of Timur and Ulugbek]. Toshkent: Qomuslar Bosh tahririyati, 1996; Mukminova R. Craft and Trade in the Era of Amir Temur. Toshkent, 1996; To'htiev I. Теурийлар сулоласининг тангалари [Coins of the Timurid dynasty]. Toshkent, 1996; Norqulov N. Теурийлар даври маданияти тарихидан лавҳалар [Scenes from the cultural history of the Timurid era]. Urganch.: Horazm, 1996; Yusupova D. Issues of Science and Culture of the Temurid Era in the Works of Khondamir // Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii «Rastsvet nauki, kul'tury ehpokhi Temuridov». Tashkent–Paris, 1996. pp. 28–36; O'rolov A, Hozhixonov M. Теурийлар маънавияти ва маданияти [Spirituality and culture of the Timurids]. Samarqand: So'g'diyona, 1996; Zohidov P. Темур даврининг меъморий қаҳқашони [The architectural heyday of Timur's era]. Toshkent: Sharq, 1996; Pugachenkova G.A. Architectural Heritage of Temur. (In Russian and French). Toshkent: Komus, 1996. 128 p.; Akhmedov B., Mukminova R., Pugachenkova G. Amir Temur. Toshkent: Universitet, 1999. 263 p.

<sup>29</sup> The History of Uzbekistan. The Era of Amir Temur and the Temurids. 2017. 535 p.

cio-economic and cultural development. Updated were numerous topics, such as the management system, military affairs, the ethnic composition of the population, the dynasties' rise to power, the introduction of an independent system of government, the legitimization of power, the relationships between sedentary and nomadic populations, or the symbiosis of cultures<sup>30</sup>. The monograph "The Kokand Khanate: Power, Politics, Religion" is the first one to examine the role of the Islamic religion and attempt to reconstruct the socio-political and spiritual life of the Kokand Khanate<sup>31</sup>.

A remarkable phenomenon in historiography is the integrating monograph "The History of Uzbekistan in the 16<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries." The paper analyzes civilizational development, identifying objective and subjective causes of crises in the context of the world history<sup>32</sup>. It refutes the claims about the exceptionally regressive state and intense stagnation of the Uzbek khanates and their isolation from the outside world. This is supported by foreign researchers<sup>33</sup>. Underresearched are institutions of statehood, internal conflicts and internecine wars, economics, social structure, and similar topics.

<sup>30</sup> Sultonova G.N. XVI asr ikinchi yarida Buxoro xonligining Qozoq va Ёркент хонликлари билан алоқалари [Relations of the Bukhara Khanate with the Kazakh and Yarkend Khanates in the second half of the 16th century]: diss. thesis. Toshkent, 2005. 152 p.; Muqimov Z. Шайбонийлар давлати ва ҳуқуқи [Sheibanids' State and Law]. Toshkent: Adolat, 2007. 164 p.; Vakhidov S.H. The Development of Historiography in the Kokand Khanate in the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> Century: diss. abstract. Tashkent, 1998; Masalieva O. The History of the Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand Khanates in the Anglo-American Historiography of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: diss. abstract. Tashkent, 1999. 31 p.

<sup>31</sup> Babadzhanov B. Kokand Khanate: Power, Politics, Religion. Tokyo-Tashkent, 2010. 744 p.

<sup>32</sup> The history of Uzbekistan. 16<sup>th</sup> – the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Tashkent: Fan, 2012. 776 p.

<sup>33</sup> See Bregel Yuri. The Role of Central Asia in the History of the Muslim East. Institute of Asian and African Affairs. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Occasional Paper № 20. New York, 1980; Schwarz Florian. Ohne Scheich kein Reich – Scheibaniden und Naqsbendis in der Darstellung von Mahmud ibn Wali // Annäherung an das Fremde: Akten des 26. Deutschen Orientalistentages. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998, pp.259-267; Anke Von Kügelgen. Legitimization of the Central Asian Mangit Dynasty in the Writings of Their Historians (18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries). Almaty, 2004. p.20; Levi Scott. India, Russia and the Eighteenth-Century Transformation of Central Asian Caravan Trade.

Admittedly, the best studied period in the history of Uzbekistan is the 19<sup>th</sup> century. During the years of independence, it has received an objective assessment, which is radically different from the perspective of Soviet historiography. Papers by both Uzbek and Russian historians, ranging from dissertations to monographs, dealt with the conquest of the Central Asian khanates by the Russian Empire and its causes, including the geopolitical ones; the imperial administration and judicial systems; the tsarist socio-economic and national policies in Turkestan; the dependency experienced by the Emirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Khiva<sup>34</sup>.

A number of aspects of the region's history, including its transformation into a mere source of raw materials for the metropolis, the formation of banking capital, industry, tax policy, and trade relations, the establishment of the cotton mo-

<sup>34</sup> Alymbaev ZH. B. Historiography of the Conquest of Turkestan by Russia in the 19<sup>th</sup> – Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries: diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2001. 31 p.; Urakov D.J. Official Reports of the Russian Administration in Turkestan as a Historical Source (Late 19<sup>th</sup> – Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century): diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2005. 26 p.; Pugovkina O.G. The History of Turkestan in Russian Historiography: diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2006. 30 c.; G'afforov SH. Тарих ва тақдир: Россия империясидан Туркистонга кўчирилганлар (XIX асрнинг иккинчи ярми – XX аср бошлари) [History and fate: migrants from the Russian Empire to Turkestan (the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century)]. Toshkent: Fan, 2006. 224 p.; Makhkamova N. The Role of Islam in the Life of Central Asian Society (the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century.) Tashkent: Aloqachi, 2007. 48 p.; Tillaboev S. Туркистон ўлкасининг маъмурий бошқарув тизимида маҳаллий аҳоли вакилларининг иштироки [Participation of the local population representatives in the administrative system of the Turkestan region]. Toshkent: Fan, 2008. 104 p.; Shadmanova S. The Coverage of the Socio-Economic and Cultural Situation in Turkestan by the Periodical Press (1870 – 1917): diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2011. 61 p.; Brusina O.I. Slavs in Central Asia. Ethnic and Social Processes: Late 19<sup>th</sup> – Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, 2001; Arapov D.Y. The System of State Regulation of Islam in the Russian Empire (the Last Third of the 18<sup>th</sup> – Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century). Moscow, 2004. 287 p.; Central Asia as Part of the Russian Empire. The Outskirts of the Russian Empire. Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2008. 464 p.; Glushchenko E.A. Russia in Central Asia: Conquests and Transformations. Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf, 2010. 573 p.; Vasiliev D.V. The Burden of Empire. Administrative Policy of Russia in Central Asia. The Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Moscow: Politicheskaya ehntsiklopediya, 2018. 638 p.

nopoly and waqf system, received detailed coverage<sup>35</sup>.

With regard to the socio-cultural areas, researchers addressed urban culture, the social composition of the population, as well as the history of medicine and intellectual heritage. Special attention was given to the Turkestan uprisings of 1868 and 1916<sup>36</sup>.

The history of the conquest of the region by Russia and its incorporation into the empire's eco-

nomic system remain poorly understood. A number of studies ignore the positive effect of those on the national economy of Turkestan, focusing on political conflicts. Related materials from the archives of Russia, which could clarify the relationship between the Turkestan General Government and the central authorities, are virtually beyond the scope of research.

During the years of independence, the largest number of scientific publications addressed the history of the cultural movement of "progressives" of Turkestan, Bukhara and Khiva (Jadidism) and its role in driving society towards renewal, progress and building a new type of national statehood<sup>37</sup>.

The vision of the Soviet period of Uzbekistan's history has also been radically transformed. Historians have focused on the 1920s and 1930s with their controversial economic and cultural developments. The processes associated with the organization of the first sovereign republic of Turkiston Mukhtoriyati by the national progressives and its abolition by the Bolsheviks have received extensive coverage<sup>38</sup>. Much attention is

<sup>35</sup> Mamazaitova Yu.K. Agriculture of Uzbekistan in the National Historical Literature (From Conquest to Independence): diss. abstract. Tashkent, 1995; Tashmatov SH.H. Ўзбекистонда банк тизимининг шаклланиши ва ривожланиши тарихи [History of the formation and development of the banking system in Uzbekistan]: diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2006. 314 p.; Safarov T.T. XIX asrning ikinchi yarmi – XX asr boshlarida Ўрта Осиё савдо йўлари [Central Asian trade routes in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century]: diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2009. 181 p.; Kurakhmedov A. XIX asr ikinchi yarmi – XX asr boshlarida Samarqandning iqtisodiy va madaniy ҳаёти [The economic and cultural life of Samarkand in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries]. Tashkent: Fan, 2009. 117 p.; Shadmanova S. The Coverage of the Socio-Economic and Cultural Situation in Turkestan by the Periodical Press (1870 – 1917): diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2011. 61 p.; Fursov K.A. Imperial Economic Policy in Russian Turkestan and British India: Similarities and Differences // Vostok (Oriens). 2010. № 6. pp. 28-44; Tukhtabekov K.A. Чор Россиясининг Биринчи жаҳон уруши йилларида Туркистон ўлкасида ўтказган иқтисодий сиёсатининг мустамлакачилик моҳияти [The colonial nature of tsarist Russia's economic policy in the Turkestan region during the First World War] diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2011. 156p.; Tayronov Y.R. Socio-Political Activity of Turkestani Entrepreneurs in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century: diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2011. 27 p.; Ташкент Potapova N.Y. The History of Entrepreneurship in Turkestan (the Second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries). Tashkent, 2011; Essays on the History of the Formation and Development of Entrepreneurship in Uzbekistan. Tashkent, 2011. 145 p.; Zhumaev U. KH. Россия империясининг Туркистондаги солиқ сиёсатининг шаклланиши: асосий босқичлари ва тараққиёти [Formation of the tax policy of the Russian Empire in Turkestan: main stages of development]: diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2012. 165 p.; Abdurasulov KH. Bazaars in Turkestani Cities: Attempts to Reform and Regulate the Activities of Bazaars by the Colonial Authorities (the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century) / O'zbekiston tarixi. 2015. No 4. pp. 21-28.

<sup>36</sup> Ziyaeva D.KH., The National Liberation movement in Turkestan in the historiography of the 20th century (problems of studying the uprising of 1916 and the Istiklolchilik movement of 1918 – 1924): diss. abstract. Tashkent, 1999. 61 p.; Zieeva D. Туркистон миллий озодлик ҳаракати (Мустабид тузумга қарши 1916 йил ва 1918-1924 йиллардаги халқ курашлари тарихшунослиги) [Turkestani National Liberation Movement (historiography of the people's struggle against the totalitarian regime of 1916 and 1918-1924)]. Tashkent, Ғафур Ғулом номидаги Адабиёт ва санъат нашриёти, 2000. 174 p., and other sources.

<sup>37</sup> Agzamkhodzhaev S.S. The history of turkestan autonomy (Turkiston Mukhtoriyati). Tashkent, Tashkent islom universiteti, 2006. 268 p.; Alimova D.A. Religious tolerance and humanistic ideas of the progressive national intelligentsia of Turkestan // O'zbekistonning islom tsivilizatsiyasi rivozhiga qo'shgan khissasi. Ta'lim, fan va madaniyat bo'liicha islom tashkiloti – ISESCO tomonidan Tashkent shaxrining 2007 iildagi Islom madaniyati poitakhti deb eh'lon qilinishiga bagishlangan xalqaro konferentsiyaga io'nalgan ma'ruzalar va tabriklar tezislari to'plami. Tashkent-Samarkand, 2007. pp. 361-363; Kenzhaev D.M. Islamic Values in the Views of the Jadids and Their Concept of a Spiritual Reform of Society: diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2007. 30 p.; Tursunov R.N. Views of National Progressives on Socio-Economic Processes in Turkestan at the Beginning of the 20th Century: diss. abstract. Tashkent, 2008. 29 p.; Mad'yarova S. Мухтор Бакир ва унинг ижтимоий сиёсий қарашлари [Mukhtar Bakir and his socio-political views] // Ozbekiston tarixi. 2009. No 2. pp. 54-68; Alimova D.A. History as a Story and a Branch of Knowledge. Vol. 2. The Phenomenon of Jadidism. Tashkent, 2009. 170 p.; XIX asr oхири XX asr бoshларida Бухородаги сиёсий ҳаракатлар ва курашлар [Political movements and struggles in Bukhara in the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries]. Bukhoro, 2009. 116 p.; The History of Socio-Cultural Reformation in the Caucasus and Central Asia (19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century). Samarkand: International Institute for Central Asian Studies, 2012. 335 p.

<sup>38</sup> Azamkhodzhaev S. Туркистон мухторияти [Turkestan Autonomy]. Tashkent: Fan, 1996. 60 p.; Туркистон мустақиллиги ва бирлиги учун кураш саҳифаларидан [About the struggle for Turkistan's independence and unity]. Tashkent: Fan, 1996. 82 p.; Azamkhodzhaev S.S. The History of Turkestan

paid to the military opposition to the Soviet government and the Red Army, the so-called Basmachi Movement. Notably, papers on the latter tend to unfairly glorify its leaders, ignoring the criminal groups within it, internal strife, internecine struggle over power, and the lack of agreement among the population as to their attitudes towards the movement<sup>39</sup>.

The establishment of the Uzbek SSR and Soviet government policies on the national economy are fairly well-studied. Nevertheless, there are still not enough papers that analyze the processes of the national-territorial demarcation of Central Asia, as well as the national policy of the Bolsheviks.

The Stalinist repressions in Uzbekistan, the liquidation of "former" ones, including representatives of national elites, the mass operations of the NKVD, the aftermath of the collectivization for the region's agriculture, particularly deportations of the "dispossessed" from Uzbekistan, and the introduction of Soviet ideology are extensively studied. There have been a number of publications on the history of Uzbekistan during the Soviet period. Among them, there is "The History of Uzbekistan. Volume II" and several monographs related to the early period of Soviet history<sup>40</sup>.

Quite thoroughly explored are cultural matters, ethnic and interethnic processes, intellectual history, in particular, the role of the Academy of Sciences, the intelligentsia of Uzbekistan, the politi-

cal trials of the 1920s and 1950s, and environmental issues<sup>41</sup>. On the other hand, economic de-

<sup>41</sup> Mavkulov A. Ҳозирги босқичда Ўзбекистон маданияти: ҳолати, муаммолар. Тараққиёт йўналишлари (70-йил ўрталари – 90-йиллар [The culture of Uzbekistan at the present stage: the situation and problems. Development directions (mid-70s – 90s)]: diss. thesis. Toshkent, 1993. 40 p.; Ergasheva YU. Culture of Uzbekistan: the Current Situation, Trends and Problems of Development. Tashkent, 1997; Khasanov B. The National Intelligentsia of Uzbekistan and the Historical Processes of 1917 – Early 50s. Tashkent, 2000. 202 p.; Мустақил Ўзбекистон тараққиётининг ғоявий асослари [The ideological foundations of the development of independent Uzbekistan]. Toshkent: Sharq, 2001. 192 p.; Тарих шоҳидлиги ва сабоқлари: чоризм ва совет мустамлакачилиги даврида Ўзбекистон миллий бойликларининг ўзлаштирилиши [Historical evidence available and lessons learnt: the development of Uzbekistan's national wealth during tsarist and Soviet colonialism]. Toshkent: Sharq, 2001. 464 p.; Ўзбекистон этнологияси: янгича қарашлар ва ёндашувлар [Ethnology of Uzbekistan: new perspectives and approaches] / O'z FA akademigi Karim Shonievov tavalludining 80 iilligiga barishlangan khalkaro ilmiy anzhuman materiallari. Toshkent, 2004. 254 p.; Donierov A. Ethnographic Research in Uzbekistan in the 20th Century. Tashkent: Yangi asr avlodi, 2005. 332 p.; Ashirov A. Ўзбек халқининг қадимий эътиқод ва маросимлари [Ancient beliefs and rituals of the Uzbek people]. Toshkent: Alisher Navoi nomidagi O'zbekiston Millii kutubkhona, 2007. 275 p.; Ethnocultural Processes in a Modern Multiethnic City. Tashkent, 2011. 168 p.; XX асрда Ўзбекистонда маданий ҳаёт тарихидан очерклар: анъаналар, инновациялар ва муаммолар [Essays on the history of cultural life in Uzbekistan in the 20th century: traditions, innovations, and problems]. Toshkent, 2010; Ўзбекистон ҳудудида анъанавий этнослараро жараёнлар (XIX аср охири – XX аср бошлари) [Traditional interethnic processes in Uzbekistan (late 19th – early 20th centuries)]. Toshkent: Yangi nashr, 2011. 152 p.; Ўрта Осиё халқларининг этник тарихи ва минтақада юз берган демографик жараёнларнинг манбаларда экс этиши (XVI – XIX аср биринчи ярми) [The ethnic history of the peoples of Central Asia and the reflection of demographic processes in the region in historical sources (16<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century)]. Toshkent: Yangi nashr, 2011. 120 p.; Alimova D.A. A Brief History of Public Education in Uzbekistan (from the End of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present Day). Tashkent, 2012. 60 p.; The History and Historians of Uzbekistan in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Tashkent: NAVRO'Z, 2014; Ўзбекистонда таълимнинг ривожланиш тарихи ва тарихшунослиги. Очерклар. I-китоб [Essays on the history and historiography of the development of education in Uzbekistan. Book I]. Toshkent: Tafakkur qanoti, 2016; Ўзбекистонда таълимнинг ривожланиш тарихи ва тарихшунослиги. Очерклар. II-китоб [Essays on the history and historiography of the development of education in Uzbekistan. Book II]. Toshkent, Tafakkur qanoti, 2017; Almeev R. Museums of Uzbekistan and Socio-Cultural Prospects of Their Development. Tashkent: ma Izdatel'stvo Imeni Gafura Gulyama, 2007. 224 p.; Khaitov SH. Ўзбек муҳожирлиги тарихи (1917-1991 йиллар) [The history of Uzbek emigration (1917-1991)]. Toshkent: Aby matbyot-konsalt, 2008. 208 p.; Makhkamova N. The Social structure of society in Uzbekistan: Traditions and Transformations (Late 19<sup>th</sup> centu-

Autonomy (Turkiston Mukhtoriyati). Tashkent: Toshkent Islom Universiteti, 2006. 268 p.

<sup>39</sup> Razhabov K. Мустақил Туркистон фикри учун мужодалалар (1917-1935 йиллар) [The struggle for the idea of independent Turkestan (1917-1935)]. Toshkent: O'zbekiston, 2000. 32 p.; Razhabov K. The Armed Movement against the Soviet regime in the Turkestan Region (1918-24): diss. thesis. Tashkent, 2005. 64 p.; Razhabov K. Фарғона водийсида истиқлолчилик ҳаракати: моҳияти ва асосий ривожланиш босқичлари (1918-1924 йиллар) [The independence movement in the Ferghana Valley: the nature and main stages of development (1918-1924)]. Toshkent: Yangi nashr, 2015. 240 p.

<sup>40</sup> Ўзбекистоннинг янги тарихи. 2-китоб. Ўзбекистон совет мустамлакачилиги даврида [A new history of Uzbekistan. Book 2. Uzbekistan during the period of Soviet colonization]. Toshkent: Sharq, 2000. 688 p.; Ташкент Turkistan at the Beginning of the 20th Century: on the Origins of National Independence. Tashkent: Sharq, 2000. 672 p.; Ўзбекистон тарихи (191-1991 йиллари). Т.1. Т. 2 Ташкент: [History of Uzbekistan (191-1991). Vol.1. Vol. 2.]. Tashkent: O'zbekiston, 2019.

velopment of Uzbekistan in the 1970s and 1980s, the causes of stagnation, the effects of the cotton mono-economy, the political crisis of the late 1980s, and perestroika are at the initial stage of research.

It is worth noting that until recently, scholars predominantly depicted the Soviet period in the history of Uzbekistan in a bad light. There was an extensive body of facts collected; however, the academic approach to it was not balanced enough. The tendency of objective assessment of both negative and positive processes that took place in Uzbekistan during the Soviet time is more typical of the latest research.

