

At Home: Jews and Muslims in Eastern Europe (28-29 June 2018, Berlin)

Diliara Brileva (Kazan Federal University)

Constructing the concept of «Traditional Islam» in the Republic of Tatarstan after the collapse of the USSR

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, when ideology based on atheism disappeared with the state, groups of people interested in learning their religion began to appear on the territory of the former USSR. This revealed the problem of the lack of religious knowledge among the population. The «interrupted»/«ruined» tradition began to be discussed. For interested people, the source of religious education was «Other Muslims», the bearers of another interpretation of Islam (both transnational religious movements such as F. Gülen, and local forms of Islam).

The response to this appearance of different Islams in ideological and anthropological senses was the initiative of the representative of the «official Islam» (DUM RT - the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of the Republic of Tatarstan) in creating «traditional Islam». In constructing of the concept of traditional Islam, special attention was paid not so much to the existence of an anthropological tradition on the territory of the modern Tatarstan, but to the continuity of the theological tradition, the tradition of Islamic scholarship. Except numerous reprints of certain articles and treatises of the times of the boom of Islamic theological thought in the region (late 18th - early 20th centuries), translations of these works, popularization through public lectures, the researches in this field are conducted and the new periodical of the DUM RT with the same name as the most authoritative journal of the early 20th century (the journal «Shura») was established. In this case, theological diversity (for example, the existence of Salafi ideas) of the works of Muslim Tatar theologians of the 19-early 20 century are ignored and a «correct» image of Muslim Tatar scholars is created.

At the same time, the notions of «traditional» Islam vary. Representatives of different views on Islam are trying to build their own concept. Supporters of Jadidism believe that traditional Islam is the continuation of the tradition of the Jadids, who are considered to be supporters of modernization. For representatives of religious educational institutions, the tradition is in the old method of teaching. Supporters of Sufism and Salafism speak of the Sufi and Salafi foundations of traditional Tatar Islam, respectively.

The popularity of the idea of «traditional Islam» in the Republic of Tatarstan is conditioned, on the one hand, by the support of politicians who take part in activities aimed at the formation of this concept. On the other hand, traditional Islam receives the support of the majority of the Tatar-Muslim population of the Republic of Tatarstan. The latter, being so-called ethnic Muslims (non-observing most of the ritual side of Islam), often act as critics of the Other manifestations of Islam, wishing to adhere to the Islam of their ancestors. Islam for Muslim Tatars is a matter of identity, this is what distinguishes them from Orthodox Russians who are their immediate neighbors in the Republic of Tatarstan and the majority in Russia. Therefore, the «traditional» form of Islam is considered by them as a guarantee of «self-preservation». However, after 70 years of atheism, the notion of «traditional» / pre-revolutionary Islam is becoming the subject of construction, rather than re-construction.

This study is based on analysis of *khutbahs*, publications of religious figures of Tatarstan as well as the religious periodicals.

Diliara Brileva is an assistant lecturer at the Department of Religious Studies at the Institute of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Kazan Federal University. She wrote her PhD thesis (2012) on Public discussions on social reforms in Tatar press of the early 20th century (Journal Shoura 1908-1917). Diliara Brileva's research interests are related to the transformation of Islamic tradition, social reforms in the Tatar Muslim community in the early 20th century, Turkic Islam, memory studies, politics of culture. Contact: diliarabrileva@gmail.com.

Harun Buljina (Columbia University, New York)

The Journal *Biser*: Islamic Reformism and Print Cosmopolitanism in Early 20th Century Bosnia-Herzegovina

In the early 20th century, Muslim intellectuals in Bosnia-Herzegovina embraced the cause of Islamic reform, founding associations, periodicals and lobbying for sweeping changes to local institutions. In this they not only modeled themselves on their like-minded contemporaries in such Eastern Mediterranean centers as Istanbul and Cairo, but also drew on and participated in the global circulation of ideas, people, and texts that scholars have recently identified as constituting the “Muslim World.” Specialist works on Bosnian Muslim reformism, however, have largely framed the phenomenon in more narrowly domestic terms, often downplaying such links with “the East” in order to buttress narratives of nation-building and Europeanization. To the extent that the existing literature acknowledges these broader influences, the precise contours of Bosnian engagement with transnational Muslim intellectual networks remain murky.

This paper contributes to a transnational history of Bosnian Muslim reformism with a case study of the literary journal *Biser* in Mostar. The first part of the paper examines the journal’s origins and ideology. The brainchild of an ambitious young print entrepreneur, Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić (1892-1963), it began publication in June of 1912 and enjoyed a continuous print run until the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in June of 1914. While literary scholars have largely praised *Biser* as the continuation of earlier Habsburg-inspired cultural initiatives — most notably the journal *Behar* (1900-1911) — I argue that its most immediate ideological influence was the Pan-Islamist reform project of the Ottoman-trained theologian Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (1870-1938). Returning to his native Bosnia at the turn of 1901, Čaušević inspired a generation of young Muslim literati with a program that combined socio-cultural modernization with an intellectual orientation toward Ottoman Istanbul. Čaušević’s sympathizers included not only Kalajdžić, but also the quartet of young Istanbul-educated writers and translators at the heart of *Biser*, some of whom had already collaborated with the theologian in Sarajevo: Musa Ćazim Ćatić (1878-1915), Salih Bakamović (1885-1940), Abdurezak Hifzi Bjelevac (1886-1972), and Šemsudin Sarajlić (1887-1960). *Biser*’s consequently fused both Habsburg and Ottoman modernist influences, along with a youthful enthusiasm for the dizzying advance of fin-de-siècle technology.

