Preface

I his book explores a crucial dimension in the history of late tsarist Russia: the consciousness of the empire's ethnic diversity and attempts to lessen it so as to produce a united Russian "nation." I focus on controversies—pedagogical, religious, political, and scholarly—that reveal how Russians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries viewed the cultural ramifications of their country's expansion in "the East." Though its narrative concludes with the eve of World War I, the book has been profoundly shaped by momentous changes taking place in Russia during the last decade of the twentieth century. To a degree that I can no longer recall precisely, my settling on the relationship between Russian nationality and tsarist imperial rule as a research topic in 1989–1990 came from my awareness of changes afoot in the Soviet Union and in external perceptions of it, in addition to issues that had long interested me in American life. But I certainly did not know just how timely the project would become as I carried it out, nor the degree to which my work on it would benefit from the eventual dismemberment of Communist rule and of the Soviet empire.

When I applied in 1990 to do research on this topic in the Soviet Union, I proceeded uncertainly. My mind was set on approaching the history of Russian national identity from the perspective of Kazan, nineteenth-century Russia's "window on the East," because of that city's relevance to the ideology and machinery of cultural integration for an enormous portion of the empire, on the one hand, and for the conceptual multifacetedness a regional focus would allow, on the other. Yet for all I knew, I might never be able to set foot in Kazan, let alone gain access to the research materials I needed there. At that time, foreign researchers in the USSR were typically allowed to visit provincial cities for several weeks at most, and had often been denied meaningful access to archival documents in such places—sometimes even in Moscow and Leningrad. Though it appeared in 1990 that restrictions had begun to loosen,

their eventual lifting exceeded my wildest dreams in its rapidity and extent. A couple of weeks before I was to leave for a nine-month stay, the failure of the August 19, 1991, coup against Mikhail Gorbachev precipitated the disintegration of central control in many areas of public affairs. In the realm of daily life, the loosening of control worked to my considerable disadvantage. In the realm of research, however, I gained virtually unrestricted access to materials in the archives of St. Petersburg (as it was renamed not long after my arrival) and Moscow, as well as to aids that until then had been guarded jealously. Most important for this project, I found that it was now possible, with few questions asked, to go to the capital of the Tatar Autonomous Republic (or Tatarstan), stay as long as I wanted, and be welcomed with open arms by research institutions there. Thus I was one of the first foreigners in the Soviet Union to be granted unlimited use of materials in both central and provincial archives. All told, I spent about half of 1991-92 in Kazan and half in Petersburg and Moscow. I extended my stay in Russia (the Soviet Union having ceased to exist at the end of 1001) to a full year, a limit imposed not by the Russian government but by the U.S. airline on which I held my ticket. In subsequent years I returned for three shorter visits to complete research for the book.

Besides these changes in formal conditions, I benefited immensely from the emergence in Tatarstan (though markedly less in the Russian capitals) of widespread public interest in precisely the issues I was researching. In the late 1980s, Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika had already made way for relatively open discussion of interethnic tensions and rivalries, cultural repression, and political and economic regionalism within the country. Central to all these discussions, of course, was growing awareness of and access to the history and cultures of the Russian empire in its pre-Soviet as well as Soviet forms. Since 1991, in Kazan I have witnessed the reopening of churches, mosques, and religious organizations, the republication of tsarist-era ethnographic and religious books, the emergence of popular historical magazines, a congress uniting members of the Tatar diaspora from all over the world, scholarly conferences reexamining (and arguing fiercely over) the nature of the Russian empire and the ethnic history of the middle Volga region, cultural events revisiting and reinventing Tatar traditions, street demonstrations for the political autonomy of the region and the cultural autonomy of the non-Russian peoples, and even a referendum (March 1992) in which some 60 percent of voters in the autonomous republic called for Tatarstan to be declared an independent, sovereign state. That vote was taken at roughly the same time as other largely Muslim regions in postcommunist Eastern Europe (Bosnia) and in the Russian Federation (Chechnya) made declarations of sovereignty that were later met with horrific retaliation. Fortunately, such developments have so far been avoided in Tatarstan. In February 1994 the republic signed an internal treaty with Moscow that has diminished the political and economic appeal of secession from the Russian Federation. No less important, it has resisted any temptation to define itself in ethnonationally narrow or exclusive terms, instead emphasizing the fundamental legitimacy, inevitability, and even ultimate desirability of diversity.

The research and writing of this book were also influenced by my observations in the realm of private life during this time of change. In Tatarstan I watched friends, acquaintances, and even strangers as they renegotiated the more personal aspects of ethnonational consciousness: language use, religious faith, scholarly judgment, political affiliation, recreation, kinship, child rearing, education, and so on. I am well aware that experiences of contemporary life and change can distort historical understanding as often as they enhance it, and that controversies about nationality and ethnicity in contemporary Russia differ enormously from those of a century ago. Indeed religion, one of the key parameters of group identity in tsarist times, is an immeasurably weaker force today, owing to systematic Soviet repression as well as larger historical processes. Moreover, this book is mostly about the history of conceptions of "Russianness," while my observations of developments focused more immediately on Tatar than on Russian identity. Nonetheless, some dimensions of the book—in particular my emphasis on the psychological ramifications of ethnonational divisions and on the inconsistencies and tensions in all attempts to assign or transform group identities—owe much to my opportunity to observe life in Tatarstan and Russia at close range during the 1990s. I like to think that those experiences have made this a better book.