Over the past two decades, intensive research has also been conducted in ethnology. Ethnogenesis and ethnic history of Uzbeks became one of the main themes of historiography. The beginning of studies in this field was laid by the paper "Uzbek khalkining shakllanish zharaeni"<sup>42</sup>. The collective historical and ethnological monograph "Uzbeks", as well as a monograph on ethnogenesis and ethnic history<sup>43</sup>, published in both Uzbek and Russian, are arguably major achievements<sup>44</sup>. Along

with this, research was conducted on historical and present-day ethnography of Uzbeks, as well as diasporology and interethnic relations.

Religious beliefs and material culture of the Uzbeks were successfully studied based on the novel methods of processing field material<sup>45</sup>. The first steps have been taken in mastering interdisciplinary research<sup>46</sup>.

Nevertheless, modern Uzbek ethnology has certain disadvantages. A rather serious one is the limitedness of the subject matter. Most research deals with the traditional way of life, the material and spiritual culture of Uzbeks, their family rituals, beliefs, and ethnic household traditions. A number of studies address the other peoples inhabiting Uzbekistan, applying an ethnographic perspective to those. However, there is virtually no research on the theory and methodology of ethnology. Arguably, ethnology as such has not yet entered a period of full-fledged development. There is little interdisciplinary research; the problems of national groups, Uzbek anthropology, underground culture, and ethnic stereotypes need systematic study. Among the areas to be tackled urgently are the Uzbek ritual economy and identity research.

Another major problem of modern Uzbek historiography is the narrowness and limited territorial scope of research. When addressing a certain topic, a young researcher usually confines it not only to a small chronological frame, but also to a certain area of Uzbekistan, one or two regions, or several cities. Consequently, there is no room for comparative analysis. Meanwhile, over the past decades, foreign historiography has been replen-

ry – 1930s). Tashkent: Aloqachi, 2009. 236 p.; XX asrda Ўзбекистонда маданий ҳаёт тарихидан очерклар: анъаналар, инновациялар ва муаммолар [Essays on the History of Cultural Life in Uzbekistan in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Traditions, Innovations, and Problems]. Tashkent, 2010. 110 p.; Davletov S. Ўзбекистондаги экологик вазият ва унинг ижтимоий муаммолари (XX асрнинг иккинчи ярми – XXI аср боши) [The environmental situation in Uzbekistan and its social problems (the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> – early 21<sup>st</sup> century)]. Tashkent: Fan, 2012. 288 p.; The Academy of Sciences in the Intellectual History of Uzbekistan. Tashkent: Yangi nashr, 2012. 224 p.; Historical Knowledge in the Context of Intellectual Development of Central Asia. Tashkent, 2014. 367 p.; Mustafaeva N. XX asrda Ўзбекистонда маданият ва тафаккур. Тарихшунослик таҳлили [Culture and thought in Uzbekistan in the 20th century. Historiographical analysis]. Tashkent: Navro'z, 2014. 334 p.; Ўзбекистонда таълимнинг ривожланиш тарихи ва тарихшунослиги [History and historiography of the development of education in Uzbekistan]. Tashkent: Tafakkur qanoti, 2015. 380 p.; Ziemukhammedov B. Экология: тарих, назария ва ҳозирги замон [Ecology: history, theory and modernity]. Tashkent: Mekhnat, 1990. 79 p.; Mamashakirov S. Urbanized Environment or Environmentalized Urbanization. Tashkent: Fan, 1991. 157p.

<sup>42</sup> Shoniezov K Ўзбек халқининг шаклланиш жараёни [The process of formation of the Uzbek people]. Tashkent: Sharq, 2001. 464 p.

<sup>43</sup> The Uzbek People. Moscow: Nauka, 2011. 688 p.; Asqarov A. Ўзбек халқининг келиб чиқиш тарихи [The Origin of the Uzbek People]. Tashkent: O'zbekiston, 2015. 680 p.

<sup>44</sup> Askarov A. The Origin of the Uzbek People. Tashkent, 2018.

<sup>45</sup> Ashirov A. "Авесто"дан мерос маросимлар [Rituals inherited from the Avesta]. Tashkent: Abdulla Qodiriy nomidagi khalq merosi nashrieti, 2001. 32 б.; Arifkhanova Z., Zununova G. The ritual life of Uzbeks in Tashkent under independence. Tashkent, 2006. 92 p.; Ashirov A. Ўзбек халқининг қадимий эътиқод ва маросимлари [Ancient beliefs and rituals of the Uzbek people]. Alisher Navoiy nomidagi O'zbekiston Milliy kutubkhonasi, 2007. 275 p.; Zununova G. The Material Culture of Uzbeks in Tashkent: the Transformation of Traditions. Tashkent: Extremum Press, 2013. 300 p.

<sup>46</sup> Ethnocultural Processes in a Modern Multiethnic city. Tashkent, 2011. 168 p.; Ўзбекистон ҳудудида анъанавий этнослараро жараёнлар (XIX аср охири – XX аср бошлари) [Traditional cross-ethnic processes in Uzbekistan (late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries)]. Tashkent: Yangi Nashr, 2011. 152 p.; Миндон ва миндонликлар [Mindon and Its Inhabitants]. Tashkent: Yangi Nashr, 2015. 252 p.

ished with a large number of publications on the history of Central Asia, including Uzbekistan<sup>47</sup>.

## Conclusion

As our historiographical analysis reveals, the historical science of modern Uzbekistan, along with notable achievements recognized in international historical science, there are a number of unresolved issues. In the first place, this refers to ancient history, which mainly relies on archaeological data. Despite major advances in artifact interpretation, Uzbek archaeologists still tend to follow theoretical approaches implying attribution of archaeological cultures to certain ethnocultural groups of the ancient era. To identify archaeological cultures, the method of comparative typology of artifacts is used; as a result, research is mostly limited to description followed by typology of

finds. Thus, Uzbek archaeology is dominated by “unimaginative study of material objects”, where description of artifacts often replaces insights into the history of social life and the adaptation of man and society to the ever-changing natural, socio-economic, and cultural environment. Currently, it is archaeologists who play the role of experts on ancient history. Therefore, it is highly essential that their work does not end with archaeological outcomes, but contributes to constructing a picture of historical events.

A serious shortcoming of the historical science of Uzbekistan is the immaturity of social history, manifested in prioritizing political processes over social history. This can be attributed to the Soviet historiographical tradition, where a scholar studying social history risked being accused of deviation from the accepted ideological patterns.

Other weaknesses are the insufficient use of data from related fields and the associated lack of transdisciplinarity. There is very little comparative research, let alone any sound analysis of the region's economic history. The problems of population and historical demography are understudied. There are no papers on historical geography, the history of military science, fiscal policies, or law as an integral part of statehood. The history of Uzbekistan is not personalized; there are few biographical studies. It is still crucial to create comprehensive generalizing papers on the political, social, and cultural history of the peoples of Central Asia, emphasizing not only the dynamism and variability of the historical processes, but also their regional characteristics, as well as the reasons for social progress or regress. Of major importance is fundamental research that would recreate a large-scale picture of the cultural past.

As for the recent history of Uzbekistan, one of the unresolved issues herein is a historical explanation of religious terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, and other destructive processes of modern reality. The problems of transition from one political system to another need to be thoroughly studied drawing on sociological data.

The development of historiography proper is an urgent task. Obviously, historiographic research requires a liberal mindset, freedom from taboos around any topics or names, extensive general knowledge, profound expertise in the related literature coupled with critical analysis of its

<sup>47</sup> Brower, Daniel. *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002; Crews, Robert, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006; A. Erkinov. “The Andijan Uprising of 1998 and its Leader Dukchi-Ishan Described by Contemporary Poets / TIAS Central Eurasian Research Series. – Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2009. – No 3 (Foreword: B. Babadjanov); Praying For and Against the Tsar: Prayers and Sermons in Russian Dominated Khiva and Tsarist Turkestan, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004 (=ANOR 16); Jane Burbank. ‘Empire without Imperialism? Ambiguities of Colonization in Tsarist Russia’, *AI*, 2 (June 2003) *Beyond the Borders: Political and Economic Migrations, Internal and External Exile*; Kappeler, A. *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*. London: Longmans, 2001; Komatsu H. ‘Dar al-Islam under Russian Rule as Understood by Turkestan Muslim Intellectuals’ // Tomohiko Uyama (ed.), *Empire, Islam, and Politics in Central Eurasia* (Slavic Research Centre, Hokkaido University, 2007), p. 3–21; Dudoignon, Stephane (eds.), *Islam and Politics in Russia and Central Asia (Early Eighteenth to Late Twentieth Centuries)*. London: Kegan Paul, 2001; Khalid A. *Culture and Power in Colonial Turkestan* // *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 17/18, 2009. *Le Turkestan russe: une colonie comme les autres?* p. 413–447; Marshall A. *The Russian General Staff and Asia, 1800–1917*. London: Routledge, 2006; Morrison A. *Russian Rule in Samarkand, 1868–1910: A Comparison with British India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; Morrison A. 2012. *Sufism, Panislamism, and Information Panic*. Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin and the aftermath of the Andijan Uprising. *Past & Present* 214. P. 255–304; Sahadeo J.F. ‘Epidemic and Empire: Ethnicity, Class and Civilisation in the 1892 Tashkent Cholera Riot’, *Slavic Review*, 64: 1 (Spring 2005), pp. 117–39; Sahadeo J.F. *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent 1865–1923*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington. 2007. 316 p.; Keller Sh. *To Moscow, not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign against Islam in Central Asia. 1917–1941*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001; Everett-Heath, Tom (ed.), *Central Asia. Aspects of Transition*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

strengths and weaknesses, the ability to consider and juxtapose various views and concepts, and insightful thinking, enabling the most accurate coverage of the problem under study. Historians of Uzbekistan should make full use of all opportunities for fostering this branch of historical science.

Besides, there are structural problems. The integration between historical science and historical education is weak, which leads to a considerable mismatch between the quality of studies done in universities and that in research institutions. Sadly, libraries are not adequately provided with the latest academic literature, which results in students developing interest in sources conveying a distorted view of history.

As we can see, modernizing historical science requires a systematic approach to a wide scope of tasks. These include the use of international experience and the integration of historical science of Uzbekistan into the global space through fostering international contacts, conducting research in collaboration with foreign partners, and establishing an academic exchange framework. Unfortunately, most Uzbek scholars do not strive to consider history in an international context, limiting their research to internal problems, although the latter go far beyond the region. International conferences and symposiums are rather rare; consequently, foreign colleagues are unaware of the latest devel-

opments in the historical science of Central Asia. They are often unfamiliar with the historical literature published in this region, the value of which is in the underlying detailed analysis of local sources. The above applies even to the neighboring countries. In recent decades, there have been no major conferences which would bring together historians of the region. Nor have any joint projects been done.

Our country's historical thought should not exist in isolation. Therefore, we need scholars who would be capable of a dialogue with the outside world without a language barrier. To achieve this, history departments should offer lecture courses in foreign languages and also introduce English-taught programs. The improvement of historical informatics, the system of accessing products of foreign research centers studying the history of Uzbekistan, including that through libraries, would also contribute to the development of historical knowledge.

Obviously, the history of Uzbekistan is part of the global historical process that has developed in close cooperation with other Eurasian civilizations. Therefore, advancement of historical science in Uzbekistan would require combined effort in its further study. According to the famous maxim by Marc Bloch, it is only half the truth that a sole expert can uncover.

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УДК 94(575)"17/19":327(470):633.51

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## COTTON AS A FACTOR OF RUSSIAN GEOPOLITICS IN CENTRAL ASIA (18TH-20TH CENTURIES)

**Abstract.** This article provides a critical analysis of cotton as a factor in Russian geopolitics in Central Asia during the imperial and Soviet periods. The author challenges the established thesis in Soviet historiography that the main reason for Russia's expansion into the region in the 19th century was economic interests, primarily the Russian textile industry's need for its own cotton raw material. Based on an analysis of documents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the War Department of the Russian Empire in the mid-19th century, including correspondence with the Orenburg Governorate-General, the article demonstrates that the primary motives for expanding into Central Asia in the 1860s were military-strategic and geopolitical in nature. These included ensuring border security, ending raids, displacing British influence, and establishing control over the unstable steppe zone. Economic interests related to cotton were secondary during this period and were expressed primarily in merchant complaints about the quality of raw materials and trade barriers, which they attempted to resolve through diplomatic and economic measures rather than military force. Only after the establishment of the Turkestan Governorate-General did the region's systematic transformation into the empire's cotton base begin. It took about 30 years (until 1895) for the region to become economically viable thanks to the large-scale introduction of American cotton varieties. By the early 20th century, Central Asia supplied approximately half of Russia's cotton needs.

**Key words:** cotton, Central Asia, Russian Empire, Turkestan Governorate-General, geopolitics, annexation, economic motives, military-strategic interests.

One of the long-standing controversial issues in Russian historiography concerns the motives and nature of the annexation of new territories to the Russian state. In this work, the author examines a relatively short period in the history of the Russian Empire—the period of active annexation of Central Asia over a period of thirty-one years (1864–1895), as well as the period of the USSR (1922–1991) in the context of the geopolitical role played by such an important strategic raw material as cotton.

It is appropriate to analyze this problem within the context of landscape-geographic factors. When discussing geopolitical methodology, it is important to note that landscape-geographic factors have always played a significant, and sometimes decisive, role in Russia's advance into Central Asia. However, with rare exceptions, this factor is not taken into account when analyzing historical events. Thus, the need to ensure civil peace and control the security of routes to Central Asia in the 18th and early 19th centuries led Russia to shift from a policy of indirect control over the Kyrghyz-Kaisak zhuzes through a system of elected sul-

tans and flying detachments to the establishment of fortresses and strongholds in the steppe. These were connected into "lines" and "distances" to draw restive political elements to the country's rear and to deny access to those political forces beyond Russia's control—the Khivans, Kokandis, and British agents. This concept became dominant in Russian Central Asian policy in 1842–1853 and was personified in the Orenburg direction by General Vladimir Obruchev, who replaced Adjutant General Vasyli Perovsky as Orenburg Governor-General in 1842. The year 1864 marked a new stage in Russian geopolitics in Central Asia. From this point on, a short but intense and extensive military campaign began, culminating in the annexation of more than 4,000 square kilometers of Central Asian territory to Russia and the establishment of the Turkestan Governorate-General. This event marks the beginning of a qualitatively new period in relations between Russia and the peoples of Central Asia.

However, the historiography of the Soviet period, following the Marxist-Leninist concept of the development of productive forces and production

relations, stubbornly insisted on the priority of economic reasons for the annexation of Central Asia to Russia. The basis for this assertion was the fact that the country's light industry accelerated its development in the first half of the 19th century, leading to rapid capital accumulation. The methodological confirmation was Lenin's concept of the development of capitalism in depth and breadth, i.e. the spread of its dominance to new territories, "capitalism cannot exist and develop without the constant expansion of its sphere of dominance, without the colonization of new countries," he noted. "Manufacturers need a market immediately, and if the backwardness of other aspects of the national economy narrows the market in the old region, they will seek a market elsewhere or in other countries."<sup>1</sup> Even rivalry with England in the region was considered only in the context of trade competition. The main "stumbling block" with England in the region, according to Soviet researchers, was the textile trade<sup>2</sup>.

However, the main documents of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and War Ministry from the mid-1850s to 1860s regarding the large-scale advance into Central Asia make no mention of the occupation of oasis territories to ensure "cotton independence" for the domestic textile industry<sup>3</sup>. The same statement applies to operational documents from the 1864–1868 advance of Russian troops to annex the region's main oases (Chimkent, Tashkent, Middle, and Lower Zeravshan) and later, during the annexation of the central and eastern Fergana Valley<sup>4</sup>.

Among the economic reasons for possessing a particular territory, there are only references to its role in supplying the troops with food: "The environs of Chimkent, due to their fertility and the development of agricultural cultivation, are as important for the right flank of the front line as the Alatau district is for its left end. These are two granaries, equally necessary for feeding the garrisons of the newly ac-

quired region, and until Chimkent is in our hands, we cannot count on the security of communications between Aulieata and Turkestan"<sup>5</sup>.

What was the Foreign Ministry's position on the possession of the cotton-growing regions of Central Asia? The reaction of the Ministry's Asian Department to the military's plans to establish a new borderline was unambiguous and in line with Russia's overall policy, as defined by this ministry. "If we expand our borders solely because we wish to annex every warlike nomadic tribe capable of raiding, then we are unlikely to ever be able to halt our southward advance. It seems that it would be more advantageous to either protect the border with a fortified line or punish predators with mobile columns <...>. It can hardly be in the government's interests to control the fate of all of Central Asia, even reaching as far as Bukhara. Such plans have not yet entered, and should hardly enter, into our political program, because they would in no way be justified by the demands of our trade or by general political considerations, and meanwhile would involve us in inevitable difficulties."<sup>6</sup> Thus, when considering the geopolitical motives of Russia's military campaigns of 1865–1867 in Central Asia, one cannot help but wonder about the validity of Soviet historiography's consistent references to economic considerations as the main reasons for the annexation of the region.

The motives of both various Russian government structures and individual officials representing commerce are most fully expressed in documents that are sometimes little noticed and often unfairly forgotten by historians. This was typically due to the ideological inconsistency of such documents with the official line of Soviet historical scholarship, which was based on the primacy of materialism. For example, Soviet-era historiography considers the Russian textile industry's need for raw cotton as the primary motive for the annexation of Central Asia. However, it is confirmed only by the temporary difficulties experienced by the Ivanovo, Yaroslavl, and Narva factories because of the lack of high-quality American fine-staple cotton due to the American Civil War of 1861–1865.

<sup>1</sup> Lenin, V.I. Development of Capitalism in Russia. The Process of Formation of the Internal Market for Large-Scale Industry // Lenin V.I. Works. Vol. 3. 4th ed. Moscow, 1946, pp. 520–522.

<sup>2</sup> Khalfin, N.A. Russia's Policy in Central Asia (1847–1868). Moscow, 1968, pp. 28–31.

<sup>3</sup> Serebryannikov, A.G. Collection of materials for the history of the conquest of the Turkestan region. 1864. Part 1. Vol. 17. Tashkent, 1914, pp. 201–202.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, pp. 117, 257.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> Serebryannikov, A.G. Collection of materials for the history of the conquest of the Turkestan region. 1865. Part 2. Vol. 20. Tashkent, 1914, p. 7.

This argument do not stand up to serious criticism, firstly because American cotton was successfully replaced by equivalent cotton purchased in Egypt and British India. Secondly, the industrial circles of post-reform Russia lacked sufficient influence over the ruling elite, comprised of the nobility, to provoke large-scale, protracted military action in their interests. Even contemporaries – researchers of Russia's economic development, also denied the influence of the American Civil War as a reason for the empire's expansion in Central Asia<sup>7</sup>.

Documents from the first half of the 19th century, the period of active annexation of Central Asia territories into Russia until 1864, which trace the interests of Russian industrialists, indicate only feeble attempts to normalize the cotton trade with Bukhara through purely economic means. Specifically, these included organizing a trading partnership, opening a permanent trade mission in the Bukhara Khanate, and reducing or eliminating duties on the transit of foreign textile goods. Rather illustrative document is the "Note on the Trip to Bukhara by Ivan Andreev Bykovsky, a Moscow 2nd Guild Merchant's Son, in 1861". Bykovsky reported that he "was subjected to the following unfavorable commercial practices on the part of local authorities": despite the 1858 interstate agreement reached by the embassy of Colonel N. Ignatiev, he was charged a 10% duty instead of the prescribed 5%. The Bukharan authorities took similar actions against three other Russian merchants. Bykovsky's attempts to resolve this issue with the Bukharan authorities were unsuccessful, and he filed a complaint with the Orenburg Governor-General. He proposed the following: "If the Bukharan merchants are constantly expanding the scope of their trade with Russia, then it is clear that they find profit in this but they create possible obstacles for the Russians, wishing to avoid their rivalry. In order to protect both the persons and the capital of Russian subjects who wish to conduct trade in Bukhara in the future, I dare to propose the following. Would Your Excellency be pleased to invite the Bukharan merchants and caravanbashis who have now arrived in Orenburg, to reprimand them for their behavior towards me and other Russians, and in the future to propose that they provide Russian mer-

chants with the same favorable reception that they themselves enjoy in Russia. Or otherwise, to expect that they, too, in Russia will be deprived of the rights and protection that they have constantly enjoyed until now."<sup>8</sup>

Several years later, a group of Russian merchants, including Bykovsky, again drew the attention of the Orenburg Governor-General Bezak to the difficulties in the trade of Central Asian cotton. This time, they mentioned the low quality of the raw materials, and the merchants requested assistance in acquiring raw materials locally in Bukhara. For this purpose, the Chairman of the Moscow branch of the Manufacturing and Commercial Councils, A. Khludov, sent his son, Mikhail Khludov<sup>9</sup>, to Bukhara. In his report, "Obstacles to Free Trade Encountered by Russian Merchants in Bukhara," dated July 3, 1864, Khludov pointed out a number of trade difficulties for Russian merchants: lack of choice of residence and storage location; limited freedom to manage one's capital and freedom of postal service; lack of freedom of movement within the city of Bukhara. He proposed measures to eliminate them, which included purely diplomatic steps<sup>10</sup>.