The second part of the paper reconstructs *Biser*’s transnational contacts. While the above-mentioned writers made a number of original contributions, much of *Biser*’s output consisted of translating Pan-Islamist literature from elsewhere. The two primary sources for this were Čaušević’s Sarajevo print ventures and their associated publishers in Istanbul, which fed off each other through the exchange of materials written in the Arabic script and Turkish language. Translating these materials into Bosnian and the Latin script, *Biser* helped to popularize their particular brand of Islamic modernism, and in particular among the growing cohorts of Muslim youth attending Bosnia’s nascent public school system. The linguistic versatility of *Biser*’s literary-inclined contributors, however, allowed them to draw from even further afield. The above-mentioned authors thus collectively drew on works in Arabic, English, French, German, Hungarian Persian, Russian, and Turkish. This notably included European colonial and orientalist authors and materials, which they not only appropriated for their own local purposes but also, in at least one case, directly engaged through Bosnian students in Vienna. On the eve of a conflict that would radically transform their world, *Biser*’s authors seemed poised to embed their journal within thriving intellectual networks in both the “East” and “West,” effectively nuancing our understanding of both.

Harun Buljina is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of History at Columbia University in the City of New York. A social and intellectual historian of modern Southeast Europe, his work examines the region’s experience with nation-building and state formation, legacies of imperial rule and migration, and enduring links with the wider Muslim world. His dissertation explores these themes through the study of an intellectual circle of Ottoman-trained Bosnian Muslim reformists in the early 20th century, highlighting intellectual continuities between the late- and post-imperial periods.

Lili Di Puppo (NRU Higher School of Economics, Russia),

Jesko Schmoller (European University St. Petersburg; Perm State University)

Hidden in open sight: Sufism in Volga-Ural and the in/visibility of Islam in Russia

The Islamic revival in the Volga-Ural region in Russia has taken different shapes with the emergence of concepts such as Euro-Islam in the 1990s and more recently, “traditional Islam” that are used to define a local Muslim identity. In this process, Islam is rendered in/visible; certain components of a Muslim identity are emphasized, made visible, while others are obscured. The idea of a local, traditional Islam is contrasted with forms of Islam that are seen as “foreign” for Russian Muslims, for example Salafist currents. This local Islam can be seen as rather “invisible” to the extent that it is represented as quiet, “moderate”, not too conservative, and thus, adapted to life in a multi-confessional, Muslim minority secular state. An analysis of Sufism and the question of its invisibility at first sight in Volga-Ural allows for a better understanding of the process of selecting and appropriating certain components of a local Muslim identity. On the basis of ethnographic observation within Sufi brotherhoods in the Urals and interviews with Tatar Muslim representatives, we understand Sufism’s apparent invisibility as hiddenness. The invisibility or visibility of Sufism is contingent on whether it is seen as fitting or not the frames of a local Muslim identity. As a mystical dimension of Islam, Sufism is viewed with ambivalence. It can be viewed as an Other and situated outside of specific frames of locality and orthodoxy, but it can also be represented as a major means of identity survival in uncertain times and as an integral component of “traditional Islam”. The shift towards a more theological understanding of “traditional Islam”, understood as Sunni Islamic Orthodoxy, could render Sufism more visible in Volga-Ural. Furthermore, Sufism can be viewed as a basis for a Russian Muslim identity through strengthened ties with the Caucasus or even a wider Eurasian Muslim identity.

Dr. Lili Di Puppo is Assistant Professor of Sociology at NRU Higher School of Economics in Moscow, Russia. She holds a PhD in Cultural Studies from the European Viadrina University in Frankfurt/Oder, Germany. She has written her doctoral thesis on the topic of anti-corruption reforms in Georgia. She was previously a post-doctoral researcher at HSE and a lecturer at Ilia State University in Georgia. Her current research focuses on Islam in the Volga-Ural region and Moscow, in particular, Islamic education and the concept of orthodoxy in the discussion about an Islamic revival in Russia. She collaborates with Jesko Schmoller on a project about everyday Islam in contemporary Russia and about sacred geography and Muslim identities in Volga-Ural. She has published articles in East European Politics and Global Crime.

Dr. Jesko Schmoller is Senior Researcher at the Centre for Comparative History and Political Studies at Perm State University, established as part of the regional programme of the European University in St. Petersburg. He holds a PhD in Central Asian Studies from Humboldt University Berlin. A book about career aspirations, status and authority among male Uzbeks was published in 2014 with Klaus Schwarz. He is currently concerned with the mobile and material dimensions of Islam in the Volga-Ural region and will reflect upon the production of sacred space and the post-colonial mind when a research fellow at KHK “Dynamics in the History of Religions Between Asia and Europe” in late 2018. He has published articles with ASIEN and Problems of Post-Communism.