As stated in the "Note on Bukhara Cotton," submitted by Moscow textile manufacturers to the Orenburg Governor-General in 1863, "the poor quality of the goods, which is not due to a natural defect in the cotton but to failure to clean it of seeds and debris, as well as due to poor packaging, reduces its price by another 40 percent. At present, some cotton spinners desire to purchase the goods locally, in Bukhara, and deliver them to their factories in Russia properly processed. The benefits of this business are clear to everyone. At present, all that remains is to wish for this project, which is beneficial to Russia, to be carried out. It can succeed even more surely through mutual understanding between the cotton spinners <...> Time is of the essence: machines for cleaning and packaging the cotton must be ordered in advance, so that they can be in Orenburg no later than September, for onward shipment to Bukhara. If we miss another year, we will pay millions, as is the case today"<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> State Archives of the Orenburg Region (hereinafter referred to as GAOR). F. 6. Op. 10. D. 7736. L. 54-55.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. D. 7878, L. 5

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. L. 10-11.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. L. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Bezobrazov V.P. Essays on the Nizhny Novgorod Fair. Moscow, 1865, p. 34.

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs finally expressed the concerns of Russian textile workers. Specifically, the Ministry reported to the Orenburg Governor-General on April 8, 1864, that “the Minister of Finance reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a complaint from Moscow cotton mill owners that Bukharan traders, taking advantage of the shortage of cotton in Russia, had begun importing this product half-mixed with cotton seeds since 1862, and were also adding stones, old blankets, and various rubbish to the bales, so that the *pood*<sup>12</sup> of Bukharan cotton sometimes yielded barely 15 *funts*<sup>13</sup> of usable cotton. In order to develop our trade with Bukharan, State Secretary Reutern drew attention to the need to take measures to prevent these counterfeits, which would harm the Bukharan traders themselves, lowering the prices for their cotton and reducing the sales of their goods in Russia”<sup>14</sup>

It's important to note that this letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was sent to Orenburg at a time when fighting was already underway in the Turkestan region, i.e., the military campaign against the Kokand Khanate had begun, marking the beginning of the large-scale annexation of Central Asia. The document makes no mention of securing the interests of the Russian textile industry through military force, which would have been quite appropriate had hostilities begun.

Thus, the analysis of historical sources does not support the primacy of economic motives in the annexation of Central Asian territory to Russia. Apparently, the theory that these motives predominated dates back to the Soviet period – viewing history through the prism of the development of productive forces and production relations. However, in our opinion, while economic interests in gaining control of the region were certainly present, the primary motives for over thirty years remained geopolitical, expressed in the very specific geopolitical strategy of the Russian Imperial Army.

The incorporation of the Central Asian region into the Russian Empire required a certain amount of effort to develop the economies of these territo-

ries. However, the military and political significance of the new territorial acquisitions long dominated economic feasibility: only in 1895, thirty-one years after the start of the military campaign in the region, did Russian Turkestan cease to be economically unprofitable. This was largely due to the expansion and development of cotton cultivation<sup>15</sup>.

The quality of the cotton grown here was very low. The short, coarse fiber, low strength, and elasticity of the thread did not satisfy Russian entrepreneurs. As a result, starting in the 1860s, experimental plantations sown with American and Egyptian varieties were established in the region. Turkestan Governor-General K. Kaufman sent specialists to North America to study methods for growing high-quality cotton, which yielded positive results.

In this regard, in the 1870s, there were attempts to replace the short-fiber, low-yielding local varieties of cotton – *guzi* (*Gossypium herbaceum*), with varieties of the long-fiber South American maritime cotton, *Sea Island* (*Gossypium barbadense*)<sup>16</sup>. However, due to the late maturity of this cotton, attempts to replace it were unsuccessful and abandoned. In the 1880s, they resumed, but this time with early-maturing Mexican cotton varieties of the *Upland type* (*Gossypium hirsutum*). The results were successful.

By the late 1880s, most of the area in Turkestan was sown with American cotton seeds. Over the course of five years (from 1886 to 1890), the area under cotton increased almost fivefold. From 1888 to 1913, cotton crops increased in the Fergana region from 37,800 hectares to 304,000 hectares, in the Samarkand region – from 8,700 hectares to 34,500 hectares, and in the Syrdarya region – from 28,200 hectares to 68,300 hectares. The total area of cotton cultivation in Central Asia increased from 195 thousand hectares in 1902 to 385 thousand hectares in 1912. In 1913, the region produced 684.7 thousand tons (approximately 42.8 million *poods*) of raw cotton. Overall, the gross cotton harvest in Central Asia increased almost sevenfold between 1890 and 1914. The

<sup>12</sup> The pood – is an obsolete Russian unit of mass equal to 40 funt (Russian pound) (translator's comment).

<sup>13</sup> The Russian pound (funt) is an obsolete Russian unit of measurement of mass. It is equal to 409.51718 g (14.445293 oz) (translator's comment).

<sup>14</sup> GAOR. F. 6. Op. 10. D.7736. L. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Peterson, M. K. White Gold Fever: The Quest to Grow Cotton in Central Asia. Annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, IL, January 7, 2012. URL: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/267531279\\_White\\_Gold\\_Fever\\_The\\_Quest\\_to\\_Grow\\_Cotton\\_in\\_Central\\_Asia](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/267531279_White_Gold_Fever_The_Quest_to_Grow_Cotton_in_Central_Asia)

<sup>16</sup> Khotamov, N.B. The beginning of sowing of the American cotton variety in Central Asia and the role of Russian banks in its development // Historian (Muarrikh). 2023. №. 1 (33). P. 21-34.

bulk of this cotton was exported to Russia: 6 million *poods* (96 thousand tons) in 1902 and 14 million *poods* (224 thousand tons) in 1912. The total value of cotton exported before the war was estimated at 138 million rubles<sup>17</sup>.

Turkestan cotton already provided a third of Russian consumption in 1900, and 43% in 1910 (the annual consumption of cotton fiber by the Russian textile industry by 1914–1915 reached 24.64 million *poods* (394 thousand tons). In the 1910s, on average, half of Russia's cotton needs were met by supplies from abroad, the other half by domestic, mainly Central Asian, production. The 1914–1915 season proved to be quite favorable, meeting 70% of Russia's needs: 15.57 million *poods* (249 thousand tons) of cotton fiber were exported from Central Asia, and 1.75 million *poods* – from Transcaucasia<sup>18</sup>.

The Fergana Valley became the main producer of Central Asian cotton, accounting for 62% of all cotton shipped to Russia in 1913. By comparison, the Syr Darya and Samarkand regions together accounted for only 21.4%. Thanks to the establishment of large-scale production and primary processing of cotton, the Fergana region's level of industrial development was comparable to the Kharkov and Nizhny Novgorod provinces: two-thirds of Turkestan's cotton mills were located here<sup>19</sup>.

Along with Russian Turkestan, cotton production also developed intensively in the Bukhara and Khiva khanates. In Bukhara and Khiva, 140,200 hectares were planted with cotton in 1914, and by 1915, that figure had risen to 152,600 hectares. Before the war, Bukhara's share of Russia's cotton supply, supplied primarily by Bukharan-Jewish merchants, was approximately 13%.<sup>20</sup> In Khiva, approximately 16% of all cultivated land was planted with cotton in 1909. By the start of World War I, two-thirds of Khiva's cotton fields were sown with American varieties. In 1909, 500 thousand *poods*

(8 thousand tons) of cotton fiber were exported to Russia from the Khiva oasis, including the Amu Darya department, and in 1915, as many as 900 thousand *poods* (14.4 thousand tons) of cotton fiber were sent from the Khiva Khanate to Russia<sup>21</sup>.

By the 1890s, Central Asia had become Russia's main cotton supplier. However, the expansion of cotton cultivation led to a reduction in the area devoted to food crops, which led to rising bread prices and negatively affected the livelihoods of the local population. However, while Russian officials in Central Asia pointed out this imbalance in the region's economy to St. Petersburg, they themselves took no measures to mitigate it, relying on the concept of a unified economic complex within the Russian Empire, which would allow for the redistribution of labor and goods across its entire territory<sup>22</sup>.

The negative consequences of the region's monoculture development became particularly pronounced in the 20th century. It is important to consider that the growth of cotton crops in Central Asia was largely achieved at the expense of peasant farmland, previously focused on food production, including grain cultivation. As a result, Turkestan began importing grain in increasing volumes: 4 million *poods* (64,000 tons) in 1907 and 12.5 million *poods* (200,000 tons) in 1914. The Fergana Valley naturally became the main consumer of grain<sup>23</sup>.

With the outbreak of World War I, cotton supplies to Russia from abroad decreased, which increased the demand for Turkestan cotton and, accordingly, the price of a *pood* of Central Asian cotton fiber increased: in 1913 it was 24 rubles, then in 1915 it reached 32 rubles (+ 33%), and in 1916 – 36 rubles (+ 50%). This circumstance prompted the population to further expand cotton cultivation. In 1914, the area under cotton in Turkestan occupied 502 thousand hectares, then in 1915 – 570.7 thousand hectares (according to other sources – 524 thousand hectares), and in 1916 – 582.1 thousand hectares, which amounted to 16% of all cultivated land in Turkestan. However,

<sup>17</sup> Arapov, A.V. Russian Cotton Project in Turkestan. Early 20th Century. URL: <https://memoryoffuture.blogspot.com/2011/03/xx.html>

<sup>18</sup> Konotopov, M.V., Lembersky, M.N. Development of the cotton industry in Russia 1900-1917 // Innovations and Investments. 2016. №. 2. P. 69-75.

<sup>19</sup> Arapov, A.V. Russian Cotton Project in Turkestan. Early 20th Century.

<sup>20</sup> Cohoon W. Russian Nationalists' Misconception of the Turkestan Cotton Industry, 1911 // Anthós. 2013. Vol. 5: Iss. 1, P. 5-31. <https://doi.org/10.15760/anthos.2013.5>

<sup>21</sup> Arapov A.V. Pre-revolutionary Turkestan. The Cotton Industry under the Control of Foreign Capital. URL: <http://memoryoffuture.blogspot.com/2011/03/xx.html>

<sup>22</sup> Mamadaliev, I. A. Economic crisis as a factor of social destabilization: Turkestan in the late 19th – early 20th centuries // Bulletin of the Tajik State University of Law, Business and Politics. Humanitarian Sciences Series. 2013. No. 2 (54). P. 213-224.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

er, there was no further increase in Turkestan cotton production during the war<sup>24</sup>.

A serious problem associated with the war, which had a painful impact on the majority of the population in Central Asia, was the significant reduction in imports of grain and industrial consumer goods from Russia due to the decline in their production because of the mass conscription of Russian peasants and workers to the front in 1914–1916. As a result, the price of bread rose faster than the price of cotton: by 100% in 1915, and by 400% in 1916. The catastrophic bread shortage was exacerbated by shortages of sugar and textiles. Reduced grain supplies and rationed cotton prices led to a decline in cotton sowing. As a result, beginning in 1916–1917, cotton cultivation began to decline. In 1916, spring cotton sowings were at their peak, but due to the initial conscription of local populations for work on the home front and the associated unrest, the actual autumn cotton harvest was lower than in previous years. In Bukhara and Khiva, the area under cotton cultivation declined from 147,000 hectares in 1916 to 86,500 hectares in 1917.

From late 1917 to early 1918, economic policy in Turkestan came under the purview of the Soviet government. Given its strategic importance, the cotton industry was at the center of the Soviet government's economic concerns in Turkestan. On February 28, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars of Turkestan issued a decree nationalizing all cotton reserves. Since this alarmed the peasant farmers, a few days later an additional order followed stating that this did not apply to workers' cotton reserves. Then, on March 5, 1918, a decree was issued nationalizing cotton and related industries, such as "oil mills, soap factories, and cotton factories, as well as trading enterprises for the purchase of raw materials and manufactured goods." Among other things, 296 cotton gins and 5 cotton factories were nationalized at that time<sup>25</sup>.

The nationalization of the cotton industry began a few weeks after the defeat of the Kokand Autonomous Republic. Both of these events political-

ly liquidated the large businesses of Turkestan's cotton magnates, forcing them to seek emigration and capital transfers outside of Russia. A significant portion of their cotton reserves was by then hidden, including in Russia itself, Turkestan, and Bukhara<sup>26</sup>. Due to the deteriorating military and political situation in central Russia, as well as the blockade of communications with Turkestan via Orenburg and Krasnovodsk, cotton from Central Asia could not be shipped in sufficient quantities in 1918, leading to a halt in textile production in Russia. For similar reasons, desperately needed grain was also not delivered to Central Asia. This is evidenced not only by economists' research but also by the recollections of local residents<sup>27</sup>.

The Soviet Union, as the geopolitical successor to the Russian Empire, continued the agricultural policies of its predecessor, further skewing the agricultural production bias toward cotton. From the 1920s to the 1950s, this was driven not only by the need to obtain raw materials for the textile industry but also by the need to produce high-quality gunpowder for small arms and rocket fuel<sup>28</sup>. However, by the 1960s, such a need for the defense industry had disappeared due to technological advances. Nevertheless, by the *Perestroika* time, raw cotton harvests reached six million tons in Uzbekistan alone and one million tons in Tajikistan. Virtually all the arable land in the Central Asian oases was devoted to cotton cultivation. With the collapse of the USSR, this disparity had a detrimental effect on the food supply of Central Asian countries.

After the collapse of the USSR, the cotton-growing zone found itself outside Russia's borders. Russia found itself without its own cotton and was forced to purchase it abroad, primarily from the former Soviet republics of Uzbekistan (45%), Turkmenistan (7%), Kazakhstan (5%), and Tajikistan (4%), as well as China (15%). Currently, although purchasing cotton from Central Asia is not vital for Russia, the issue of ensuring an uninterrupted supply of this raw mate-

<sup>24</sup> Arapov, A.V. Russian Cotton Project in Turkestan. Early 20th Century.

<sup>25</sup> Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Turkestan Territory on the nationalization of the cotton industry. March 5, 1918 // *Nasha Gazeta*, the body of the Executive Committee of the Tashkent Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, №. 43, March 7, 1918.

<sup>26</sup> Arapov, A.V. Russian Cotton Project in Turkestan. Early 20th Century.

<sup>27</sup> Dubovitsky, V.V. Andrey Evlampievich Madji. Half a Century of Scientific Research in Central Asia. Dushanbe, 2018. Pp. 29-32.

<sup>28</sup> Isaev, A.V. Gunpowder and Ammunition Production as a Bottleneck in the Soviet Military Economy and Its Impact on Armed Struggle in 1941–1945 // *Bulletin of Volgograd State University. Series 4, History. Regional Studies. International Relations*. 2025. Vol. 30, No. 2. Pp. 21–30. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15688/jvolsu4.2025.2.2>

rial for the domestic textile industry nonetheless arises<sup>29</sup>. Purchasing Central Asian cotton in the required quantities is currently impossible for Russia due to both a sharp decline in local production (in Tajikistan, by two-thirds of the 1988 volume) and the deterioration in the quality of cotton fiber due to the cessation of local seed production<sup>30</sup>.

One way for finding new sources of cotton fiber could be cotton cultivation in southern Russia. On January 31, 2018, at the All-Russian Agronomic Conference, the Ministry of Agriculture announced that

Russia would begin industrial cultivation this year and harvest its first cotton crop of a specially selected "northern" variety. Currently, approximately 250,000 tons of cotton fiber are required to meet fully Russia's needs. To achieve this volume, large areas, approximately 300,000 hectares, are required<sup>31</sup>.

In conclusion, it can be stated that cotton's role in Russia's geopolitics regarding Central Asia has never been decisive. Possession or control over this region was driven by military and political goals in the Middle East. An aberration in the assessment of the reasons for the Russian Empire's expansion into the region occurred in Soviet historiography precisely at a time when the region truly played a key role in providing the country with this raw material.

<sup>29</sup> Shiotani M. Russian Preference for Red Printed Cotton from Central Asia and Industrialization. *The Asian review of World Histories*, 2020. 9(1), P. 4-23. DOI: 10.1163/22879811-12340083

<sup>30</sup> Baliev, A. The cotton problem in Russia: causes and consequences before and after the collapse of the USSR // *Military-political analytics Internet journal*. URL: <https://vpoanalytics.com/vooruzhenie-i-tehnika/khlopkovaya-problema-v-rossii-prichiny-i-posledstviya-do-i-posle-raspada-sssr/>

<sup>31</sup> Russia will receive domestic cotton this year // *Vedomosti*. January 31, 2018. URL: <https://www.vedomosti.ru/business/news/2018/01/31/749543-hlopok>

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УДК 930.2

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## ISLAMIC THEMES IN THE *EPARCHIAL BULLETIN* OF THE STEPPE REGION (SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH – BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY): GENERAL AND SPECIFIC

**Abstract.** The article examines the specific features of Islamic themes on the *Eparchial Bulletin* – the official newspaper of the Orenburg and Omsk dioceses in the Steppe Region during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The author considers these publications as an instrument for implementing imperial religious policy, as well as a component of extensive Orthodox missionary literature aimed at limiting the influence of Islam. The analysis reveals an evolution in the content and tone of the publications. In the 1880s and 1890s, they took the style of ethnographic notes and reports by missionaries who sought to prove the superficial nature of Islamization among the Kazakhs and preserve them for potential Christianization. The primary method focused on criticizing “pagan” remnants among the Muslim nomads. With the beginning of the 20th century, due to the rise of the all-Russian Muslim movement, the tone of the publications changed dramatically. They assumed the style of tendentious articles aimed at the direct discreditation of Islam. The focus of criticism shifted toward the personality of Muhammad, the content of the Quran, and Islamic dogmas and social norms. These publications were designed to foster persistent negative stereotypes and phobias among the Orthodox flock. The author also notes a difference in the approaches of the two dioceses: the harsher and more ideologized character of the *Orenburg Eparchial Bulletin*, conditioned by its proximity to Kazan, and the more liberal and practical orientation of the *Omsk Eparchial Bulletin*, where the emphasis shifted toward combating schisms within Orthodoxy itself.

**Keywords:** Russian Empire, religious policy, “Eparchial Bulletin”, Steppe Region, Islam, Orthodox Missions, Anti-Islamic Propaganda, Kazakhs, Missionary Work.

The active institutional development of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Steppe Region was associated with peasant migration from European Russia to the Asian part of the country and the resulting increase in the Orthodox population in the region. In the 1880s and 1890s, the diocesan-territorial and church-parish division of the Steppe Region was completed. By this time, a network of monastic, school, religious education, and religious charitable and missionary structures had been established<sup>1</sup>. In line with pan-Russian church trends, the publication of the *Eparchial Bulletin*—official journals published two to four times per month—was a mandatory element of

the activities of the Orenburg and Omsk dioceses of the Steppe Region.

The subject matter of the Orenburg and Omsk *Eparchial Bulletin* was quite diverse. In addition to issues of diocesan development, it also covered topics related to the socio-political, cultural, and economic life of the Steppe Region. The editors of the *Eparchial Bulletin* paid considerable attention to Islamic topics, reflecting the specific ethnoreligious situation in the region. The editorial board of the *Eparchial Bulletin* gave considerable attention to Islamic topics, which was due to the peculiarities of the ethnoreligious situation in the region. Despite the mass migration of the Orthodox East Slavic population to the Turgay, Akmola, Semipalatinsk and Semirechye regions, the majority of the population here continued to be Muslim

<sup>1</sup> For more details see: Lysenko Yu.A. *Essays on the History of the Russian Orthodox Church in Kazakhstan (18th – early 20th centuries)*. Barnaul, 2011.

Kazakhs. In line with the objectives of imperial religious policy aimed at reducing the influence of Islam within the borders of the Kazakh steppe and spreading Christianity among its inhabitants, Kyrgyz Orthodox/anti-Islamic missions appeared in the Orenburg and Omsk dioceses<sup>2</sup>.

Publications on Islamic topics in the *Eparchial Bulletin* formed part of the extensive literature on Islamic studies that developed in the Russian Empire throughout the 19th century. This literature included both individual, specialized “missionary anti-Muslim collections”, published by the Kazan Theological Academy, and a vast array of Orthodox Church periodicals: *The Orthodox Interlocutor*, *Works of the Kyiv Theological Academy*, *Soul-Beneficial Reading*, *A Guide for Rural Pastors*, *The Orthodox Evangelist*, *Theological Herald*, *The Church Parish School*, *The Helmsman*, and *Missionary Review*.

The first publications on Islamic topics in the *Eparchial News* were directly linked to the beginning of the activities of the Kyrgyz Orthodox missions in the Kazakh steppe. Since the first such mission was established in the Altai Mountain District in the early 1880s and was subordinate to the Tomsk Diocese, it was its *Eparchial Bulletin* that first began publishing articles on anti-Islamic themes. The Orenburg and Omsk Dioceses then picked up the baton. Publications on this issue included official reports on the activities of the Kyrgyz missions, the Diocesan Committees of the Orthodox Missionary Society, as well as *Notes* by individual missionaries with their personal observations of the Islamization of Kazakh society and the role of Islam in the social life of nomads.

The analysis of Islamic publications in the Steppe Region's *Eparchial Bulletin* can identify their characteristics and the range of issues discussed. In the 1880s and 1890s, the primary goal of these publications was to demonstrate the harmful effects of the spread of Islam among the Kazakh population. This criticism was leveled at the religious policies of the Russian Empire at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, which aimed to spread Islam among Kazakh cattle breeders through administrative means. The authors of these materials emphasized the need to quickly

free the nomads from the influence of Muslim preachers and organize Orthodox missionary work among them. Thus, virtually every “Activity Report” of the missionaries of the Kirghiz Mission of the Tomsk Diocese from 1882 to 1895 emphasized the idea that, at this stage, no profound transformation of the traditional religious consciousness of Kazakh nomads had occurred under the influence of Islam. This idea was often supported by ethnographic descriptions of pagan rituals and cults of the life and calendar cycles, especially funeral feasts and equestrian races (*baiga*) among those Kazakhs who professed Islam.

Stefan Borisov, a missionary from the Bolshenarym camp of the Kirghiz Mission of the Tomsk Diocese, wrote in his *Notes* in 1891: “<...> the Kirghiz have very little knowledge of Islam, and the knowledge that most of them possess is no more than a circle of ritual prescriptions of the Koran. <...> The Kirghiz are devoted to Islam as much as a person can be devoted to his faith, and there is no fanaticism in them at all. By their nature, the Kirghiz cannot be fanatics, and this is our good fortune! <...> they lack the characteristic steadfastness and determination that distinguishes the Tatars, Turks, and other fanatical Muslims. However, Islam is capable of re-educating the Kyrgyz, if only it is allowed into the steppe in full force.”<sup>3</sup> In 1891, the *Tomsk Eparchial Bulletin* noted, “the Kirghiz are still Muslims only in name. Nevertheless, Muslim fanaticism, through the influence of Central Asian Muslims, is beginning to engulf this tribe. The Kirghiz Mission must, for the first time, <...> halt the spread of this contagion, which, however, is impossible without the external assistance of government authorities.”<sup>4</sup>

According to clergy, the main task of the state, called upon to assist Kyrgyz missions in the fight against Islam, should have been to encourage pagans and Muslims to convert to the Orthodox Church. However, the missionaries assessed the government's efforts in this direction extremely negatively. Thus, in the *Tomsk Eparchial Bulletin* of 1886, it was stated, for example, that converting to Orthodoxy was “not only unprofitable, but also quite detrimental,” since before baptism a pagan or Muslim “lives freely in his nomadic camp, car-

<sup>2</sup> For more details, see: Missionary work of the Russian Orthodox Church in Kazakhstan (second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries). Barnaul, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> State Archives of Altai Krai (hereinafter referred to as GA AK). F. 164. Op. 1. D. 48. L. 32 ob.

<sup>4</sup> Tomsk Eparchial Bulletin. 1891. May 1. No. 9. P. 20.

ing only about paying the three-ruble yasak." Having converted to Orthodoxy, he had to pay "in addition to the yasak, 1) for the repair of communication routes, 2) for the hiring of an interpreter for officials, 3) for the construction of a mortuary, 4) he is not exempt from maintaining the parish clergy and church schools, 5) the hiring of watchmen for his parish church."<sup>5</sup> Therefore, priests insisted on preserving for new converts only those taxes that they paid before adopting Christianity<sup>6</sup>.

A characteristic feature of publications on anti-Islamic themes in the Steppe Region's *Eparchial Bulletin* in the 1880s and 1890s was that many of them were a kind of missionary travelogues, written in the adventure-romantic genre. They described the various difficulties that missionaries encountered during their travels across the Kazakh steppe, their overcoming of these difficulties, their encounters with the locals, and the inevitable successes that awaited the missionaries in their work of preaching the word of God.

In the early 20th century, with the increased activity and integration of Kazakh Muslims into the all-Russian Muslim movement, particularly during the First Russian Revolution of 1905–1907, the content and focus of Islamic topics in the Steppe Region's *Eparchial News*. There was also a quantitative increase in the number of publications on this topic, particularly in the *Orenburg Eparchial News*. This was explained, in our opinion, by the proximity to this diocese of the largest Islamic centers of the Russian Empire – Orenburg, Kazan, Ufa, and Samara.

The content of these publications has undergone a significant transformation. They were no longer fictional, but rather scholarly and analytical articles, addressing a wide range of controversial issues in Islamic studies. Most of the authors presented their information inaccurately and vaguely, using an associative form of presentation, a one-sided presentation of substantive-factual and substantive-conceptual information, and used an ironic attitude towards certain Muslim phenomena, negatively evaluative, and sometimes derogatory epithets. Essentially, articles on Islamic topics intended to have a profound impact on the public consciousness and to form negative stereo-

types about Russian Islam and an aggressive attitude toward it among the readers.

The main discourse centered on proving the "falsity and emptiness of the Muhammadan religion". The history of the origin and development of Islam was examined within this framework. Emphasis was placed on comparing individual facts presented in the Quran with biblical stories, leading to the conclusion that the Quran borrowed many biblical stories and, accordingly, the superiority of the Bible and Christianity over the Quran and Islam<sup>7</sup>.

The Quran was described as a «chaotic mixture of the most diverse decrees, instructions and sayings» instilling «only hatred and contempt for all peoples who do not recognize Muhammad as the messenger of God»<sup>8</sup>. In this regard, a good illustration is the article by the anti-Muslim missionary of the Orenburg diocese K. Merkuriev *The Quran is not a divine revelation*<sup>9</sup>, presenting a comparative analysis of the Bible and the Quran. According to the author, any Divine revelation must have certain characteristics, which he included: «1) truth – the absence of lies and deception in it; 2) immutability – the absence of contradictions; 3) clarity and certainty – the absence of doubts and hesitations in the presentation of the truth of faith and practice; 4) loftiness and salvation – the absence of petty rules and regulations, absurdities and inconsistencies contrary to the true concept of God, common sense and moral sense of man»<sup>10</sup>.

Merkuriev's further reasoning was aimed at finding all four features that characterize Divine Scripture, as applied to the Quran. During the analysis, the Quran was not recognized as truthful on the grounds that it «reports events that are irreconcilable with biblical events» and ascribed «to the ranks of prophets not only persons whose prophetic dignity is not attested in the Holy Scripture <...> but even idolaters <...> while there is no mention of the most important of the Old Testament prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel), their teachings and prophecies»<sup>11</sup>.

According to K. Merkuriev, the Quran is full of contradictions, «whose number reaches 225».

<sup>7</sup> Batunsky M.A. Russia and Islam. T. 2. M., 2003. P. 209.

<sup>8</sup> Orenburg Eparchial News. 1913. June 15. No. 12. P. 165.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. January 1. No. 1. Pp. 6–11.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. P. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Tomsk Eparchial Bulletin. 1886. May 15. No. 10. P. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. P. 10.

Furthermore, the missionary pointed out that «in its exposition of dogmatic and moral truths, the Quran allows for doubt and indecision <...> For example, when speaking of the future life, Muhammad hesitates to acknowledge the eternity and immutability of Fate's decisions regarding the final fate of the righteous and sinners». According to the missionary, expressions such as «perhaps you will be pardoned», «perhaps you will be happy», «perhaps you will be pious», and so on, are unacceptable for true Divine revelation.

Finally, K. Merkuriev noted numerous stories from Muhammad's personal life that, in his opinion, are inappropriate in any divine message. In conclusion, the author states that «the Quran does not satisfy any of the above-mentioned criteria of divine revelation: as we see, it contains many untruths, contradictions, petty prescriptions, absurdities, and inconsistencies—and therefore it is not the word of God, not divine revelation»<sup>12</sup>.

The *Eparchial News* of the Steppe Region paid considerable attention to the figure of the founder of Islam himself, Muhammad. He was called nothing less than «a false prophet who distorted the Christian truth about the incarnation of God the Word to the point of outrageous absurdity».

In a 1913 issue of the *Orenburg Eparchial News*, the following was written about him: «Mohammed, imbued with egoism, his whole being and every thought tied to the earthly and sensual, could leave nothing sublime for his followers, nothing founded on moral principles. <...> The fiery nature of the power-hungry and egotistical Mohammed so ignited in him a thirst to become a famous, fame-sounding man in the world that, for this purpose, he did not hesitate to call all his grave misdeeds on the prophetic path, the unbridled will of passion, a law from heaven»<sup>13</sup>. From this, the conclusion was drawn about the total perniciousness of Islam for Muslims themselves and for the Kazakhs who fell under its influence.

A separate focus of the *Eparchial News* of the Steppe Region in the early 20th century should be considered the analysis of the Russian Empire's religious policy toward Islam. This policy was harshly criticized, and the authors considered it extremely liberal, even to a certain extent permis-

sive, since it failed to counter the spread of Islam in the steppe, «the extremely hostile Christianity of the Quran and other harmful Muslim books».

Missionaries from the Kyrgyz religious missions of the Orenburg and Omsk dioceses, working among Kazakhs, constantly emphasized that Islamization had brought no positive benefits to the Kazakh nomads. In their annual «Activity Reports», they frequently cited lengthy conversations with elderly Kazakhs, who claimed that Islam had contributed to the decline of morals among Kazakh youth, fostering vices such as drunkenness, debauchery, disrespect for elders, and so on. The missionaries emphasized that the Tatar mullahs working in schools were unable to provide a proper education for Kazakh youth, as they taught in Arabic, a language unfamiliar to Kazakhs, and reduced the learning process to rote memorization of the Quran<sup>14</sup>.

Such arguments served as the basis for another trend in publications on Islam in the *Eparchial News*: its stagnation and lack of progress. It was emphasized that «Muslim science» was mired in scholastic subtleties and contrivances and not only failed to enlighten but, on the contrary, obscured the spiritual faculties of its adherents. All Islamic theological literature in the Tatar language, for example, «kills the curiosity of the Muslim, answering all questions according to a once-and-for-all formula; distorts his common sense, accustoming him to indulge in the most bizarre inventions of fantasy instead of the actual facts of historical life; paralyzes any desire for development and progress, suggesting that he can consider himself perfect if he fulfills the external prescriptions of Sharia»<sup>15</sup>.

Evidence of the crisis in Islam was, according to some authors of the *Eparchial New*, not only the formation of the reformist movement of the «new Methodists» in Islam, who attempted to revive Muslim education, but also the emergence of various sectarian movements in Islam, which actively arose among the Muslims of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 20th century. The *Orenburg Eparchial News* reported on one such sect. It arose among young Tatar mullahs in the Tobolsk province, who believed it is necessary to reform the

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. P. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. №. 12. June 15. P. 164–165.

<sup>14</sup> GA AK. F.164. Op. 2. D. 8. L. 4–5.

<sup>15</sup> Orenburg Eparchial News. 1913. № 4. February 15. P. 60

ritual aspects of Islam. Specifically, they proposed replacing the thirty-day fast of Ramadan with a nine-day one, abolishing the «irrational and unnatural institution of polygamy, inconsistent with the purely logical laws of nature»<sup>6</sup> and Islam's patronage of polygamy<sup>16</sup>.

In the mainstream of Islamic discourse, individual publications appeared in the *Eparchial News* of the Steppe Region at the beginning of the 20th century about the lack of progress not only of Islam, but also of the emerging national languages of the peoples who professed it. In this regard, it is interesting to analyze an analytical article published in several issues of the *Orenburg Eparchial News* that explored the literature published in the Tatar language in 1912. The article noted, «The literary Tatar language, in which these publications are written, is an unsettled language both in its vocabulary and grammatical structure. Given the slavish worship of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian languages that is observed among the Mohammedan Tatars in general, the use of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian words and phrases equally and to the detriment of Tatar ones is recognized as a completely legitimate phenomenon»<sup>17</sup>.

Clearly, the ultimate goal of publications on Islamic topics in the Steppe Region's *Eparchial News* was to foster phobias against the Islamic faith among its readers. Therefore, it was entirely logical and natural that these publications would feature materials on the history of Islam, with authors emphasizing Muslim fanaticism, their «inhumane warriors», and their total expansion, «both in Africa, India, China, and Russia».

In this regard, a short note published in the Omsk Diocesan Gazette in 1913 by the missionary I. Petrov is indicative. The author emphasized, «It is no secret that Mohammedanism alone has the ability to incite fanaticism and boundless, blind attachment to itself in its followers. Every Mohammedan, due to his upbringing, tries at all costs to convert the infidels, who do not know Mohammed and Allah, to his faith»<sup>18</sup>. In another issue from the same year, I. Petrov recounted the words of the Prophet Muhammad: «O believing Muslims, when you encounter infidels (non-Muslims), kill them everywhere until they become Muslims, and God

will shower you with blessings, and you will be happy. It is not you who kill them, but God <...> O believers! Do not show cowardice, do not call the infidels to peace, and do not choose Jews and Christians as your friends»<sup>19</sup>. Some authors convinced readers that Russian Muslims, both past and present, were characterized by a «fanatical hatred» of everything Russian, which manifested itself in many historical events—the Time of Troubles, the uprisings of Stepan Razin and Emelian Pugachev. They emphasized the loyalty of Russian Muslims to the Ottoman Porte and their reverence for it, and concluded that Islam posed a threat to the Orthodox state that was the Russian Empire.

Overall, it can be noted that Islamic topics were the most popular in the *Orenburg Eparchial News*. These publications were largely anti-Islamic in nature and aimed to shape public opinion toward curtailing Islam's influence in the Russian Empire. The anti-Islamic stance of the *Orenburg Eparchial News* can be explained, in our opinion, by the diocese's proximity to Kazan, the ideological center of the all-Russian Muslim movement of the early 20th century. Publications on anti-Islamic topics in the *Orenburg Eparchial News* were also distinguished by a higher level of analysis and a more scholarly approach. This was largely due to the higher level of professional training of the clergy of the Orenburg Diocese, many of whom were graduates of the Kazan Theological Academy. As is well known, students from the Academy's Eastern Studies department took a course in Islamic studies and, upon completion, presented an analytical paper on one of its topics.

The situation in the Omsk Diocese was quite different. In the pages of the *Eparchial News*, published by the diocese, Islamic topics took on a more liberal tone. An analysis of the publication's contents suggests that this issue was only partially addressed, through the publication of «Activity Reports» by various anti-Islamic missionary organizations and missionary priests who headed the Kyrgyz Mission camps of the Omsk Diocese. The reason is seen in the peculiarities of Islam's development within the boundaries of the Kazakh population of the Omsk Diocese. The territorial remoteness from the Islamic centers of the Volga region, the absence of a regional

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. №. 10. May 15. P. 117.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. №. 3. February 1. P. 39.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. №. 11. June 1. P. 143.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. №. 12. June 15. P. 165.

Muslim governing body (Muslim Spiritual Assembly), the less effective work of Tatar Muslim preachers among the Kazakhs, and the more syncretic forms of Islam among the Kazakhs, combining Islam with pagan cults – all of this undoubtedly diminished the relevance of Islamophobic sentiments in the region. An equally important reason for the more liberal assessment of Islam and its potential in the *Omsk Eparchial*

*News* was, in our opinion, the presence of major centers of Old Believers and Protestantism in the region. Consequently, the missionary work of the Russian Orthodox Church there developed not so much among the Kazakh population as among the Orthodox population. As a result, the emphasis in the content of the Omsk Diocesan News shifted toward the fight against Old Believers and sectarianism.

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УДК 94(470)"1914/1918":070(=512.1)

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## TURKESTANI «NATIVE NEWSPAPERS» DURING WORLD WAR I: SOFT POWER TOOL OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

**Abstract.** In the early 20th century, the Ottoman Empire was successfully waging an “ideological war” against the Russian Empire. The objective of this war was the loyalty of Russian Muslims. Clearly visible behind the Ottoman Empire was the silhouette of Germany, which acted as a think tank. One of the tools of this rivalry was the private press of Russian Muslims, which often published blatantly pro-Turkish and pro-German materials. In their turn, the Young Turks manipulated the national and religious feelings of Turkestani Muslims, applying all kinds of soft power on a large scale, from religious indoctrination to direct anti-Russian propaganda. Under the circumstances, Russian state-owned media were supposed to help Turkestani Muslims integrate into the imperial space as loyal citizens. Having lost the propaganda war on the Asian periphery of the country in peacetime, during World War I, the Russian Empire faced the need to form its positive image among the Muslim population not only in Turkestan, but also in the neighboring countries, China, Afghanistan, and Iran. It was at least loyalty if not affections Russia was hoping for. This paper discusses how successfully the above task was accomplished, drawing on the example of two official Russian newspapers published in Turkic languages, *Turkestanskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* and *Zakaspiyskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta*.

**Keywords:** Turkestan; periodical press; Turkestani Native Newspaper; Transcaspian Native Newspaper; Transcaspian region; Semirechensk region; Persia; Afghanistan; Chinese Turkestan.

### Introduction

In the second half of the 19th century, Russia's imperial policy came to be dominated by the principle of state unity, which stemmed from the concept of nation state. This implied familiarizing “foreigners” with the Russian statehood and culture, and in the long run, their acculturation.<sup>1</sup> Within this discourse, the state periodical press was called upon to act as an important link in cross-cultural communication. In case of the Muslim population of Turkmenistan, this mission was assigned, starting in 1872, to *Turkestanskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* (the Turkestan Native Newspaper) and, after the outbreak of the First World War, also to *Zakaspiyskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* (the Transcaspian Native Newspaper). The Muslims of Turkestan experienced a profound lack of information that would be readily available in their native languages on such areas as the Russian Em-

pire itself, other countries and cultures, or the achievements of the world science and technology. The major task of Turkestani “native newspapers” was not only to tell about the world of Russian and European values, which Muslims were unfamiliar with, but also to help Turkestan Muslims gradually integrate into the imperial space and find their place in it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Kotyukova T. V. “Another world” in local eyes according to “The Turkistan Native Gazette” Oriental Archive 2014. № 2 (30). С. 25–30; Kotyukova T. V. Mahmudkhodja Behbudiy About the Turkestan Representation in the State Duma of the Russian Empire (based on publications in the “Native Newspaper of Turkestan”) Electronic Scientific and Educational Journal «History». 2021. Volume. 12. Issue 5 (103). URL: <https://history.jes.su/s207987840015903-2-1/>; Soegova A.M. Turkmen Progressive Jadids: Mukhammedkuli Atabayev and his articles // Electronic Scientific and Educational Journal «History». 2022. T. 13. Issue 10 (120). URL: <https://history.jes.su/s207987840023541-4-1/>; Kotyukova T.V. “Turkestan Native Newspaper” as a Tool for Promoting the Cotton Policy of the Russian Empire in Turkestan Electronic Scientific and Educational Journal «History». 2024. Volume 15. Issue 3 (137). URL: <https://history.jes.su/s207987840031252-6-1/>, and other publications.