Rozaliya Garipova (Nazarbayev University)

Legacy of the Empire and the Impact of the Russian Legal Pluralism on Islamic Law Among the Volga-Ural Muslims.

Starting from the late eighteenth century, the Russian imperial state began to incorporate Islamic law into the imperial legal structure. As Jane Burbank has suggested with regard to the relationship between empire and citizenship, the Russian empire established an “imperial rights regime” which

allowed each religious confession the authority to deal independently with questions of personal status law. According to her explanation, "Russian state law consciously legalized, and thus appropriated, local courts, establishing a legal system for the Empire that deliberately included different procedural and normative orders".¹ In the nineteenth century, Muslims largely imagined their place in the empire in terms of a religious community which had confessional autonomy in providing religious education, electing and funding their religious leaders as well as in matters of family and inheritance law. However, during the nineteenth century the state started to break this confessional autonomy and to oversee the regulation of the Muslim community through the introduction of imperial laws. This impacted the communal understanding of morality and problem resolution and gave ways to individual solutions with reference to imperial legal norms or to Islamic norms framed through imperial law. Lay people became more conscious of their individual belief and of legal loopholes provided by the imperial legal regime, which they utilized for their benefit. The discourse and practice of shari'a within the Russian legal system and the transformation of the former under the influence of Russian legal norms played a crucial role in the formation of Russian Muslim identity and Muslims' understanding of their citizenship in the empire. I will illustrate this with several examples. One example would be the imperial law on the prohibition of corporal punishment for adulterous acts. This was reflected in the Islamic norm of physical punishment for adultery as a mechanism of social control. Another example was the tension between Islamic legal norm on marital consent of a bride to marriage and a customary/family pressure for a specific candidate for a groom. Yet, another example would be borrowing of elements from Russian legal culture and, in particular, the concept of insult, which Muslim women utilized in their request for divorce. All these examples illustrate how Muslims developed new legal understandings about specific problems and how the empire created new possibilities to look at traditional issues in new ways.

Rozaliya Garipova is currently Assistant Professor of Islamic Studies and History at Nazarbayev University. Her research and teaching focus on the Islamic history of Russia, Central Eurasia and the larger Muslim world. She is particularly interested in exploring issues of religious authority, Islamic law and women and gender in Islam as well as the interaction between Islamic law and empire. Dr. Garipova's current book project is a religious history of Muslim family life in the Volga-Urals and Western Siberia. It traces the impact of imperial governance on the religious authority of the ulama and on Muslim family law. Parts of her research have appeared in *The Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, *Islamic Law and Society*, *Die Welt Des Islams*, *Yearbook of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law*.

Mansur Gazimzyanov (European University St. Petersburg)

Defining the boundaries of the Islamic and un-Islamic: discourses on "survivals" and "innovations" in the Post-Stalin Soviet Union

In the post-Stalin period² a large number of scientific works appeared in the USSR, in which the Islamic "cult of saints" was characterized as a "survival" of pagan pre-Islamic traditions³. In the same

¹ Jane Burbank, "An Imperial Rights Regime: Law and Citizenship in the Russian Empire," *Kritika: Explorations and Eurasian History*, vol. 7, no. 3 (2006), pp. 397-431.

² I use this term as a chronological framework for the first decade (1953-1963) after Stalin's death and distinguish that the need to revise Stalin's heritage, articulated by the Soviet leaders, impacted on issues which are discussed in this paper.

³ Comprehensive and detailed analysis how Soviet scholars implemented concept of "survivals" to Islam see in D. DeWeese, "Survival Strategies: Reflections on the Notion of Religious 'Survivals' in Soviet Ethnographic Studies of Muslim Religious Life in Central Asia". In *Exploring the Edge of Empire: Soviet Era Anthropology in the Caucasus and Central Asia* // ed. Florian Muhlfried and Sergey Sokolovskiy (Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia, vol. 25. Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2011), 35-58.

years, the Spiritual Administrations of Muslims began to publish recommendations (fatwas) against visiting "holy places" (ziyarat), because such practices were determined as incompatible with Islam innovations (bid'a)⁴. Suddenly Soviet scholars and the Islamic clergy became in solidarity in that they defined the visit to "holy places" as a non-Islamic practice, although they were denoted by different terms. In this work, I analyze the connection between "cult of saints" in scholarly and Muslim discourses. What place did the "cult of saints" occupy in the representations of the Soviet state about Islam? Who formed the post-Stalinist Soviet discourse about Islam and the "cult of the saints" in particular? What instruments and institutions served as mediators between the state and Muslim communities? In what categories did Soviet Muslims perceive the official discourse about the "cult of the saints"?

In the first part, I analyze Soviet scholarly institutions that shaped the notion of Islam and the "cult of saints" as a non-Islamic practice. Soviet power formed a state ideology, which, using the resources of Soviet philosophy, science, art and the media, had a significant impact on the worldview of the "Soviet man". I dedicate a special role in this process to the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, which in those years, served as an expert ground on this issue. In particular, I present key discussions about Islam and "cult of saints" which took place in the institute in those years and also refer to some published ethnographic works of this period and show how researchers evaluated and conceptualized their field observations of Muslim "cult of saints".

In the second part I analyze how expert knowledge about "cult of saints" was used in the policy of the Soviet state. Here I trace the links between the expert sites (the Academy of Sciences, the Council for Religious Affairs) and the leading political bodies (Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR). Through archival documents I trace in what terms was formulated and discussed the theme of "cult of saints"? I also give some reflections why particular "cult of saints" became the object of the State's close attention and trace how this issue was realized the state policy.

In the third part, I turn to Islamic discourse about visiting "holy places". I analyze official documents of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the European part and Siberia (DUMES) and demonstrate the text of the Islamic sermon written in the late 1960s, which shows how transformed evaluation of visiting Bulghar (Republic of Tatarstan) in eyes of Muslims themselves.

In conclusion, I explain why the discourse on the "cult of the saints" is an important example for analyzing the notions of the boundaries of Islam in scholarly discourse.

Mansur Gazimzyanov received a bachelor's degree in area studies (Arabic countries) at the Kazan Federal University in 2015. During his studies, paid special attention to history of Islam in Russia and Russian Oriental studies from the perspective of intellectual history. Then he continued education at European University at St. Petersburg. There he enrolled the Department of History which specializes in Russian and East European studies. He graduated it in 2017 with a master's degree in history (program of the Russian Empire and the USSR in a comparative perspective). The master's thesis "Intellectual Networks of Soviet Muslims in the Second Half of the 20th Century" has concluded several years of research conducted under supervision of professor Dr. Alfrid Bustanov. The main argument of the thesis is that the intellectual space of Soviet Muslims was unified through state institutions and networks, that distinguish the role of the state in the life of Russian Muslims. After graduation got a post of junior research fellow at the same university and at present time is part of the research centre for studying the "History of Islamic Peoples in Russia" under the guidance of Professor Alfrid Bustanov. At the moment Mansur is working on an article about the intertwining of Soviet scholarly and Islamic discourses and completing a biographical book about the Soviet imam Kalam ad-Din Shangareev (1905- 1986), whose life experience and written heritage serve as a

⁴ Babadjanov B.M. Fetwi SADUM protiv "neislamskikh obyichaev" in Islam na postsovetском prostranstve: vzglyad iznutri. ed. A.Malashenko, M.B. Olcott. M., 2001. Pp. 170-184; E. Tasar, Soviet and Muslim: The Institutionalization of Islam in Central Asia, 1943-1991 (Oxford University Press, 2018), pp.2

valuable source for studying Soviet Islam as an individual experience rather than history of official institutions.

Olha Kolesnyk (University of Warsaw)

Jews and Judeo-Bolshevism in the official Soviet rhetoric in Lviv in 1939-1941: “Czerwony Sztandar” newspaper case

A widespread opinion about Soviet policy on annexed former Polish territories in 1939-1941 was that Jews were over-represented in newly established Soviet local authorities in Lviv in comparison to their prewar status in Poland. It was also thought that Soviet officials tended to give Jews positions in the occupation apparatus over Ukrainians or Poles. As a result, the local population believed in Soviet-Jewish collaboration during this period and it became one of the reasons for a pogrom against Jews in July 1941.

However, the attitude and rhetoric towards Jews by Soviet official representatives may not always show any special preference for Jews over the others. Until we understand better the portrayal of the Jews in the official documentation such as newspapers subordinated to the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, we won't understand the complexity of Soviet-Jewish relations and the popularity of the Judeo-Bolshevism myth in Soviet Lviv in 1939-1941.

Analysis of an official and daily Polish language newspaper *Czerwony Sztandar* (*Red Flag*) first titled as *Słowo żołnierza* (*The Word of a Soldier*) published in 1939-1941 in Lviv shows that Jews were not treated in any different way than the other ethnic groups in the town neither in the rhetoric nor in its imagery.

The topics which appeared to be written with Jews mentioned in particular can be divided into two main groups which were the ideological and propaganda articles (proclamation of the equal rights and possibilities for every ethnic group; putting emphasis on pogroms and antisemitism during the Russian empire) and culture orientated ones (articles about plays at the Jewish Theater in Lviv).

Moreover, while Ukrainians and Poles had their own heroes among the writers as fighters for liberation from imperial and class oppression (Ivan Franko and Adam Mickiewicz), Jews had also Jewish heroes. These were writers Sholem Aleichem and Yitskhok Leybush Peretz whose birthday anniversaries were covered in the newspaper.

Finally, the local public figures of Jewish origin were not depicted as Jews, but rather as representatives of Communist activists. Such an example can be seen on a Polish writer of Jewish origin Halina Górńska who was a candidate for the People's Assemblies of Western Ukraine. Her name is frequently mentioned in the newspaper but without any details about her ethnic background.

All aforementioned issues prove that the popular myth of Judeo-Bolshevism had little to do with the official Soviet rhetoric in Lviv in 1939-1941.