<sup>1</sup> Vorobyova E.I. Power and the Muslim Clergy in the Russian Empire Between the Second Half of the 19-th Century and 1917 // Historical Annual. Omsk, 1997. p. 40.

The state-owned native press faced intense competition. In the wake of the 1905-1907 revolution, about ten private periodicals emerged in Turkestan, unfolding active discussion about political reforms in the region. Not unfrequently, materials published by those media were anti-Russian, utterly pro-Turkish, or pro-German.

By the beginning of the First World War, the Russian Empire had failed to create information space for Turkestani Muslims in their native languages. On the other hand, interest in Russian-language newspapers and magazines was rather limited since very few natives, even in the urban areas, could understand Russian.

When at war, the Russian Empire was also forced to deal with another set of issues, particularly combating enemy propaganda and establishing counter-propaganda, not only in Turkestan itself, but also beyond its borders. *Turkestanskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* and *Zakaspiyskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* played a vital part in that.

### **“Native newspapers” as a tool for developing cross-cultural communications in the Russian Empire**

Vernacular state press in the Muslim regions of Russia appeared in the 1820s. In 1828, Russian-language newspaper *Tiflisskie Vedomosti* (*The Tiflis Gazette*) began to be published in Tiflis. In December 1831, Baron G.V. Rosen came up with a project of a newspaper in the Turkic (Azerbaijani) language, *Tatar Ekhbary* (*The Tatar Gazette*). As a matter of fact, it was the above *Tiflis Gazette*, but translated into the language of the Turkic-speaking Transcaucasian population. By this time, the newspaper had already been regularly publishing additional materials in Georgian and Armenian. The first issue of *Tatar Ekhbary* appeared in January 1832.<sup>3</sup> Initially, additional materials were released in Persian, but there was no demand for them. The newspaper was published once a week, and the annual subscription cost eight silver rubles. It found its readers not only in Transcaucasia, but also in the Ottoman Empire and Iran. According to the rules, before a newly published issue of the newspaper reached the

readers, it had to be sent to St. Petersburg for censorship. Technically, this requirement was not easy to meet. Therefore, at the beginning of 1833, the publication was discontinued<sup>4</sup>.

In 1841, the administration of the Caucasian Viceroyalty began publishing a new newspaper, *Zakavkazskii Vestnik* (*the Transcaucasian Bulletin*). The first issue of the newspaper in the Azerbaijani language was published in 1845 under the title *Gafgazyn bu terefyn khebery* (the word-for-word translation being “News from this side of the Caucasus”). It mainly communicated official information, royal decrees, decisions of the Qadi courts, and similar materials. The newspaper existed for four and a half years and was closed by the authorities.<sup>5</sup>

In 1888, publishing of *Dala Ulyatyn Gazeti* (*the Kirghiz Steppe Newspaper*) in Russian and Kazakh began in Omsk. It was *Osoboye Pribavleniye* (a special add-on) to three newspapers: *Akmolinskiye Oblastnyye Vedomosti* (*the Akmola Regional Gazette*); later, to *Semipalatinskiye Oblastnyye Vedomosti* (*the Semipalatinsk Regional Gazette*) and *Semirechenskiye Oblastnyye Vedomosti* (*the Semirechensk Regional Gazette*), the former being released from 1888 to 1905, and the other two from 1894 to 1905. The official part of the newspaper published decrees, resolutions, and other documents of the tsarist administration and local authorities related to the management of the Steppe Governorate-General. The newspaper featured Russian scientists' research on the history, ethnography, and culture of the Kazakhs. Besides, it included samples of Kazakh oral folk art and works by Russian writers translated into Kazakh. Kazakh educators Akylbai Kunanbayev, Shoqan Walikhanov, and Ybyrai Altynsarin contributed to the newspaper.<sup>6</sup> Despite its small runs, the newspaper was distributed almost throughout the entire territory of modern Kazakhstan.

In 1913, the Governor-General of the Dagestan region Sigizmund Volsky initiated a launch of the *Jaridat Dagestan*. The newspaper was published

<sup>3</sup> Not a single copy of the newspaper in Azerbaijani has been preserved.

<sup>4</sup> Enikolopov I. The first Turkic Newspaper in the Caucasus // Culture and Writing of the Caucasus. Book 3. Baku, 1928. pp. 139-146.

<sup>5</sup> Vəliyev A. A. oğlu (Aşırılı). Azərbaycan mətbuatı tarixi. Bakı, 2009. S.4–6.

<sup>6</sup> Kirghiz Steppe Newspaper: man, society, nature. 1888–1902 / Comp. U. Subkhanberdin. Almaty, 1994. pp. 5-17.

from 1913 to 1918 in Arabic, which acted as a lingua franca in the multilingual region with a limited spread of Russian. It was assumed that Jaridat Dagestan would be an Arabic translation of the government media *Dagestanskiye Oblastnyye Novosti* (the *Dagestan Regional Gazette*). During the first year, the newspaper was funded by the Russian government. However, at the end of January 1914, the financing was discontinued since the paper made losses and failed to reach the objectives set at its foundation. From that moment, it was financed by a local philanthropist, who became the editor. The newspaper continued to publish such materials as government orders, information on current events, or announcements. Importantly, Jaridat Dagestan came to serve as a platform for discussions between Jadidists and Kadi-mists of the North Caucasus.<sup>7</sup>

Notably, vernacular newspapers were not common across all Muslim regions of the Russian Empire. Thus, the Muslims of the Volga-Ural region did not have official media in their native languages although efforts were made to establish some. One of the first attempts was issuing the paper *Kazanskiye Izvestiya* in Old Tatar and Russian. Subsequent attempts to publish newspapers *Bahrel Akhbar*, *Yoldiz*, and *Tang Yoldiz* also failed.<sup>8</sup>

The range of scholarly views on the functions of “native newspapers” is admittedly wide: from guides of Russification policy to a tool for establishing cross-cultural connections. Nonetheless, foreign authors tend to regard such official “native newspapers” as tools of the empire’s Russification policy, sometimes acknowledging their “preparatory role” in creating a national press in Azerbaijani, Kazakh, Uzbek, and other languages.<sup>9</sup> As for the Turkestani “native newspapers”, the first coverage of this issue was a synchronous one, provided by *Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* editor-in-chief Nikolay Ostroumov.<sup>10</sup> In the Soviet period, the historiography on the matter was further devel-

oped.<sup>11</sup> These days, fruitful research on the history of Turkestani periodicals is carried out by S. Shadmanova.<sup>12</sup>

In my opinion, the “native newspapers” were rather tools for modernization, adaptation and subsequent integration of Muslim peoples into the overall imperial project, bridges for building cross-cultural connections, as well as intermediaries between the Muslim population and local administration, platforms for demonstrating the loyalty of the local elite, and Jadidist tribunes.

### ***Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* as the official mouthpiece of the Russian regional administration**

In 1872, *Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* (the *Turkestan Native Newspaper*), the first official newspaper of the regional administration in Turkic languages, was published in Turkestan. In Turkic, it was called *Turkistot viloyatining gazet*i (i.e. Turkestani regional newspaper). The media operated until February 1917.<sup>13</sup>

At the initial stage, *Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* was published as an add-on to the *Turkestan Gazette* four times a month: twice in Old Uzbek and twice in Old Kazakh. On January 30, 1883, the add-on became an independent weekly. Starting from 1906, the newspaper came out twice a week. Between 1885 and 1901, *Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* was published in two languages, Old Uzbek and Russian.

The mission of the newspaper was to familiarize Turkestani officials, as well as representatives of the indigenous peoples, with official Russian chronicles, orders of the local administration, verdicts of the Russian courts concerning the Muslim population of the region, and government orders

<sup>7</sup> Navruzov A.R. “Jaridat Dagestan”, the Arabic-language newspaper of the Caucasian Jadids. Moscow, 2012. pp. 9–14

<sup>8</sup> Nadir Davlet. Ismail Gasprinsky. Kazan, 2015. p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Rasulov A. Isokboev A. Nasretdinova D. Tatars in Turkestan at the Turn of the Epochs. The Early 20-th Century. Kazan, 2021. p. 156.

<sup>10</sup> Ostroumov, N.P. The Turkestan Native Newspaper of Turkestan // The Sarts. Ethnographic materials. Tashkent, 1896. pp. 156–172.

<sup>11</sup> Avsharova M.P. The Russian Periodical press in Turkestan (1870–1917). Bibliographic index. Tashkent, 1960; Ilyasov A. “The Transcaspian Native Newspaper” as a Source of Studying the History of Spiritual Culture of the Turkmen People (1914–1917) // Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of Turkmen SSR. Series of Social Sciences. 1964. No. 4. pp.3–9; Babakhanov M. From the History of the Periodical Press of Turkestan. Dushanbe, 1987; Saryev B. The First Turkmen Newspaper // Propagandist of Turkmenistan. No. 5. 1989. p. 25, and other publications.

<sup>12</sup> Shadmanova S.B. The History of Turkestan Through the Prism of the Periodical Press. (1870–1917). Tashkent, 2023.

<sup>13</sup> Avsharova M.P. The Russian Periodical press in Turkestan (1870–1917). Bibliographic index. Tashkent, 1960. P. 64.

that applied to Turkestan and some other parts of the empire. Besides, the paper wrote about both state and local holidays, celebrations and memorable dates; the life of the Russian imperial family and foreign ruling dynasties; remarkable events in world and Russian history; current affairs in Russia and foreign countries; regional history and geography; local industrial and agricultural news, changes in market prices and similar things.

At the initial stage, in 1872-1883, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper was the translator of the Office of the Turkestan Governor-General Shokhimardon Ibragimov, then, for several months in 1883, a translator of the Turkestan Governor-General's Office Mukhammadhasan Chanyshv, from the end of 1883 to February 1917, the orientalist Nikolai Ostroumov. From August to November 1907, Ibniamin bek Khudoyarkhanov, the son of the last ruler of the Kokand Khanate, supposedly served as the newspaper's editor-in-chief.<sup>14</sup>

Turkestani Jadids, such as Zokirjon Furqat, Iskhakhan Ibrat, Mahkmudkhodja Behbudiy, and Mirmukhsin Shermukhamedov collaborated with the newspaper as local authors. Along with texts by well-known local enlightenment writers, the newspaper published poems by beginner poets and travel stories by Turkestani merchants who made business trips to other regions of the empire.<sup>15</sup> By 1888, the one-issue run had grown from 500 to 600 copies. The newspaper found its readers outside Turkestan, namely in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kazan, Omsk, Bakhchysarai, as well as in Kashgar (Chinese Turkestan).

However, despite all the efforts of the administration, it was *Tarjiman* (*The Translator*) newspaper, run by Ismail Gasprinsky, and a number of other private Russian Muslim media that Muslim population of the region preferred. The Turkestani authorities tried to find out the reasons for the low popularity of the official newspaper. According to Ostroumov, being the first newspaper in the local language, *Turkestanskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* was considered somewhat odd by the

population.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps it was also overloaded with official information. Besides, foreseeable difficulties arose when translating names of positions and ranks, as well as a number of political terms and concepts. To solve this issue, Ostroumov had to use Arabic or Persian borrowings, which made the text obscure for Turkic-speaking readers.<sup>17</sup>

On the eve of World War I, the newspaper faced serious financial problems and was on the verge of closure. In 1913-1915, there was voluminous correspondence on this matter between the regional authorities and the Ministry of War of the Russian Empire, to which Turkestan was administratively subordinate. On April 16, 1915, Turkestani Governor-General Fyodor Martson wrote in a letter to the military governor of the Syrdarya region Alexander Galkin, that it was a printed word that was the most effective way of communicating government objectives to Turkestani indigenous population. Martson stated that not only did the private Muslim press fail to convey "the right views", but it was often rather hostile towards the regional administration. In addition, this press was predominantly of Tatar origin, "quite remote from the local life." Nevertheless, Martson believed, it was imperative that the indigenous population was informed about the activities of the Russian government in the region not only through private newspapers, but also through the local media, which was then the only one in the region, *Turkestanskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* since the government could rely only on it "in order to effectively communicate the government's views and goals to the broad Muslim population and develop the right attitude to those"<sup>18</sup>.

Martson insisted that, in addition to mandatory subscribers, the newspaper, be distributed among literate Muslims, who either read private Tatar-language papers or did not subscribe to any. "It is worth noting" the head of the region said, "that, in addition to covering current affairs in a

<sup>14</sup> The National Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fond 1396. Series 1. File 23. Item 77, back of the sheet.

<sup>15</sup> Ostroumov N.P. The Trip to Russia of the Samarkand Merchant Mirza-Bukharin Mirza-Abdullin // The Sarts. Ethnographic materials. Tashkent, 1896. pp. 192-205.

<sup>16</sup> Shadmanova S. B. Archival Documents as an important Source for Studying the History of the Periodical press in Turkestan (based on the materials of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan) // Herald of an Archivist. 2009. No. 3. p. 257.

<sup>17</sup> The National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan. Fond. 968. Series 1. File 44. Items 1-4 back of the sheet.

<sup>18</sup> The National Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fond И-462. Series 1. File 478. Items 291-291 back of the sheet.

way that is accessible to the natives, *Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* can also bring subscribers real benefits with the free add-on, the agricultural newspaper *Dekhkan* (Peasant – T.K.), which is run by The Turkestani Society of Agriculture and authored by expert agronomists<sup>19</sup>.

In November 1915, it was finally decided to provide financing for *Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta*. The Minister of War Alexei Polivanov, referring to the decisions of the Military Council of May 13 and July 9, 1915, appealed to the State Duma on November 5, 1915, with the petition *On the Two-Year Allotment of Ten Thousand Rubles by the State Treasury for the Financing of Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta*<sup>20</sup>. The rationale behind the petition was that the newspaper was the only vernacular official government media in the region. Initially, it cost the state three rubles 80 kopecks per copy annually; from 1906, due to the increased run, four rubles 50 kopecks. The publication was financed by the printing house of the Office of the Turkestan Governor-General. Every year, the newspaper cost the printing house an average of 7,795 rubles, being released twice a week.

Subscriptions only partially covered the publication. Despite the fact that the newspaper was a government media, according to Article 23 of the Regulations on the Administration of the Turkestan Region of 1886, subscription was not mandatory the “native administration” officials. Consequently, the number of subscribers fell and financing became increasingly challenging.<sup>21</sup> Given the ministry was planning to release the newspaper three times a week during wartime, which, according to Polivanov, was exactly what the political situation demanded, the costs increased to 11,800 rubles. The subscription could cover between 1,500 and 1,800 rubles at best. Finding additional 10,000 was absolutely urgent. Direct government funding was a possible solution, at least for the beginning. Thus, the Ministry of War was petitioning the State Duma to authorize a two-year annual allotment of 10 thousand rubles from

the state treasury funds for publishing *Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta*<sup>22</sup>.

In 1916, in order to strengthen patriotic sentiments among Turkestani Muslims, the State Duma approved an annual direct subsidy of 10 thousand rubles. In its turn, the military department had to ensure a regular publication of the newspaper 3-4 times a week. From that moment on, *Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* was distributed not only to the native administration officials, but also to mudarris in maktabas and imams in mosques<sup>23</sup>.

Up until the end of 1914, *Turkestan-skaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* remained the only official mouthpiece of the Russian regional administration in Turkestan; the media was trying to create an attractive image of the Russian Empire among the local population. In December 1914, another “native newspaper” began to be published, the target audience of which was not only Muslims in the Russian Empire, but also those in the neighboring countries.

### ***Zakaspiyskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* as a tool of soft power and counter-propaganda targeting Persian and Afghan audiences**

1910 became a turning point Russian Empire, after which Russian authorities began to take the “awakening” of the East, both foreign and their own, quite seriously. Monitoring the public sentiments of Muslims not only within the empire itself and its protectorates Bukhara and Khiva, but also abroad, in Iran, Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan, has become a major political objective. As is known, during World War I, Iran, Afghanistan, and China remained neutral. However, throughout the entire military conflict, these states were highly likely to side with Russia’s opponents.

As early as 1909, Russian troops were deployed to the northern provinces of Iran due to the unstable political situation in the country, and at the beginning of World War I, they were staying there. The Persian state was multiethnic. In the north of the country, along with the Persians, there lived Kurdish and Turkmen-Yomud tribes. The latter often had dual or even triple citizenship and regu-

<sup>19</sup> The National Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fond И-462. Series 1. File 478. Items 291–291 back of the sheet.

<sup>20</sup> The Russian State Military Historical Archive. Fond 400. Series 1. File 4297. Items 20–21.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.* Item 20.

<sup>22</sup> The Russian State Military Historical Archive. Fond 400. Series 1. File 4297. Item 21.

<sup>23</sup> The State Duma. Verbatim Record. The Fourth Convocation. Session IV. St. Petersburg, 1916. Vol. 2. p. 1351.

larly made seasonal migrations into the Transcaspian region of the Russian Empire or the Khanate of Khiva. In parallel, a stream of migrants from Central Russia and Russian Turkestan were moving to the northeastern provinces of Iran.

According to reports from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, before World War I, some Persians living in the Transcaspian region were spreading anti-Russian propaganda among the Turkmen.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, the Turkestan Governor-General, Alexander Samsonov, was skeptical about the likelihood of joint Turkmen-Persian actions in Russia<sup>25</sup> since the relationship between Shiite Iranians and Sunni Turkmen had a long history of mutual resentment and hostility.

Since the beginning of the war, there had been another reason for destabilization in the region: the large number of Austro-Hungarian and German prisoners of war.<sup>26</sup> Taking advantage of the inadequate security (there were effectively no regular troops left in the province at that time) and the proximity of the borders with Persia and Afghanistan, hundreds of soldiers and officers fled from prison camps, workman teams, and hospitals. The locals helped the fugitives regularly and readily. After a successful escape, the former prisoner would face the choice between trying to reach his homeland and joining the Quadruple Alliance ranks and continuing the war as a military instructor or member of one of the numerous sabotage squads operating at the border. On the territory of the proper Turkestan, there were Turkish emissaries incessantly propagandizing the prisoners<sup>27</sup>.

The new “native newspaper” was called upon as a counter-propaganda tool for the Russian state. In December 1914, the Office of the Head of the Transcaspian region in Ashgabat began publishing *Zakaspiyskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* twice a week. The paper was also released in Turkmen and Farsi and called *Ruzname-i Maver-i Bahr-i Khazar* (*The Newspaper of the Transcaspian re-*

*gion*). In his report to the head of the Transcaspian region Leonid Lesh, the head of the Askhabad district, pointed out, “Under the circumstances, I consider the publication of a newspaper for Turkmen not only desirable, but also essential”<sup>28</sup>.

A crucial factor behind the decision to launch the newspaper was the establishment of Tekin regiment. On July 29, 1914, the day after the outbreak of World War I, the volunteer Tekin Regiment began to form on the basis of a division of the Turkmen Cavalry Regiment (irregular militia) from Turkmen-Tekin, mainly from the Merv, Tejen and Askhabad uezds of the Transcaspian region. During the war, the regiment excelled on the South-Western Front. The new “native newspaper” was commissioned to relate the stories of the Tekin people’s deeds. In addition, it was also supposed to be used as a “soft power” tool for propagandizing the Muslim population in the neighboring countries.

The first issue of the newspaper was released on December 14, 1914 in the Turkmen language. The paper contained orders issued by the head of the Transcaspian region, an overview of the world and local events, advice on agriculture and irrigation, horse breeding, public education, poems by local poets, and similar materials.<sup>29</sup> Among the authors were local Jadids, primarily Mukhamedkuli Atabaev. In his articles, he addressed the problems that the Turkmen society was facing and considered solutions to them.<sup>30</sup> The newspaper invited literate Turkmen people to cooperate and promised monetary rewards for worthy publications.<sup>31</sup> For example, the ninth issue, dated February 3, 1915, contained a letter by a Turkmen soldier, an article *On the audial method of teaching Turkmen literacy*, a letter from an ishan (an honorific title given to Sufi leaders in Central Asia) about Turkmen poets, an article by a Turkmen from Tejen

<sup>24</sup> The Russian State Military Historical Archive. Fond 400. Series 1. File 5067. Item 7.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. Item 17, back of the sheet.

<sup>26</sup> Kotyukova T. V. Turkestan captivity: German and Austro-Hungarian Prisoners of War in Russian Turkestan During the First World War // Russia and the Contemporary World. 2017. № 3 (96). pp. 47–64.

<sup>27</sup> The National Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fond I-461. Series 1. File 1818. Item 125.

<sup>28</sup> “The Transcaspian Native Newspaper” as a Source of Studying the History of Spiritual Culture of the Turkmen People (1914-1917) // Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of Turkmen SSR. Series of Social Sciences. 1964. No. 4. pp.3-9.

<sup>29</sup> *Zakaspiyskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta*. 14 December, 1914.

<sup>30</sup> Soegova A.M. Turkmen Progressive Jadids: Mukhammedkuli Atabayev and His Articles // Electronic Scientific and Educational Journal “History”. 2022. Volume 13. Issue 10 (120). URL: <https://history.jes.su/s207987840023541-4-1>.

<sup>31</sup> Saryev, B. The First Turkmen Newspaper // Propagandist of Turkmenistan, No. 5, 1989, p. 25.

about the war with Turkey, as well as the Persian section, which included a review of events and a few travel essays<sup>32</sup>.

The newspaper was published in Ashgabat in 1914-1917. It was edited by Ivan Belyaev, a Turkologist, inspector of public schools in the Transcaspien region, and compiler of the first Russian-Turkmen Dictionary. However, according to Turkmen philologists, the wording of the texts was "oversophisticated".<sup>33</sup> An annual subscription to *Zakaspiyskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* cost four rubles. The run was rather small, and most of it was sent to the areas bordering Persia and Afghanistan with a view to cultivating pro-Russian sentiments among the population of those neutral countries.

### ***Turkestanskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* as an untapped counter-propaganda tool in relations with China**

The situation on the Russian-Chinese border was also precarious. Back in 1909, the Scientific Bukhara Society was founded in Istanbul, which was part of the Department of Public Education at the Committee of Union and Progress within the Young Turks movement. On behalf of the Scientific Bukhara Society, Turks in Bukhara and Kashgar recruited students for the military and other government schools of the Ottoman Empire. For example, in 1910, according to reports by the Embassy of the Russian Empire in Istanbul, there were about a hundred students recruited in this manner, "of whom half were from Bukhara and the other half from Kashgar". In addition to the general curriculum, the students were taught "all the commonplace ideas of pan-Islamism and Turkish chauvinism"<sup>34</sup>.

As for the Kyrgyz who were Chinese subjects, they were targets of intensive anti-Russian propaganda by members of the secret society Gelaohui. General Ma, the former head of the Dungan troops in the Ile District, was reported to make a trip from Kashgar to Semirechye in order to foment a rebellion among the Russian subjects of Dunga-

nese origin<sup>35</sup>. In 1916, there was an uprising in Semirechye, partly organized by a few participants of the Xinhai Revolution. They were well-known in Chinese Turkestan and also belonged to Gelaohui. In 1915, Gelaohui members had been sent to Pishpek, Przhevalsk, and Verny to promote the idea of overthrowing the monarchy. They began recruiting Russian and Chinese Dungans, as well as Kyrgyz people. In Przhevalsk alone, they managed to form a unit as large as a thousand men<sup>36</sup>. The inquiry conducted by the head of the Vernensky detective department in September 1916 revealed that Gelaohui followers conducted propaganda among the Dungans, calling for an uprising against the Russian authorities<sup>37</sup>.

A year before the uprising of 1916, the Ministry of War, specifically, by the Asian part of the General Staff of the Turkestani Military District, decided to distribute *Turkestanskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* in the Russian frontiers of Chinese Turkestan and Afghanistan in order to inform the Muslim population of those countries about the advancements of the Russian army. On July 25, 1915 The Fourth Political Department of The Russian Foreign Ministry sent a letter to the General Staff saying that the Russian Consul in Kuldzha had suggested issuing a bulletin in a Turkic language, so that the Turkic population of Chinese Turkestan, largely influenced by Turkish propaganda at the moment, are informed about the current situation on the fronts. One of the department's officials, court councillor Mikhail Brodyansky, addressed the military governor of the Semirechensk region, Mikhail Folbaum. The latter replied that printing such a bulletin in a Turkic language would cost about 100 rubles per month, which the local authorities could not afford.

The Imperial mission in Beijing, for its part, sharing the consul's concern, asked the Foreign Ministry to allocate funds for the publication of the bulletin with a view to "affecting the minds" of the indigenous Muslim population in Chinese Turkestan and counterbalancing the Turkish propaganda

<sup>32</sup> *Zakaspiyskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta*. 3 February, 1915.

<sup>33</sup> Saryev B. Bibliographic index. p. 25.

<sup>34</sup> The National Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fond I-461. Series 1. File 1260. Item 18.

<sup>35</sup> Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire. Fond 147. Series 486. File 247. Items 188-189.

<sup>36</sup> Madzhun D.S. The role of the Foreign Factor in the Tragic Events of 1916. // Proceedings of Kyrgyz-Russian Slavic University. 2016. Volume 16. No 2. p. 199.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*

available for them.<sup>38</sup> While holding it “highly desirable to inform the natives of Chinese Turkestan about the current events”, the Fourth Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in turn, shifted the burden of financial responsibility to the Military Headquarters, asking them to try and find the notorious 100 rubles a month.

On July 31, 1915, the Asian part of the Headquarters, through the locum tenens head of the Asian Branch, Major General Abdulaziz Davletshin, prepared a response saying “The General Staff informs that, while completely sharing the concerns of Court Councillor Brodyansky, allocating the required funds for the suggested printing of the bulletin about the course of military operations hardly appears possible. For its part, the General Staff would like to suggest that the goal outlined by the Kuldzinsky Consul be achieved by distributing *Turkestanская Tuzemnaya Gazeta*, published twice a week in Tashkent in the Sart language, to the Turkic population in Chinese Turkestan. Dispatches of this newspaper could be arranged through direct communication between the Consul in Kuldzha and the Office of the Turkestan Governor-General”<sup>39</sup>.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs found such an alternative inadequate. The Ministry continued its bureaucratic correspondence, cherishing hopes forcing the military to publish the bulletin in Verny. Almost a year later, on May 17, 1916, a few months before the outbreak of the Semirechye uprising, in another letter to the Asian Branch of the Headquarters, the diplomats repeated their plea. Mikhail Brodyansky sent a letter to the Turkestan Governor-General Fyodor Martson, who in response offered to send 50 copies of each issue of *Turkestanская Tuzemnaya Gazeta* to Kuldzha.

In another letter to the Ministry of War, Brodyansky reported that hostile propaganda in Semirechye was intensifying. According to the diplomat, among other things, the residents’ attitudes were affected by the struggle between political parties in Beijing. The 30 inns (units) of Dungan (Muslim) troops located within Chinese Turkestan were ready for a mutiny, and they could easily yield not only to Turkish, but also to German propaganda.

Therefore, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarded “raising the issue of publishing a newsletter in Verny for distribution to the public” as highly essential.<sup>40</sup> Discussing the financial side of the publication, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs found the cost of 100 rubles “affordable” and the fight against “the all-permeating German propaganda” essential, and again asked the Asian Branch of the Headquarters to “satisfy the aforementioned petition” of the Kulzha consul.<sup>41</sup> In turn, Asian Branch of the Headquarters, in their turn, tried to shift the costs of publishing the notorious bulletin to Turkestan authorities.

Notably, in 1915, assessing the military qualities and mobilization potential of the Dungan and Taranche (Uyghur) Russian subjects living in the Chinese frontier, the Ministry of War, apparently for simplicity, dubbed them all “Chinese Muslims having fled to Turkestan from persecution”. The main fighting quality of Dungans and Uyghurs was said to be their “hatred of the Chinese”, which could be definitely relied upon in the event of an armed conflict with China. Thus, it was decided to impose military duty on them “immediately”.<sup>42</sup> Never were Dungans and Uyghurs conscripted into the army. They even took an active part in the anti-Russian uprising of 1916. Therefore, their loyalty to Russia turned out to be imaginary.

On May 17, 1916, the Chief of the Military Headquarters, Infantry General Nikolay Mikhnevich, addressed Turkestan Governor-General Fyodor Martson. Having outlined the background, Mikhnevich stated that no one is engaged in counter-propaganda among Chinese Muslims, while they can easily yield to German influence.<sup>43</sup> General Mikhnevich stated, “Finding it essential to do our best to combat German propaganda, I believe that the petition of the consul in Kuldzha should be granted, and the 100 rubles per month required for this should, if Your Excellence pleases, be allocated from the funds at your disposal”<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.* Items 14–14 back of the sheet.

<sup>41</sup> The Russian State Military Historical Archive. Fond 400. Series 1. File 4412. Item 14, back of the sheet.

<sup>42</sup> Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire. Fond 147. Series 486. File 340. Item 14.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.* Item 15.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.* Item 15 back of the sheet.

<sup>38</sup> The Russian State Military Historical Archive. Fond 400. Series 1. File 4412. Items 10–10, back of the sheet.

<sup>39</sup> The Russian State Military Historical Archive. Fond 400. Series 1. File 4412. Items 11–11, back of the sheet.

Eventually, neither a publication of a special bulletin nor a dispatch of *Turkestanskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta* to Chinese Turkestan were agreed upon between the two ministries. Given that the Ministry of War succeeded in having the State Duma approve a separate budget for *Turkestanskaya Tuzemnaya Gazeta*, the refusal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to use the potential of the newspaper, which had been published for several decades, and their suggestion to find additional funds for the publication of a bulletin, looks highly inconsistent.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that all the “native newspapers” in the Russian Empire were unified by their content, publishing such materials as current news, official information, stories about the history of Russia and foreign countries, or texts by local educators. As a result, according to contemporaries and even the editors them-

selves, those papers tended to be overformal. The language of the publications was largely unnatural, but still quite understandable since their editors-in-chief were orientalists. At the same time, the “native newspapers” acted as important discussion platforms for local societies, which did not allow the imperial authorities to lead the ongoing discussion, but did allow them to at least have an idea of that. The obvious strength of the “native newspapers” was their bilingualism or, sometimes, trilingualism. Meanwhile, only two “native newspapers”, each having a rather modest run, were highly unlikely to combat the “information hunger” and overcome the national and cultural isolation of the indigenous Muslim population in Turkestan, which in certain aspects was on the verge of autarky. The Ottoman Empire benefited from this strategic miscalculation of Russia as the former addressed Turkestanis, Kashgarians, and other Muslims in their common language, employing conceivable religious and philosophical symbols and ideas.

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УДК 94(47+575.1)"1955/1983" + 327 + 930.1

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## SHARAF RASHIDOV'S DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES (1955–1983): APPROACHES AND DISCOURSES OF HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE LATE 20TH – EARLY 21ST CENTURIES

**Abstract.** This publication analyzes the scholarly literature on Sharaf Rashidov's diplomatic activities from 1955 to 1983. The period under review covers the beginning and end of Sharaf Rashidov visits to foreign countries. A historiographical review has identified several persistent research discourses to understand Rashidov's international activities: "Soviet Muslims in the context of the 'New Eastern Policy'", "cultural, economic, and scientific diplomacy as soft power", "domestic or foreign diplomacy", and "rational diplomacy". This set of discourses reflects researchers' desire to interpret Rashidov's diplomatic activities using various approaches, from institutional to cultural and civilizational. The relevance of a historiographic analysis of Sharaf Rashidov's diplomatic activities also stems from the need to determine the extent of research on the topic, reconstruct the main stages of its scholarly exploration, and identify promising areas for further research. This publication aims to systematize and critically evaluate the historiographic corpus devoted to the phenomenon of Sharaf Rashidov's diplomacy.

**Keywords:** Sharaf Rashidov, diplomacy, foreign visits, historiography, discourses, Soviet Muslims, "new Eastern policy", "soft power".

### Introduction

The diplomatic activities of Sharaf Rashidov (1917-1983), a prominent Soviet public official and political figure, have been the subject of research for over 50 years. References to Rashidov's international activities first began to appear in scholarly and journalistic literature in the early 1970s, reflecting the growing role of the Union republics in implementing USSR foreign policy. From that time until the present day, a historiographical tradition has gradually emerged that reflects the evolution of the perception and assessment of his international activity.

Both Soviet and contemporary Uzbek, Russian, and foreign researchers have contributed to the development of this historiography, demonstrating ongoing interest in this subject and the need for its further comprehensive study and systematization. Over more than fifty years, the historiography of this topic has featured a variety of approaches: from ideologically biased texts to contemporary research based on critical analysis of sources and an expanded documentary base. The publications typically examine individual as-

pects of Rashidov's international activities without fully addressing their content, context, and influence on the shaping of the image of the Uzbek SSR and the USSR in global politics. This study aims to identify and analyze the main historiographical approaches to studying Rashidov's diplomatic activities. It addresses two objectives: a historiographical one, through systematization and critical evaluation of the scholarly literature, and, in part, a specific historical one, through the reconstruction of key interpretive models that developed around Rashidov in the context of foreign policy processes of the second half of the 20th century.

The hypothesis is that during the Soviet period, historiography focused primarily on the ideologically driven aspects of Rashidov's foreign policy missions, while post-Soviet and international historiography has seen a broadening of the research field, including themes of the Islamic factor, soft power instruments, and regional leadership. At the same time, important issues such as Rashidov's diplomatic contacts with European leaders and his interactions with international organizations remain understudied. Furthermore, there is

a lack of scholarly works that critically consider the documents reflecting Rashidov's foreign policy activities.

### Historiography of the problem

A literature analysis revealed the following problematic areas, in which Rashidov's diplomacy received varying degrees of coverage: "Soviet Muslims in the context of the 'New Eastern Policy'", "cultural, economic, and scientific diplomacy as soft power", "domestic or foreign diplomacy", and "rational diplomacy".

Soviet Muslims in the context of the "New Eastern Policy"

Gare LeCompte in his 1971 dissertation *Soviet Muslims and the Afro-Asian World* first mentioned Sharaf Rashidov's diplomatic career<sup>1</sup>. He provided a detailed analysis of Rashidov's visits to Muslim countries in Asia and Africa, his work promoting the Organization for the Solidarity of Peoples of Asia and Africa (OSNAA), the prevalence of Islam in Soviet Uzbekistan, and the public diplomacy Rashidov practiced during his trips to Pakistan, Mali, and Ghana. After this, scholars rarely examined Rashidov's diplomatic activities. A renewed interest in the subject in the 2000s resulted from a growing general interest in the history of the late Soviet Union and a desire to understand the successes and failures of the "Soviet project".

Adeeb Khalid, in his 2007 publication *Being a Muslim in Soviet Central Asia, or an Alternative History of Muslim Modernity* concluded that Sharaf Rashidov's diplomatic activities contributed to strengthening the Soviet Union's position in the countries of the Global South<sup>2</sup>. The researcher emphasized the significance of Rashidov's role in establishing Uzbekistan as a strategic partner in Soviet foreign policy during the Cold War. The author analyzes Rashidov's diplomacy within the broader context of the history of Islam in Soviet Uzbekistan. In recent years, articles have also been pub-

lished on the specifics of Soviet foreign policy and, in particular, on the involvement of ethnic Soviet Muslims in the implementation of a new foreign policy concept within the framework of the so-called "New Eastern Policy" of Soviet diplomacy, which was conducted during the *Thaw* period in the late 1950s and early 1960s. One such work is an article by Masha Kirasirova, published in 2011<sup>3</sup>. The author analyzes this policy as a reflection of the Soviet ruling elite's belief that the "Soviet East" and the "foreign East" shared common or related cultures (national literature, history, traditions), which implied the instrumentalization of Soviet Islam and its influence on the global South. Ultimately, the author concludes that manipulating such notions of *Islam* and the *East* allowed the leaders of the Soviet Muslim republics to influence both the foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet Union.

### Soft Power: Cultural, Economic, and Academic Diplomacy

Gregory Glisson published another foreign publication mentioning Sharaf Rashidov in 1986<sup>4</sup>. This article contains the first mentions of Rashidov's visits to Eastern Europe. Glisson examined Rashidov's diplomatic and political strategies and concluded that Rashidov's experience conducting diplomatic negotiations remains relevant today. Overall, the researcher emphasized the importance of personal, cultural, academic, and historical factors in shaping global foreign and domestic policy.

In his 2013 publication, A.M. Kalinovsky examined the process of decolonization and modernization in Central Asia, including the role of Sharaf Rashidov in this process. Kalinovsky characterizes Rashidov as a skilled strategist who utilized culture and art, science and education, as well as the national traditions of Soviet Uzbekistan as an effective channel for establishing close political, economic, and diplomatic ties with countries of

<sup>1</sup> Le Compte G. Soviet muslims and the afro-asian world. Submitted to the Faculty of the School of International Service of The American University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Area Studies. 1971 / The American University Washington, D.C.

<sup>2</sup> Khalid A. Being Muslim in Soviet Central Asia, or an Alternative History of Muslim Modernity // Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada. 2007. Vol. 18. № 2. P. 123-143.

<sup>3</sup> Kirasirova M. "Sons of Muslims in Moscow": Soviet Central Asian mediators for the foreign East, 1955-1962 // Ab Imperio, 2011. No. 4. P. 106-132. <https://doi.org/10.1353/imp.2011.0003>.

<sup>4</sup> Gleason G. Sharaf Rashidov and the dilemmas of national leadership // Central Asian Survey, 1986. Vol. 5. Issue 3-4. P. 133-160. DOI: 10.1080/02634938608400560

the Global South in order to contain the penetration of countries of the Global North into Central Asia. Kalinovsky considers Rashidov's role here to be key, as he acted as a mediator between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Global South<sup>5</sup>.

In 2020, Riccardo Mario Cucciolla published a detailed analysis of Sharaf Rashidov's diplomatic activity on the global stage. Cucciolla emphasized that Rashidov was a significant player in global diplomacy during the Cold War, representing the interests of not only the Center but also Soviet Uzbekistan. Based on an analysis of Rashidov's diplomatic strategies, the author concludes that in his diplomatic missions, the Soviet politician employed economic and cultural diplomacy to achieve his objectives. Cucciolla notes that Rashidov successfully navigated between the Center and Uzbekistan's interests and strengthened international cooperation in Central Asia<sup>6</sup>.

Also in 2020, the Uzbek researcher E. Nuriddinov published an article focusing on the role of Uzbekistan as a "showcase of the Soviet East" in matters of foreign policy and international relations. Nuriddinov analyzed the role of the Uzbek SSR in Soviet foreign policy and concluded that, although Uzbekistan was a "showcase of the Soviet East's success", it was under strict control from the center. Nevertheless, Uzbekistan was able to build its economic, cultural, and spiritual ties with countries of the Global South, a development for which the author attributes Rashidov's key role. It was Rashidov who promoted ideas of solidarity and friendship between Uzbekistan and the countries of Asia and Africa, while simultaneously strengthening Uzbekistan's position within the USSR<sup>7</sup>. In 2023, E. Nuriddinov, together with I. Kosimkhuzhaev, published another article about the phenomenon of Sharaf Rashidov and Uzbekistan's place in Soviet diplomacy. The article emphasizes

that Rashidov primarily utilized Uzbekistan's cultural and historical ties with other countries to strengthen international relations<sup>8</sup>.

In 2021, Shakhlo Kurbanova analyzed Rashidov's use of public diplomacy practices, which was carried out through cultural mediators. The author believes that it was cultural diplomacy that led to the further development and expansion of Uzbekistan's foreign economic ties with countries in the Global South during the Soviet period<sup>9</sup>. In 2023, Albina Muratbekova published an article analyzing Central Asian scientific diplomacy during the Soviet period and demonstrating how prominent Soviet leaders promoted ideas of solidarity in countries of the Global South, using these opportunities to develop the Central Asian republics scientifically and culturally. Thanks to their activities, Soviet Central Asia began to be recognized and acknowledged in countries of the Global South and North. Central Asian diplomacy is generally divided into historical periods "tied" to the leaders of the Soviet Union. The article also includes an analysis of Rashidov's diplomatic activities. The author notes that Rashidov succeeded in becoming a key actor in Soviet policy toward countries of the Global South and East. Muratbekova also cites leading Western authors who have studied Soviet diplomacy in countries of the Global South and East<sup>10</sup>.