Olha Kolesnyk is a second-year PhD student at the Faculty of *Artes Liberales* and the Faculty of History at the University of Warsaw. She received a bachelor degree in history from the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv, Ukraine, and completed her master degree in history at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, Ukraine. Her current work examines the interethnic relations and Sovietization processes in Lviv during the Soviet occupation in 1939-1941. Research interests: History of the Holocaust on Ukrainian lands, early Soviet history, and the history of the Second World War.

Vladimir Levin (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Parting the Ways: Jews and Muslims of the Russian Empire

The proposed paper deals with a comparison of the state politics towards the Jewish and Muslim “minorities” in the Russian empire in the “long” 19th century.

Initially, the imperial authorities had similar approaches, goals and problems dealing with their non-Christian subjects living in European Russia. While Jews and Muslims were in general subjected to the authority of provincial governors like everybody else, the Russian government nonetheless saw a need to create special administrative structures for controlling these populations, which were so

different from the Christians. The authorities' ultimate aim was to transform those "fanatic" groups and to make them similar to the "general" population, whatever this term means. Since the reason for separateness of Jews and Muslims was rooted in their religion, the state created special bodies for governing their religious affairs, insisted that religious leaders study Russian, restricted the possibilities to establish new mosques and synagogues, etc. There were, however, differences in the approach to Jews and Muslims: the former "needed" correction of their economic activities, ideally becoming agriculturalists, while the economic performance of the latter aroused no problem. The approaches towards Jews and Muslims started to vary in the late imperial period. While the hostility to Jews intensified after 1881, it seems that anti-Muslim tendencies did not increase. It could be even stated that the integration of the Muslims – as a collective – in the imperial society of the turn of the 20th century was higher, than the integration of the Jewish collective, while on the personal level, individual Jews were more integrated into the Russian society. After 1905, the government was ready to use political diversity among Muslims and to support conservatives (*kadimists*) against modernizers (*jadidists*). At the same time, it refused to recognize that the Russian Jewry is not homogeneous and to support potential allies among Jews.

Dr. Vladimir Levin is the director of the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a teaching fellow at the Department of General History in Ben-Gurion University of the Negev at Beer-Sheva.

His research interests comprise the East European Jewish history in the 19th and 20th centuries and the history and architecture of synagogues in that region. He published a row of articles on Jewish politics in the Russian Empire, on Jewish religious Orthodoxy, on Lithuanian Jewry, on comparison between Jewish and Muslim politics, and on the history and architecture of synagogues. He co-edited a two-volume publication *Lithuanian Synagogues: A Catalogue*, published in Vilnius in 2010-2012. His book *From Revolution to War: Jewish Politics in Russia, 1907–1914* was published in 2016 by the Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History (Jerusalem) and a new book, co-written with Sergey Kravtsov, *Synagogues in Ukraine: Volhynia* was published in 2017.

Zeev Levin (Hebrew University Jerusalem)

Issues in Russian civic legislation on Muslims and Jews in the Caucasus and Central Asia (late 19th-early 20th centuries)

Russian advancement to the Southeast of the Caucasus and throughout Central Asia introduced various local population groups within Russian civic legislation and presented quite few difficulties to the existing laws that had to be developed and adapted to the new realities.

Prior to the advancement in the Caucasus and Central Asia, local legislation system was based on the Muslim law and tradition. In the Russian Empire, civic law addressed all subjects including considerably big Muslim as Jewish populations residing within its territories. Russian Orthodox Church was interested to limit the presence and influences of various religious groups at least in the main cities of the Empire, and thus had influence on legislation. While the Muslim population of the Empire had a long history and was relatively integrated within the Russian society, most of the Jewish populations were newly introduced following the acquisitions and annexations of vast East European territories during the late 18th century. In 1791, Russian legislation created the "Pale of settlement" in order to limit Jewish penetration into the central Russian cities and markets (and put further pressure on Jews to convert to Christianity). Those legal limitations were in force when in the mid-19th century Russia advanced to the Southeast.

Conquests in the Caucasus and Central Asia incorporated at least two different Muslim and Jewish populations that the imperial administration and the centralized legal system had to address. Existing laws put those areas out of the "Pale of settlement" map, limiting possibilities of Jewish migration to them. At the same time, local administration was interested to develop trade and was in constant

need of skilled professionals, thus they aimed at banning any limitation on migration and settlement in the region. Imperial power was interested in establishing its rule on the ground and in creating stable relations with the local population while crushing local attempts to revolt against it. As an outcome, it created differentiation between the new and old Muslim populations. New challenges rose with regard to local Jewish communities in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Their presence challenged existing legislation, confused many local officials and led to various creative adaptations. The proposed paper will address the difficulties and considerations as well as the adopted solutions in the Russian Imperial legislation system in regard to its various Muslim as Jewish populations.