In 2023, Sanjarbek A. Numonzoda (Chonnam National University) analyzed Sharaf Rashidov's diplomatic contacts with countries of the Global South during the Cold War. The author confirms the established historiographic view that Rashidov was a strategist who relied on cultural and public diplomacy to advance Soviet foreign policy interests in South Asia and North Africa, acting as a mediator between the Global East and the Global South. The author also notes that Rashidov pos-

<sup>5</sup> Kalinovsky A. Not Some British Colony in Africa: The Politics of Decolonization and Modernization in Soviet Central Asia, 1955–1964 // *Ab Imperio*. № 2013. № 2. P. 1–31.

<sup>6</sup> Cucciolla R.M. Sharaf Rashidov and the international dimensions of Soviet Uzbekistan // *Central Asian Survey*. 2020. Vol. 39. Issue 2. P. 185–201. DOI: 10.1080/02634937.2019.1708269.

<sup>7</sup> Nuriddinov E. Uzbekistan As A "Showcase Of The Soviet East" // *Issues Of Foreign Policy And International Relations* European Journal of Molecular & Clinical Medicine. 2020. Vol. 07. Issue 07. P. 1011–1023.

<sup>8</sup> Nuriddinov E., Kosimkhuzhaev I. Uzbekistan in the historical retrospective of international relations within the framework of the Union State // *Journal of Advanced Zoology*. 2023. Vol. 44. Special Issue 2. P. 2978–3000.

<sup>9</sup> Kurbanova Sh.D. The role of Sharaf Rashidov in the development of international cultural relations of Uzbekistan // *Bulletin of Science and Practice*. 2021. Vol. 7. No. 5. Pp. 556–559. <https://doi.org/10.33619/2414-2948/66/61>

<sup>10</sup> Muratbekova A. Soviet Science Diplomacy: How Central Asia was Instrumentalised in Soviet Foreign Policy of Eurasian Studies. 2023. Vol. 14 (1). P. 30–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/18793665231159684>.

essed the ability to establish personal relationships with leaders of countries and movements<sup>11</sup>.

### Domestic diplomacy versus foreign diplomacy

In 1994, Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein's monograph *We Lost Everything in the Cold War*, focused on the diplomatic activities of Sharaf Rashidov. The authors assess Rashidov as a regional diplomat who served as a mediator between the Center, Central Asian countries, and the countries of the Global South. He skillfully adapted to the Center's demands and found common ground with Central Asian national elites to maintain stability in the region.

The authors believe that Rashidov's success in foreign policy was rooted in his efforts to reduce confrontation between various elite groups within Uzbekistan. Thus, Rashidov contributed to maintaining regional stability and advancing Soviet interests both in Central Asia and in several countries of the Global South. Overall, the authors conclude that Rashidov's influence on Soviet foreign policy was largely indirect; he was more of an "internal diplomat"<sup>12</sup>. Shokhzhakhon Rashidov expressed a counter-view in a 2021 publication on Rashidov's role in Soviet foreign policy in the 1950s. The author concluded that Rashidov played a key role in fulfilling the USSR's foreign policy objectives during the Cold War. His contribution extends beyond regional policy, encompassing the Soviet Union's international contacts with countries in the Global South and the Global East<sup>13</sup>.

### Rational diplomacy

In 2022, U. Khasanov in his article came up with the concept of rationality in Sharaf Rashidov's diplomacy. The author examined Rashidov's me-

thodology as a rational actor diplomacy, characterized by maximizing the interests of Central Asian countries while minimizing risks. Khasanov views Rashidov as a strategist in foreign policy management, taking into account the interests of both the Soviet Union as a whole and Uzbekistan, specifically, while taking into account global political trends. Sharaf Rashidov's approach was to leverage Uzbekistan's national traditions, their flexibility, and their rapid adaptation to changing political conditions to influence the global South. The author characterizes this approach as a rational choice in diplomacy<sup>14</sup>.

Thus, it can be tentatively concluded that the themes of "rational diplomacy" and "domestic diplomacy" or "foreign diplomacy" are new to the historiography of Sharaf Rashidov's diplomatic activities. However, themes on the role of Soviet Muslims in the implementation of the "New Eastern Policy", as well as Rashidov's cultural and economic diplomacy as "soft power", are actively explored in historiography. A serious gap in the historiography concerns Rashidov's diplomacy in Western countries. This is evidenced by the confusion even in the dating of his visits. For example, Cucciolla's publication provides contradictory dates for Rashidov's visits to Finland, Yugoslavia, Italy, and Czechoslovakia. The banner at the Rashidov Monumental Museum in Jizzakh states that the Uzbek leader visited Austria (1969), Bulgaria (1975), Czechoslovakia (1976), Finland (1954), France (1959, 1967), Ireland (1962), Italy (1964), and Yugoslavia (1963)<sup>15</sup>. In fact, Sharaf Rashidov visited Finland in 1955, Yugoslavia in 1965, Italy in 1970, and Czechoslovakia in 1980<sup>16</sup>.

### Conclusion

The literature review revealed several research discourses within the study of Sharaf Rashidov's diplomacy. The discourse "Soviet Muslims in the context of the 'New Eastern Policy'" demonstrates

<sup>11</sup> Numonzoda S. Sharof Rashidov's Role in Cold War Diplomacy: A Soviet Uzbekistan Perspective // Formosa Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (FJMR) 2023. Vol. 2. № 10. P. 1673–1682.

<sup>12</sup> Lebow R.N., Stein J.G. *We All Lost the Cold War*. Series: Princeton Studies in International History and Politics. Princeton University Press, 1994.

<sup>13</sup> Rashidov Sh. The role of Sharof Rashidov in the foreign policy of the USSR (50 years of the XX century) // American Journal of social and humanitarian research. 2021. Vol. 2. № 5. P. 112–115.

<sup>14</sup> Khasanov U. Sharaf Rashidov in rational choice diplomacy // Xalqaro munosabatlar. Fanlararo ilmiy-nazariy jurnal. International Affairs Interdisciplinary Scientific and Theoretic Journal. 2022. № 5-6. P. 69-74.

<sup>15</sup> Cucciolla R.M. Sharaf Rashidov and the international dimensions of Soviet Uzbekistan...

<sup>16</sup> Muminov I.T. Foreign visits of Sharaf Rashidov 1955-1983. Collection of materials. Tashkent: Niso nashriyot va matbaa uyi, 2025.

that Sharaf Rashidov was recruited by the Soviet leadership to demonstrate harmonious relations between the traditional Asian Muslim world and the socialist one. This, in turn, contributed to the successful promotion of Soviet ideology in Muslim countries in Asia and Africa. The discourse “cultural, economic, and scientific diplomacy” demonstrates how Sharaf Rashidov used soft power to advance Soviet foreign policy, which in turn led to the expansion of the Uzbek SSR's geo-economic and geostrategic ties. The discourse of “internal diplomacy” presents Sharaf Rashidov as a skilled mediator not only between the Soviet Union's center and the Central Asian Soviet republics but also within Uzbekistan, contributing to the republic's economic, cultural, scientific, and social modernization. As an “external” diplomat, Rashidov, on the one hand, served as the official

representative of the Soviet Union, while on the other, facilitated interactions with the USSR for countries in the Global South. Sharaf Rashidov's open and friendly interactions with peoples similar in tradition and culture, who had recently liberated themselves from colonialism, strengthened ties between the USSR and them and created a positive image of the Soviet state. Furthermore, Rashidov is portrayed as a prudent politician and diplomat who took a realistic approach to global changes and skillfully adapted to them. Thus, the emerging historiography of Sharaf Rashidov's diplomatic mission demonstrates a transition from fragmentary coverage of the topic to a more holistic and multifaceted understanding of the specifics of Sharaf Rashidov's diplomacy in the context of new interpretations of Soviet diplomacy as a whole.

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УДК 94(574)“1920/1991”:930.2 (049.32)

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**THE HISTORY OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN:  
A REVIEW OF MAKHBAT KOZYBAEVA'S MONOGRAPH  
“THE HISTORY OF EVERYDAY URBAN LIFE IN NORTHERN  
KAZAKHSTAN IN THE 1920S AND 1930S.” ALMATY: CH.  
VALIKHANOV INSTITUTE OF HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY, 2023.  
232 P.; AND ON THE MULTI-AUTHORED MONOGRAPH “HISTORY  
OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN CENTRAL KAZAKHSTAN IN 1946–1991  
(INCLUDING NARRATIVES ON DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL  
HISTORY)” KARAGANDA. 2024. 456 P.,  
EDITED BY ZAURESH SAKTAGANOVA**

**Abstract.** The article reviews two modern Kazakh monographs addressing the history of everyday life of Kazakhstani urban population during the Soviet period. Although considered a relatively new area, the history of everyday life is an established trend for Kazakhstani historical knowledge – in line with the global trends. The review examines the book by M. Kozybayeva, which covers the period of the 1920s – 1930s, and a monograph written by a research team led by Z. Saktaganova, which looks at the post-war period up to the 1990s. Both books are an essential contribution to the study of the social history of Kazakhstan, based on an extensive source base, including archival documents and oral history materials. At the same time, the monographs have a shortcoming common to many post-Soviet studies: while claiming to study “everyday life,” historians often replace an analysis of specific strategies and practices employed by people with a quantitative description of their living conditions. Consequently, a person as a historical actor disappears from historical research. The authors of the monographs under review mitigate this issue by incorporating memoirs; nevertheless, they do not completely solve it. Such interpretation of everyday life is quite different from that in the Western tradition, which typically draws on microhistory and qualitative analysis. The above considerations underscore the importance of academic dialogue between Russian and Kazakhstani historians, so that a proper methodology for studying the common Soviet past could be developed.

**Keywords:** history of everyday life, social history, Soviet period, Kazakhstan, urban population, strategies and practices, historiography, historical memory.

Over the years of sovereignty of Kazakhstan, the country's historical research has been re-vamping its theoretical and methodological groundwork. In recent decades, historians have been actively developing crucial areas of study and novel approaches. Contemporary history is paying increased attention to the study of everyday life and the living of ordinary people in the midst of major historical events. Meanwhile, “everyday life” is given an extremely wide interpretation, ranging from the history of customs and mundane routines to that of behavioral strategies and practices of different population groups fac-

ing various political, socio-economic, and cultural challenges. In this regard, addressing the history of everyday life by Kazakhstani scholars is in line with the global trends. Therefore, it is worth considering the approaches taken and results achieved by Kazakhstani colleagues in this area. It is also essential to find out whether the study of everyday life by Kazakhstani historians demonstrates any peculiar features as compared to Russian and global historiography.

According to Zauresh Saktaganova, one of the leading researchers of everyday life in Kazakhstan, this area of Kazakh historical science is rela-

tively new and has only intensely developed over the last decade. During this time, research teams have been formed and a substantial body of papers have been published. It is no coincidence that two books appeared almost simultaneously, each one delving into the history of everyday life of Kazakhstani urban population throughout almost the entire 20th century. A monograph by the well-known Kazakhstani historian Makhbat Kozybaeva explores everyday life of townspeople in Northern Kazakhstan in the first decades of Soviet power. The other monograph reviewed was written by a research team from the Center for Ethnocultural, Historical, and Anthropological Research at Karaganda University, led by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor Z.G. Saktaganova, and looks at the history of everyday life of Kazakhstani urban population. The latter book aims to reconstruct everyday urban life in Central Kazakhstan over the post-war period and the years that followed, up to the early 1990s.

Even though these books depict everyday lives of city dwellers in different regions of Kazakhstan, together they create a broad picture that is representative of the entire urban population of the country. There is no comprehensive study of everyday life in Kazakhstan during the Great Patriotic War, which is a major gap. However, research on this topic is already underway, and some of it is presented in publications by Z.G. Saktaganova and her colleagues on the lives of women during the war. Arguably, an exciting research direction, or rather, a research school has emerged in Kazakhstani historical science. That school explores the history of everyday life.

The two monographs have a shared theme and a similar structure; therefore, it seems logical to consider them in one review. On the other hand, they differ significantly in the scope of issues covered and the perspective from which they examine the everyday life of city dwellers during the period under study. In addition to the introduction, conclusion and four chapters, the book M.M. Kozybaeva's contains appendices, a glossary, and a list of abbreviations. It is the author's understanding of the subject area and theoretical aspects of research that determines the structure of the monograph. The first two sections of the first chapter define the starting points of the study: the author describes her methodology, dwells upon

the evolution of the history of everyday life as a relatively new direction in historical research, and traces the main stages and most important milestones in the historiography of the topic. In this chapter, M.M. Kozybaeva demonstrates her scholarship and expertise in both Kazakh and foreign historiography, including the Russian one.

However, the literature review is perplexingly imbalanced. While the collection of foreign and Russian publications referred to is limited to those most helpful in discussing the chosen topic, Kazakh historiography is excessively reviewed or listed, including papers by archaeologists and historians on antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the pre-revolutionary period. On the other hand, Kozybaeva performs a meticulous analysis of Kazakh historiography proper, which is directly related to the subject matter.

The source base of M. Kozybaeva's research is vast and presented in the book in a highly professional manner. Notably, in addition to the archival materials familiar to historians, the author makes extensive use of periodicals and personal sources, without which adequate coverage of everyday history would be hardly possible.

In the main part of her study, M. Kozybaeva seeks to cover the issues that determine people's existence in everyday urban life in the context of the urbanization process in Kazakhstan and the formation of the urban socio-demographic structure. In Chapter Two, the author not only reveals the close connection between these processes and the turning points in the history of the USSR, but also traces certain country-specific features. During this period, the majority of the Kazakh population were leading a nomadic or rural lifestyle; only a small part of the Kazakhs moved to the cities, accounting for about one-sixth of the total urban population. Another characteristic of the demographic structure of the cities studied was the significant proportion of special settlers (5.5%) in the population (pp. 61–62). During the famines of the early 1920s, late 1920s, and early 1930s, some of the starving tried to find salvation by fleeing to the cities. The impact of this process on the development of cities in Northern Kazakhstan was more significant than that in other regions of the USSR.

Notably, the complexities and controversies of the period examined in the book lie in the simulta-

neity of modernization processes (in other words, industrial development and cultural revival) and the accompanying calamities (such as famine, housing shortages, and repression). Classifying Stalin's regime as totalitarian, as is the case in M. Kozybaeva's book, reproduces the obsolete views about the nature of Soviet power, which have been intensively revised by global research community over the past decades. Today, there is a consensus in historiography that Stalinist power never had such total control over society as theorists of totalitarianism claim. This refers to both time and space. The "totalitarian" approach, with its dualistic view of an all-powerful regime and its ever-obedient subjects, not only distorts the historical picture, but also eliminates the need to look for other causes of adverse phenomena. Among those causes are initially inadequate living standards and low culture of the majority of the population in Kazakhstan as well as in the other Soviet republics.

Modern historiography tends to abandon the view of the Soviet Union as a unique "failed" experiment; now, the "Soviet project" is seen as a variation within the global development, an "alternative modernity." Meanwhile, historians in the former Soviet republics, including Kazakh researchers of social history, keep applying the theory of totalitarianism rather extensively. This may be due to the fact that, being an overtly bipolar concept, this theory allows them to demonstrate the so-called "oppression" of the national peripheries in the USSR.

Indeed, it is hardly possible to find a comprehensive formula to characterize the Stalinist period of Soviet history. This could be the reason for the variations in the title of Chapter Two, Section Two. In the text of the monograph, it is called "The Dynamics of the Socio-Demographic Structure of the Urban Population of the Region During the Forced Soviet Forced Modernization," while in the table of contents one can see a more neutral version: "...during the period of Soviet social experiments." When referring to modernization, the epithet "accelerated" seems more appropriate than "forced", while the wording in the table of contents contributes little to the understanding of the period under study.

Chapter Two, Section Three dwells upon the development of urban infrastructure, housing condi-

tions, and urban improvement tasks. This period was marked by a persistent shortage of urban housing all over the USSR; however, in my opinion, the housing crisis in the cities of Northern Kazakhstan was less acute than, for instance, in Siberia. That said, as all over the Soviet Union, the growth of the urban population in Kazakhstan outpaced the commissioning of new housing. Notably, unlike the previous two sections, where statistical data prevail, this one focuses more on distinctive problems of everyday life.

In Chapters Three and Four, M. Kozybaeva attempted to take a closer look at what city dwellers were engaged in at work and at home. Chapter Three identifies social groups according to the nature of their employment and reveals characteristics of those groups. Of particular interest is the account of the exclusive category "lishentsy" (plural for "lishenets", a disenfranchised person) and their circumstances in Kazakhstan.

The standard of living of the urban population is given regrettably little attention. The brief account of nominal wages (pp. 91–92) and the equally compact and vague report of the family budgets of Petropavlovsk residents in 1931 (pp. 98–99) can hardly create a complete picture of everyday survival in the adverse conditions of those days. Nevertheless, the other chapters present ample and conclusive evidence of the dire financial situation the Northern Kazakhstani urban population confronted. For example, this point is also supported in Section Two of Chapter Three, dealing with the development of trade and public catering during the period, which the author, in my opinion, somewhat inaccurately refers to as famine. It is unclear whether this term applies to the entire period discussed or certain segments of that.

In Chapter Three, Section Three, M. Kozybaeva addresses the provision of medical services to the population, and also provides a brief description of the physical culture movement and grassroots sports, which, in my opinion, belong to urban leisure activities.

Chapter Four begins with a section on the transformation of the urban family from the traditional to the partnership-based and nuclear type. The concluding point that the urban population lost its family values due to political repression is hardly plausible. Admittedly, cases where people aban-

doned their elderly parents or spouses were not so widespread. On the contrary, for the vast majority of the population, including in Kazakhstan, amidst enormous external challenges, family values only increased in importance. Overall, as Chapter Four addresses urban cultural environment, this section would seem more appropriate in the chapter on demography.

In my opinion, the section on education (pp. 146–158) does little to complete the picture of everyday life in the city. Rather, the author describes the situation in the education system, the development of schools and other educational institutions, as well as the efforts to supplant religious education. Unfortunately, the monograph almost completely lacks any account of the religiosity of the population and the place of religion in everyday life, which is a significant shortcoming of the study. The struggle of the Communist Party and the state against religion and the policy of persecution of religious organizations are discussed in the following section; however, that passage does not directly relate to specific forms of everyday life.

The concluding section in the main part of the monograph looks at the ways city dwellers spent their leisure time and visit cultural institutions. However, here, as in many previous cases, the author offers a quantitative analysis rather than characterization of everyday urban life. First and foremost, one would expect to find data on the overall distribution of city dwellers' free time, in which case the section would address not only righteous but also unacceptable forms of leisure activities. The latter do not receive any coverage in the monograph.

The conclusion of the book creates a dubious impression, which is due to the somewhat confused and inconsistent rendering. As a result, a reader feels that the material collected and presented was not generalized to an adequate degree. M. Kozybaeva keeps reproducing what has already been said. There are regular, almost verbatim, repetitions from certain section and chapter conclusions, as well as a number of incoherent or illogical pieces. Meanwhile, there are quite a few sound inferences and broad generalizations that could be extracted from the overly extensive text. The picture of everyday urban life in Northern Kazakhstan in the pre-war period is complemented

by statistical tables, photographs, and excerpts from residents' memoirs, compiled in 28 appendices.

Summing up, the weaknesses identified do not, on the whole, prevent one from giving M. Kozybaeva's monograph a positive review. Obviously, a noteworthy monograph on the Stalinist period in the history of the Kazakh people has appeared, opening up various aspects of everyday life to the reader. The book is a well-written, logically structured and readable text; besides, it has an impressive design. We can compliment the author on the release of her work onto the big stage of historical knowledge: the book is an edition of 1,000 copies, which many academic institutions cannot afford these days.

The second book under review was written by a group of scholars in Karaganda led by Professor Zauresh Saktaganova. Over the last decade, this team has been conducting very successful research into everyday history. This synthesizing piece of writing, published in 2024, examines the everyday life of the urban population in Central Kazakhstan from the post-war period to the last years of the Soviet state. Arguably, the monograph can be regarded as a summation on the theme.