Zeev Levin is a graduate of the School of History at Tel-Aviv University, the Department of Middle Eastern and African History. However, his research subject goes well beyond the traditional scope of this field. In his PhD project he dealt with Jewish History in Soviet Central Asia. Zeev may best be described as a historian specializing in the Jewish history of the Middle East and Eurasia (The Southern parts of the Russian Empire, USSR – The Muslim Republics) in the late 19th and 20th centuries. Within this field, he had intensively dealt with the history of various Jewish groups and their interactions Vis a Vis their Muslim neighbors. During his Post-Doctorate conducted research on Jewish and non-Jewish refugee populations in Central Asia and Siberia during World War II, uncovering a less-studied chapter of the Holocaust and war behind the front lines. Since 2014, serving as a research fellow and coordinator of Central Asia research group at the Harry S. Truman Institute at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Thomas Loy (Humboldt University Berlin)

The Chala – “Jewish-Muslims” in Soviet Central Asia

In Tajik like in other Central Asian languages *chala* means “incomplete, neither this nor that” and bears strongly negative connotations. In the Bukharan Jewish context of the 19th and early 20th century the term *chala* was commonly used to denote Jews who embraced Islam. In the Bukharan Emirate (like everywhere else in Central Asia before the Russian conquest) the Chala population was regarded as a distinct community living in Muslim quarters adjacent or close to Jewish ones. Their location in town reflected an intermediary position between the Muslim and the Jewish world. In Russian sources, this group of people show up as “Jewish-Muslims” (*evrei-musulmane*). Most academic texts dealing with Bukharan Jewish history mention the Chala, but only very few studies concentrate on that particular group, their history and their cultural and social particularities. All of them neglect the fact that among Bukharan Jews in Soviet times and today the concept of *chala* was and still is in use to draw a line between “us” and “them”. While this division was traditionally a religious one, in the course of the 20th century it became a borderline in an ethnic sense. In Soviet times Chala were no longer considered a distinct group and the term disappeared from official usage, but the Chala didn't. They rather switched between the Jewish, the Muslim and the Soviet world, and raised her children in accordance with Jewish and Muslim traditions. Most of them married Tajiks, Uzbeks or Russians, or they changed the entries on nationalities in their internal passports from Jew to Tajik or Uzbek as a strategy to hide their Jewish descent. The “Jewish-Muslims” became “Jewish- Tajiks” or “Jewish-Uzbeks”, depending on the Soviet republic they were living in. Based on autobiographical narrations, recorded in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, this paper concentrates on strategies and experiences of Chala and the changing meaning of the concept in Soviet times.

Since 2009 **Thomas Loy** is scientific member of staff at the Central Asian Seminar of Humboldt Universität zu Berlin (Germany). From 2004-2008 he worked as researcher and coordinator in a joint Oral History Project on “Bukharan Jews” of HU Berlin and Tel Aviv University funded by

the German Israeli Foundation (GIF). Thomas Loy holds a PhD in Central Asian Studies from HU Berlin. The title of the Dissertation was "Cross-border Biographies: Bukharan Jewish Autobiographical Narrations & the Soviet Experience" (2012). It was published in 2016: *Bukharan Jews in the Soviet Union. Autobiographical Narrations of Mobility, Continuity and Change*. Thomas Loy is the co-founder and editor of the online-journal *tethys: central asia everyday* and *edition-tethys publishing*.

In February 2018 he organized the international conference "Afghanistan: Views from Inside and Outside" at HU-Berlin.

His research focusses on Oral History, Mobility, Migration and Memory in Central Asia and Afghanistan, Tajik/Dari language and literature, Jewish cultural history in Central Asia. .

Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern (Northwestern University in Evanston and Chicago)

Jewish Museum in Lviv: its History, Present-day, and Future

The pre-1939 Lviv (Lwow, Lemberg) boasted two Jewish museums: the Kahal museum established in the building of the umbrella organization of the Lviv Jewish community and a private Jewish museum of Maximilian Goldstein. While the kahal leaders focused on works of graphic art and oil paintings, Maximilian Goldstein collected folk artifacts made of porcelain, brass, glass, silver, textile, and belonging both to everyday and to sacred liturgical usage. The Soviets nationalized both museums and confiscated the Kahal building. The artifacts were distributed between six different Lviv-based museums, libraries, and archives. Maximilian Goldstein perished in the Lviv ghetto.

For fifty years, nobody excluding two-three curators at various depositories had access to the collection.

Focusing on the agendas of the two museums, I will explore the material culture of the Galician and East European Jews in the context of the 1920s-1930s, will discuss the innovative work of a research group on cataloguing the material Jewish culture and artwork in six Lviv-based depositories in the 2010s, and will present the project of the Jewish museum in Lviv in a broad comparative perspective. I will discuss how Jewish material culture was treated during the pre-World War II past, under the Soviets, the Nazis, and again the post-World War II Soviets, and in the post-communist Ukraine. My presentation will be based on a power-point presentation that includes documents, photos, and artifacts never shown to public.

Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern is the Crown Family Professor of Jewish Studies and a Professor of Jewish History in History Department at Northwestern University. He teaches a variety of courses that include early modern and modern Jewish History; Jewish Mysticism and Kabbalah; history and culture of Ukraine; and Slavic-Jewish Literatures.

His research was supported by the DAAD Foundation, Rothschild Foundation, Fulbright Foundation, Davis Center at Harvard University, Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Toronto, Kosciuszko Foundation, Memorial Foundation of Jewish Culture, National Endowment for the Humanities, the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter, the Lady Davis Foundation, and the Institute for Advanced Studies at Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

For his expertise, Petrovsky-Shtern has been appointed a Fulbright Specialist on Eastern Europe; a Fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute; an Full Professor at the Free Ukrainian University in Munich, a Recurrent Visiting Professor at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, the Lady Davis Professor at Hebrew University, Jerusalem, the Kosciuszko Visiting Professor at Warsaw University, and the honorary doctor of the National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv. Petrovsky-Shtern was awarded a Northwestern University Distinguished Teaching Award.

He has published more than a hundred articles and seven books and edited volumes, including *The Jews in the Russian Army: Drafted into Modernity* (2008); *The Anti-Imperial Choice: the Making of the*

Ukrainian Jew (2009); *Lenin's Jewish Question* (2010); *Jews and Ukrainians: Polin*, vol. 26 (2011, co-edited with Antony Polonsky); *Cultural Interference of Jews and Ukrainians: a Field in the Making* (2014); *The Golden-Age Shtetl: a New History of Jewish Life in East Europe*, 2014); *Jews and Ukrainians: a millennium of coexistence* (2016, co-authored with Paul Robert Magocsi). His *Golden Age Shtetl* was nominated for Pulitzer Prize and won a National Jewish Book Award. His most recent monograph *Jews and Ukrainians: a thousand years of co-existence* appeared in English and Ukrainian and won the President of the Lviv International Book Forum Award in 2016.

YPS appeared with commentaries on the situation in East Europe at Chicago Public Radio, Associated Press Radio, National Public Radio, and also on TV at ZiK, WTTW, and CBS.

Armina Omerika (Goethe University of Frankfurt (Main))

Secularization, Ethnicization, Restoration: The Big Turns of the Modern Muslim History in Eastern and Southeastern Europe"

The paper will give an overview over the major changes in the modern history of Muslim communities and their religious discourses in Eastern and Southeastern Europe during the 20th century. It will highlight the impacts of different secularization policies and ideological environments for the processes of Muslim community-building while at the same time paying attention to the dynamics of Islamic discourses that went along these changes."

Armina Omerika is Assistant Professor of Intellectual History of Islam at the Goethe University Frankfurt am Main. Currently, she is a guest professor for Islamic Theology/Islamic Education at the University of Zürich.

She obtained her PhD in Islamic Studies in Bochum with a thesis on the history of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 20th Century. Since 2005, she has conducted teaching and research activities in History and Islamic Studies at universities in Germany, the USA and Switzerland. From 2010 to 2012, she worked on the research project "Re-territorialization and local integration of transnational neo-fundamentalist networks in the Western Balkans", as a part of the joint-venture project between University of Leipzig and University of Bochum. In Summer 2014, she was Visiting Professor in Islamic Studies/Islamic Theology at the Academy of World Religions of the University of Hamburg.

She has published books and articles on the intellectual and religious history of Islam in Southeastern Europe, and on the relationship between Islam and politics in the Western Balkans. Currently, she is working on the understanding and conceptualization of history in the works of modern Muslim religious scholars and on the impact of historical thinking on contemporary Islamic theological discourses.

Daria Vasyutinsky Shapira (Ben Gurion University of the Negev)

Muslims in the early Russian Oriental Studies, and their influence on the beginnings of the Russian Jewish Studies

In my presentation I will talk about a school in Oriental studies that became strongly pronounced in Russia in the first half of the 19th century, and that I define as "Oriental". Other countries where this school existed (and still exists today) were Hungary, Poland and more. All the Orientalists belonging to this tradition studied Orient to understand *themselves* and not an exotic *other*. The tradition got developed among the peoples who had long and direct contact with the Orient or *themselves* belonged to it, according to their own tradition. I believe Jewish Orientalists in Western Europe who were seeking to understand *themselves* (as Orientals) also belong here.

One of the main reasons that contributed to the forming of the Russian Oriental studies was that theological studies, which played such a central role in European university research, hardly existed in the Russian Empire. Unlike in Western Europe where the study of Oriental languages

developed, in the first place, in the wake of the study of Hebrew, Russia's geographical location meant that knowledge of Turkic languages, Persian and Arabic were prevalent among its travellers, merchants, diplomats and officials, who learned these languages for purely practical reasons. This led, among other things, to the fact that the Russian Empire, at the end of the 18th century, was badly prepared to deal with its newly acquired Jewish subjects. When Russian scientists tried to draw conclusions about the Jews, their history and traditions, they had to rely on contemporary Protestant research that they could not fully understand.

The second reason was that the Russian Empire never had colonies in the proper sense of the word. Instead, this ever-expanding country "colonized itself" in the most literal sense of the word. Any discussion of the beginnings of Oriental studies in Russia must deal first and foremost with Muslim studies. Buddhist and Jewish studies came significantly later and were necessarily influenced by what preceded them. The process by which Russia acquired those lands that may be described as mostly Muslim was indeed a very long one, and it may be contrasted with the way the Empire acquired all its Jews almost instantaneously at the end of the 18th century after the partitions of Poland. This slow but steady process of conquest paved the way for the appearance of different interesting types of Orientalists. Among them, I would like to discuss the phenomenon of the educated locals, aka "Asians", "aziatzy", i.e. educated enlightened Muslim elites willing to collaborate with the new rulers. Patterns developed during this early period of Russian Oriental studies had a strong influence half a century later on the emerging Jewish studies in the Russian Empire.