The structure of the text is quite similar to that of M. Kozybaeva's monograph. Based on the objective set, the book first examines the living conditions of city dwellers and then moves on to describe their everyday lives. The monograph consists of three parts, demographics, material conditions, and culture, with each particular issue addressed in a separate chapter and each chapter further divided into sections. Each section considers a specific period of time. In all chapters but two, the material is quite logically divided into three stages: the post-war, or Stalinist, period; the Khrushchev period, which also includes the second half of the 1960s; the last two decades of the Soviet state. The authors have meticulously collected factual material, which undoubtedly provides a sound basis for studying a wide range of issues in the history of Kazakhstan. A serious drawback is that the introduction contains no information about the methodology or source base of the study; therefore, readers have to make their own judgements on the completeness of those.

Part One deals with the demographic development of the population of Central Kazakhstan's

cities, their housing conditions and medical care, urban infrastructure development, and urban improvement. The authors have collected and synthesized a vast amount of material from various sources. Notably, the major source is archival materials which have not been employed by researchers before. Overall, the picture of social development in the cities of Central Kazakhstan is painted in considerable detail. Nevertheless, the book is not particularly informative about the people themselves: how they lived, what their thoughts and feelings were, what strategies and practices they devised for everyday life. To shed light on such matters, one needs special, primarily personal, sources. The authors solved this issue to a certain extent by turning to recollections of city residents they gathered. However, these oral testimonies do not cover all aspects of the study; besides, one should be somewhat skeptical about oral history as it is often distorted under the pressure of the contemporary ideological and political situation.

It is Part Two that is more concerned with everyday life, analyzing the financial situation of the urban population based on data on family budgets, as well as the state of public catering and trade in cities. In my opinion, the title of this chapter, "Quality of Life of the Urban Population," is not quite suitable since the situation in healthcare and culture, which are addressed in the previous and subsequent parts, has an equal impact on quality of life. The title of the Section Three in Chapter Five, "Consumer Characteristics of the Population...", also seems misleading; consumption characteristics would be more appropriate. Overall, Part Two enables adequate account of the situation as extensive statistical data here are supplemented by memoirs.

Part Three looks at the cultural environment in the cities, as well as the behavior and traditions of residents relating the perception and consumption of culture. This part includes a separate chapter discussing the status of religious institutions and residents' attitudes toward religion, which is an apparent merit. The concluding chapter, dealing with deviant behavior and crime, is also highly significant. Here, more than in the other chapters, attention is paid to the actual living of city residents, although the authors failed to avoid the excessive focus on the activities of

the state and its institutions, which is the case throughout book.

Overall, due to the high competence of the team, extensive data collected, and their previous research experience in this area, Karaganda scholars created a comprehensive and vivid depiction of everyday urban life in Central Kazakhstan from the end of World War II until the final years of the Soviet Union.

Importantly, not only do the extensive materials collected by the authors cover issues related to the everyday life in Central Kazakhstan, but they also address the socio-economic and, to some extent, political history of the Kazakh SSR and the USSR as a whole. In the introduction to the book, Z. Sakhtaganova explains that the book content goes beyond the scope of the research as an attempt to fill some of the numerous gaps in Kazakh historiography (p. 13). In this regard, the authors have undertaken a valuable and fruitful study, which will be gratefully received by both fellow scholars and anyone interested in Soviet history. Overall, the book is praiseworthy for its thoroughness, versatility, and impressive size, and is undoubtedly an important contribution to the historiography of the Kazakh and other peoples of Kazakhstan.

In conclusion, I would like to make an important point. The two monographs reviewed, like many Russian and Kazakhstani publications claiming to be studies of everyday life, share a major weakness. Most authors, declaring their goal to be the examination of everyday life, which implies, first and foremost, analyzing the forms of living and, ultimately, characterizing the lifestyle, in the course of narration, shift their focus to describing the conditions in which this living took place. As a result, we receive traditional quantitative characteristics of the spheres in which everyday life takes place: primarily, households and communal infrastructure; also, economics, politics, education, and culture; occasionally, the workplace. At the same time, the authors usually supplement their presentation with examples taken from memoirs, or, less frequently, from other personal sources. By and large, such accounts hardly make a significant contribution to existing research on the development of such areas as housing construction, the healthcare system and network of medical institutions, or school and

university education in a particular region. Clearly, without a thorough understanding of a person's environment, it is impossible to conceive and describe his/her lifestyle and activities. However, this study may well be considered a preliminary stage in exploration of everyday life, which should be followed by a comprehensive and detailed examination of the actual living of specific individuals as representatives of different social groups. Many historians simply do not take the latter step; in their view, by merely describing quantitative characteristics of living conditions they characterize people's everyday lives. As a result, an individual as a historical actor disappears from the pages of their writings.

The authors of the publications reviewed, like many other historians, attempt to offset this disadvantage by incorporating memoirs, but this does not solve the problem. In addition to being evidently subjective, memoirs are usually narrow and fragmentary, and do not create a comprehensive, multifaceted picture of everyday life. Essentially, research which is clearly aimed at exploring the history of everyday life necessarily implies a targeted and systematic analysis of the entire range of human activities.

The relevance of this issue is also evidenced by the marked contrast between the content of the writings by foreign scholars, the pioneers of studying everyday history, and that of most papers by Russian and Kazakh historians. The former, do not, as a rule, provide quantitative characteristics of the person's environment. What they typically do is to perform qualitative analysis, which often draws on a specific example of the living of an individual and/or social group. Not sur-

prisingly, in the West, the history of everyday life is quite closely linked to microhistory, mental and local history, and, more broadly, to sociology and social philosophy. In my opinion, this dissimilarity is due to the Soviet historiographical tradition with its focus on quantitative analysis, which is common to historians in Russia and Kazakhstan.

It is not easy to shift the focus from describing living conditions to exploring everyday life itself. The body of sources accessible is virtually insufficient for that, while the available archival data is largely quantitative. As a result, an account of what is claimed to be the history of everyday life, eventuates into the familiar task of counting the number of schools, theaters, and stores in a given region, as well as analyzing the state's efforts to increase their number.

Nonetheless, the very focus of historians on the study of everyday life is beneficial for the progress of historical knowledge in the post-Soviet countries. Importantly, scholars are considering the areas and issues essentially underresearched or ignored by positivist history. The content of historical publications has become multifaceted, making them more engaging not only for scholars but also for the general public.

In this regard, the reviewed books by Kazakhstani historians are illustrative of how this issue has been gradually overcome. Hopefully, academic contacts between Russian and Kazakh historians, discussions in journals, at various forums and conferences, as well as mutual reviews of the most interesting publications, will help the research communities of both countries devise an effective strategy for exploring their shared Soviet past, including the history of everyday life.

УДК 94(575.2)“1941/1945”:94(47+57)“1941/1945”:623 (049.32)

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**A REVIEW OF THE BOOKS “KYRGYZSTAN:  
THE MILESTONES OF THE STATEHOOD. YEARS SCARRED BY  
THE WAR.  
A TRIBUTE TO THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET  
PEOPLE’S VICTORY IN THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR”.  
BISHKEK: MAXPRINT, 2025. 624 P.; “THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY  
OF KYRGYZSTAN: 1941–1945. A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS”.  
BISHKEK: DEMI, 2025. 180 P.\***

**Abstract.** This article provides a review of the multi-authored popular science monograph “Kyrgyzstan: the Milestones of the Statehood. Years Scarred by the War. A Tribute to the 80th Anniversary of the Soviet People’s Victory in the Great Patriotic War” and the collection of documents “The Defense Industry of Kyrgyzstan: 1941-1945.” The monograph reflects the history of the many-sided development of the Kirghiz SSR before and during the Great Patriotic War. The book mainly depicts military, ideological, political, economic, and labor mobilizations, as well as the deeds of Kyrgyz soldiers. The collection includes 94 documents, extracted from eight depositories of the Central State Archives of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Central State Archives of Political Documentation of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Central State Archives of Film and Photo Documents of the Kyrgyz Republic, and the Issyk-Kul Regional Archives. The archival materials include Communist Party and government directives as well as administrative records, which enable a preliminary reconstruction of the creation and activities of the defense enterprises in the Kirghiz SSR between 1941 and 1945.

**Keywords:** Great Patriotic War, USSR, the rear, Kyrgyzstan, defense industry, mobilization.

The 80th anniversary of Victory has been a milestone in preserving the memory of the Great Patriotic War over the post-Soviet space in the first quarter of the 21st century. One of the ways of constructing historical memory is presenting popular science publications timed to coincide with the upcoming Victory Day. This tradition originated in the late Soviet Union and has continued in those CIS countries where Victory Day is celebrated annually. Among the latter are the states of Central Asia, including Kyrgyzstan. In 2025, the book “Kyrgyzstan: the Milestones of the Statehood. Years Scarred by the War. A tribute to the 80th Anniversary of the Soviet People’s Victory in the Great Patriotic War” was published in

Bishkek. The anniversary reference in the title indicates that the country is purposefully implementing commemorative practices aimed at preserving cultural continuity regarding the Soviet past. This policy brings together the perspectives of the state elites of the Russian Federation and Kyrgyzstan in the face of external ideological challenges. Mutual recognition of the fact that there is a common denominator in both national histories is one of the tools for strengthening good-neighborly relations. With regard to mass consciousness, it blocks the temptations of ethnic nationalism and hinders the mechanisms of mental division and confrontation between the two peoples, who are united by a shared historical destiny.

\* This article has been produced as part of a government-commissioned research project entitled “Socio-economic Potential of the Eastern Regions of Russia in the 20th – early 21st Centuries: Strategies and Practices of Management, Dynamics and Geopolitical Context” (FWZM-2024-0005).

In this context, the concept of Kyrgyzstan as an integral part of the USSR during the Great Patriotic War reflects the methodological approach applied by the researchers of the entire Soviet period in the republic's history, according to which Soviet Kyrgyz statehood played a beneficial role in the fate of the Kyrgyz people. The key constituents of the authors' conceptual position appear to be the desire to establish historical continuity between the Kyrgyz SSR and post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan along with the inclusion of war-time memories in the national identity of Kyrgyz people.

The publication under review consists of seven units, which are quite logically organized around both the problems addressed and chronology. The first unit looks at the early stages of the Kyrgyz SSR on the eve of the Great Patriotic War. It considers various aspects of the administrative and political structure as well as the large-scale socio-economic and cultural transformation of the Soviet republic. The unit describes the processes of intensive industrialization and modernization that contributed to the progress made in industry and agriculture. The authors discuss the major advances in the elimination of illiteracy, the development of education, science, and culture, the improvement of welfare, and the formation of a new Soviet identity for the Kyrgyz people.

The following five units (II–VI) contain extensive factual and statistical data about the Kyrgyz SSR during the Great Patriotic War. They consistently reveal the challenges of the early wartime days, the role of Kyrgyzstan as a reliable rear area, the achievements made and challenges faced in the country's way to economic transformation, changes in its social and cultural life, and the human dimension of the Victory. The pressures of the early days of the war are shown through the prism of military mobilization; the military volunteer movement; the accumulation of reserves for the active army; the mobilization of material resources for the needs of the front; ideological, informational and propagandistic practices. The book discusses the evacuation of factories, research and educational institutions, orphanages, and the population, as well as the relocation and resettlement of deported peoples, which illustrates the significance of the Kirghiz SSR as a rear area.

When explaining the economic transformation of Kyrgyzstan, the authors consider the processes

involved in the launch of relocated factories, the adjustment of military production, the extraction of valuable raw materials for the defense industry, the functioning of railways, energy infrastructure, agriculture, household plots, and the taxation system.

An analysis of labor mobilization practices; the use of adolescent, pensioner, and female labor; supply rationing; social support for vulnerable groups; universal military training; the development of healthcare, sports and fitness, school and university education, culture and arts, ranging from literature to cinema, allowed the authors to reconstruct the transformations in the social and cultural life of Kyrgyz people during the war years. The human dimension of victory is also demonstrated through the dynamics of population size and natural population change; frontline casualty statistics; emergency migrations (evacuation, re-evacuation, and deportation). Overall, the main units of the book paint the picture of the comprehensive development of the Kirghiz SSR amidst a combination of large-scale military, labor, economic, ideological, and political mobilizations.

The last unit commemorates Kyrgyzstan's heroes in the Great Patriotic War. It includes 75 biographical profiles of Kyrgyzstan soldiers. Each entry contains information about their lives and military careers, heroic deeds, military ranks and titles, awards, deaths on the battlefield or post-war lives, and memorial symbols honoring the heroes. This part of the book allows us to personalize the Kyrgyz people's contribution to the Victory. The most fascinating pieces are the personal histories of famous Kyrgyzstanis: Zuurkan Kainazarova, who became Hero of Socialist Labor twice; Rafy Aidarbekova, the first female doctor in Kyrgyzstan; Toktogon Altibasarova, the village council chairperson who fostered 150 children, and others. These biographies evidence civic loyalty towards both the great Soviet homeland and the small Kyrgyz homeland.

Notably, the same degree of informativeness can not be attributed to the coverage of everyday life in the Kirghiz SSR during wartime, which is rather fragmentary. Without a separate section on the living conditions and cultural leisure activities of Kyrgyzstanis in the rear areas, the human dimension of victory reconstructed in the book remains incomplete.

Another significant contribution into the preservation of historical memory of the role played by Soviet Kyrgyzstan during the Great Patriotic War is the publication of archival documents on the establishment and operations of the republic's defense industry in the first half of the 1940s. A pivotal moment in modern Kyrgyz historiography was the publication of the document collection "The Defense Industry of Kyrgyzstan. 1941–1945" (Bishkek, 2025), prepared by employees of the Central State Archives of the Kyrgyz Republic. In total, this edition contains 94 documents stored in eight collections of the Central State Archives of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Central State Archives of Political Documentation of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Central State Archives of Film and Photo Documents of the Kyrgyz Republic, and the Issyk-Kul Regional Archives. Included are Communist Party and government directives and administrative documents that allow to tentatively reconstruct the history of the establishment and activities of Kyrgyzstan's defense enterprises.

The structure of the collection is traditional for documentary publications. The array of documents is preceded by an introduction, conveying the following characteristic concept of Kyrgyz historiography: the Soviet Union "used to be our great Motherland," and the republic was its integral part. The contribution of the Kyrgyz SSR to the victory in the Great Patriotic War is revealed through the documented facts and figures on the mobilization of Kyrgyzstanis to the frontline, the formation of national military units, the collection of warm clothing for Red Army soldiers, raising funds for producing arms and munitions, training production workers in the state labor reserve system, the reception and settlement of evacuees, and the construction of new factories. Overall, the introductory part of the publication offers a comprehensive account of the mobilization development of the Soviet Kirghiz republic during wartime.

The core of the collection consists of declassified documents from the archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Kirghiz Republic, the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union and the Kirghiz SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz Republic, as well as archives of defense enterprises. The

totality of documents included falls into two qualitatively distinct categories. The first one comprises directives from state and Communist Party bodies that exercised administrative, political, and economic leadership on the scale of the republic. They contain mobilization decisions on organizing the production of tools, weapons, and ammunition, evacuating and relocating factories, adjusting power supply, installing equipment at production facilities, constructing factory buildings, operating defense enterprises, repairing vehicles for the Red Army, preparing industrial labor reserves, mobilizing the unemployed working-age population, accounting for and distributing the workforce, and organizing socialist competition. Overall, the policy documents allow readers of the collection to see the range of issues that fell within the competence of the Soviet Union and Kirghiz authorities regarding the organization and development of the military economy in the republic.

The second category embraces administrative documents from various levels of hierarchy, from the highest state and Communist Party authorities to factory directors. Among the documents are reports of several types, explanatory statements, letters, messages, petitions, certificates, lists, and plans. The unit also includes correspondence between various officials on issues such as evacuation; construction; production; material and technical supply; personnel recruitment and training; community amenities; socialist competition; employee awards.

Departmental and factory records provide a concrete picture of the conditions for locating and commissioning evacuated enterprises, stabilizing electric power systems and supplying military factories with electricity, fulfilling plans and orders for the production of defense supplies, and the overall development of industry in the Kirghiz SSR between 1941 and 1945. The collection is significantly less informative about the mobilization of employees for production, workforce required for construction and installation work, establishment of factory and plant training schools, housing conditions of factory workers, assistance from the authorities in improving families' living conditions, the procedure for redeeming food ration cards, results of socialist competition, and awarding top performers. On

the whole, industrial issues naturally predominate in the publication under review.

With regard to the internal situation at Kyrgyzstan's military factories, the most thought-provoking source of information is the official correspondence between their directors and the respective People's Commissariats on establishing and increasing the production of defense supplies. That helps identify the challenges faced while creating and developing defense industry enterprises in the republic in the first half of the 1940s. During the organization of weapons and ammunition production in late 1941 and early 1942, there was interdepartmental confusion in the planning of the quantity and nomenclature of products manufactured for the front. For example, the 1942 production plan for the Frunze Mechanical Plant was issued in seven versions, compiled by Glavselmash, the People's Commissariat of Mortar Armament of the USSR, and the Council of People's Commissars of the Kirghiz SSR. This case, demonstrated by the materials of the collection, reveals how the systematic coordination of the Soviet military economy implied by papers actually turned into anarchy of uncoordinated orders, which perplexed local shop floor management. Sources of this kind provide documentary grounds for confirming the following macro-theoretical assump-

tion favored by modern economists: the socialist planning system was essentially contradictory.

Ultimately, the point made above is fundamental in terms of how objective the authors' vision of the Soviet period of the Kyrgyz state and society is. The publication under review features profound reverence for the goals and practices of building socialism in Kyrgyzstan as well as in the entire USSR. This, in turn, brings the language of contemporary national historiography closer to the late Soviet historical narrative. This convergence lies in the exclusively positive characterization of socialist modernization in Kyrgyzstan, which, according to advocates of this approach, was only marked by outstanding achievements. Undoubtedly, the state-building, economic, and socio-cultural development of the republic prior to and during the Great Patriotic War brought many advantages to the population. However, we should bear in mind the obvious traumas of the shared historical past in the post-Soviet space, some of which this documentary collection reflects. The books under review demonstrate the subtle borderline between the deeply emotional memories of the multinational Soviet homeland, on the one hand, and the rational, scientific concept of "the real socialism" with its macro-regional specifics in Central Asia, on the other.

## Rules for submitting articles

The guide has been developed with regard to publication of articles in Russian and English parallel. The final version will be published on the journal's website.

### *In Russian:*

Accepted for publication are articles of no more than 40,000 symbols, including spaces. An exception is historiographical reviews, which may be 60,000 symbols, including spaces. In addition, the journal accepts reports on research conferences, symposia, schools, author profiles, as well as reviews of publications (up to 20,000 symbols).

When submitting an article, you must provide the UDC index; the title of the article; information about the author, specifically, full name, academic degree, academic title, position, place of work (in accordance with the charter of the institution), ORCID number, email address (all in full, without abbreviations); abstract (1,000-1,5000 symbols), and keywords (no more than 10).

Font type: Times New Roman

Font size: 12 points for text, 10 points for footnotes

Line spacing: 1.5

Margins: top and bottom – 2 cm, left – 3, right – 1.5 cm

Indentation: 1.5 cm

Page numbering: uninterrupted, starting from Page 1, bottom right

Syllabification: automatic.

Footnotes and commentaries are made automatically page-by-page. The design must comply with the bibliographic standard. Do not specify editors, authors, publishers, or the number of pages in the footnotes.

If there are figures and tables, provide links to them in the text as follows:

Text... (Fig. 1). Text... (Table 1).

When referring to a single drawing or table, use the model below.

Text... (see the picture). Text... (see the table).

Figures must be accompanied by captions, which follow the reference list.

Tables must have headings placed above them.

The list of references of an article submitted to the journal in RUSSIAN includes all publications that must be considered when calculating the number of citations. Archival sources and newspaper articles are not included in the list of references. The list must include only those publications that are referred to in the text. If available, specify the DOI. Titles of articles, monographs, collections of articles and collections of documents IN RUSSIAN included in the list ARE NOT TRANSLITERATED OR TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH. Conversely, titles of articles, monographs, collections of articles and collections of documents published in CENTRAL ASIAN LANGUAGES must be translated into RUSSIAN in square brackets. The NAMES of the AUTHORS of these publications and the names of the journals are TRANSLITERATED.

The References section is designed by the editorial board of the journal as an integral part of translation into English.