Daria Vasutinsky Shapira was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, and graduated from the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg State University. In 2018 she completed her PhD thesis, *Early Stages of Research of the Firkowicz Collections Manuscripts: the Emergence of Russian Jewish Studies* at the Goldstein-Goren Department of Jewish Thought of the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Daria lives and works in Israel. Her fields of interest include: Firkowicz collections; Medieval Hebrew manuscripts; Jewish epigraphy; Russian Jewish intellectual history; Digital Humanities.

Victoria Venherska (Zhytomyr Ivan Franko State University)

From traditionalism to modern ideologies: Jews in the Russian Empire on the eve of and during revolutions (1905-1917)

The "long" nineteenth century, known as the era of nationalism, is marked by the search for its own identity. Among national markers, a prominent place was the language as an important communicative tool.

Under the conditions of permanent political crises, which eventually led to the destruction of empires and the creation of national powers, imperial power structures and Jewish public and political figures offered their options for the implementation of national projects. Their features reflected the ideological attitudes and ideological attachments of their creators. Solving the so-called territorial problem, along with linguistic issues, and to a lesser extent - religious, became the cornerstone of the confrontation among Jewish public activists and political leaders. So-called "assimilation" project, which included the abandonment of Judaism and the use of the Russian language, had its supporters in the Jewish intellectual circles. The bureaucratic practices aimed at assimilating Jews, in the overwhelming majority, spread to higher social strata. The preservation of the borderline of residence confirmed the lack of a constructive strategy for building relations with the Jews.

During the nineteenth century, thanks to the efforts of representatives of Jewish educational circles in different countries, the idea of giving the status of the national language to Hebrew was the most supported. This project was finally implemented in the twentieth century, when, together with the creation of Israel, Hebrew received official status of the state language.

Victoria Venherska was born in November, 1968 in Zhytomyr and graduated from Zhytomyr School No. 8 in 1986. After graduating from school, she worked for two years at Zhytomyr Auto Parts Plant factory. In 1988 she enrolled to the Kyiv Taras Shevchenko State University. After graduating

from the university, she began working at the Zhytomyr branch of the Kiev Polytechnic Institute at the Department of Humanities. From 1994 to 1997 she studied at the postgraduate study, in 1998 she defended her Ph.D. thesis on the topic "Development of credit and banking in the Right-Bank Ukraine in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of XX century". She has been working at Zhytomyr Ivan Franko State University since 2005. In 2013 she defended her doctoral dissertation on the topic: «Ukrainian projects and nation building in Empires of the Romanovs and the Habsburgs: ideas, concepts, practices (end of the 18th-beginning of the 19th centuries)». In June 2014 she was appointed to the position of Head of the Department of History of Ukraine at Zhytomyr Ivan Franko State University. Victoria is also the head of the Laboratory of Visual Anthropology and Oral History. Chief Editor «Intermarum: history, politics, culture» (Zhytomyr): <http://intermarum.zu.edu.ua/> . Married, has two sons (1991 and 2003 years of birth).

Galina Zelenina (University of Bremen)

Usable Past for an Old New “Traditional Religion”: Russian Chabad Experiment

The paper examines the presentation of local, Russian, Judaism and Russian “Jewishness” and Soviet Jews’ role in WW2 in Chabad leaders’ public statements in media and social media, in Chabad-sponsored Jewish press (in particular, the journals *Lechaim* and *Moskva-Ierusalim*) and in temporary exhibitions as well as in the permanent exposition of Jewish museum in Moscow sponsored by the Federation of Jewish communities of Russia. I would argue that these ideological stands result from perfect symbiosis of Chabad paradigm proper and Chabad adjustment to the politics of Russian government which has favored Hasidic ultra-Orthodoxy as one of “Russian traditional religions” and to which Chabad has been extremely and declaratively loyal.

Galina Zelenina is an associate professor at the Center for Biblical and Jewish Studies at Russian State University of Humanities in Moscow. Her fields of research have included late medieval Sephardi Jews and Conversos, late Soviet and post-Soviet Jewry, Judaism in contemporary Russia, intersection of Jewish and queer identities and topoi in Soviet and post-Soviet culture. She is the author of *The Fiery Enemy of Marranos: Life and Death under the Watchful Eye of the Inquisition* (in Russian; 2018) and *From the Scepter of Judah to Buffon’s Club: Court Jews in Medieval Spain* (in Russian; 2008). Her recent publications include the book *Wissenschaft des Judentums Two: Renaissance in Portraits* (in Russian; 2015) on the revival of Jewish studies in late Soviet and post-Soviet Russia and the edited volume *Judaism after the USSR*. She is currently a Humboldt research fellow at Forschungsstelle Osteuropa at the University of Bremen.