In the many years since I began this project, an enormous number of individuals and institutions have helped it along in both direct and indirect ways. First, I thank Reginald Zelnik, Yuri Slezkine, Nicholas Riasanovsky, and Alan Dundes for their help on its first draft. I am especially grateful to Reggie and Yuri for many years of shared wisdom and generous support.

For their careful reading of and valuable suggestions on the first draft of the text, I must also thank Allen Frank, Gregory Freeze, Agnès Kefeli, Nathaniel Knight, Laurie Manchester, Charles Steinwedel, Mark von Hagen, Paul Werth, and Elise Wirtschafter.

Many other colleagues have offered constructive input on particular portions of the text. George Stocking, Sergei Kan, and Bruce Grant commented on an early version of Chapter 6. The scholars at the 1993 conference in Berkeley on the Russian borderlands, organized by Daniel Brower and Edward Lazzerini, offered useful discussion of what is now a portion of Chapter 8. Other material has been improved by discussions at the conference, "The Russian Empire: Borders, Culture, Identities," at Kazan University in 1994, organized by Catherine Evtuhov, Boris Gasparov, Alexander Ospovat, and Mark von Hagen; the conference on "Science, Regionalism, and Local Interests in Russia" at the Institute for the History of Technology and Natural Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1995, organized by Daniel Aleksandrov; the Russian history workshop at Harvard organized by John

LeDonne in 1995–96; Agnès Kefeli's summer 1997 Tatar language workshop at Arizona State University; and conference panels of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies and the American Historical Association. Two anonymous readers for the *Russian Review* gave valuable comments on the latest version of Chapter 6. Several others helped the book along (perhaps without knowing it) through insightful discussions on relevant issues: Michael Khodarkovsky, Theodore Weeks, Peter Holquist, Amir Weiner, Douglas Weiner, Witold Rodkiewicz, and Eric Lohr.

Several colleagues in the Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia have been gracious and constructive critics. Herbert Braun, Alon Confino, Richard Drayton, Michael Holt, Charles McCurdy, Brian Owensby, Sophia Rosenfeld, and Olivier Zunz helped with the revision of the book's introduction. Elizabeth Thompson has been a frequent consultant on matters Turkic and Islamic. Allan Megill deserves special thanks for offering his criticisms on a somewhat disjointed manuscript, as does Jeffrey Rossman for reading the entire book as it neared completion.

Many of the key ideas in the book were developed as I was doing the research in Russia. In St. Petersburg, I had the luxury of consulting frequently with Agnès Kefeli on Tatar history and culture and with Nathaniel Knight on the history of ethnography in Russia. I am also grateful for the support, company, and intellectual stimulation of my fellow 1991–92 IREX participants in St. Petersburg—the Ploshchad' Muzhestva gang (especially Jonathan Mogul, Laurie Manchester, Chris Chulos, Eugene Clay, Vera Shevzov, Nadezhda Kizenko, and Nathaniel Knight), as well as David Kropf and Stephanie Sandler. I also thank Boris and Elena Ravdel for their hospitality.

In Kazan, the historians Il'dus Zagidullin and the late Abrar Karimullin generously shared their work and opinions with me and assisted in locating documents. Karina Musina lent her expertise on the history of Kazan's geography, planning, and architecture and put me in touch with many other specialists. If not for the hospitality and friendship of Anvar Kileev, the late Kashifa Kileeva, Viacheslav Iakimov, Nelia Sattarova, Liliia Khaziakhmetova, and fellow IREX-er Daniel Schafer, I could never have carried out the research in Kazan at all, for my most basic daily needs would not have been met.

Numerous institutions provided funding for the research and writing of the book. I am most grateful for grants from the University of California at Berkeley, the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), the Mellon Fellowships in the Humanities (of the Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Foundation), and the Social Science Research Council. The Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the Davis Center for Russian Studies at Harvard University were excellent settings in which to rethink my work and learn from other scholars. Finally, the University of Virginia has twice given me summer faculty research grants for completing the book.

For their enthusiastic assistance and boundless patience, I thank the staffs of all the archives and libraries in which I worked. For special efforts facilitating my use of archival materials, I am especially grateful to Serafima Igorevna Varekhova of the Russian State Historical Archive (who heroically retrieved an enormous stack of files from a collapsing building), Mikhail Shmil'evich Fainshtein of the St. Petersburg branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Zhanna Viktorovna Shchelivanova at the Lobachevskii Library of Kazan University (who was most accommodating in having microforms produced on short notice).

Gennadii Obatnin, Dmitrii Nerubenko, Anna Ravdel, Oleg Famin, Benjamin Kelahan, and Stephen Norris provided invaluable research assistance at various times. Evgenii Bershtein answered my incessant linguistic queries. Georgii Anatolievich Miloshevskii at the Central Museum of Tatarstan assisted me with locating illustrations. Computer guru Edward Kilsdonk of the Corcoran Department of History averted or solved several technical crises. Michael Furlough, Zachary Nields, and Samuel Hall in Alderman Library at the University of Virginia produced the maps that were the bases for those that appear in the book.

I am grateful to Indiana University Press and OGI respectively for allowing me to republish portions of the articles "Russian Orientalism at an Impasse: Tsarist Education Policy and the 1910 Conference on Islam," in Daniel Brower and Edward Lazzerini, eds., Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917 (Bloomington, 1997); and "The II'minskii System and the Controversy over Non-Russian Teachers and Priests in the Middle Volga," in Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg: Multiple Faces of the Russian Empire, edited by Catherine Evtuhov, Boris Gasparov, Alexander Ospovat, and Mark Von Hagen (Moscow, 1997). Chapter 6 has appeared previously as "Ethnic Minorities, Anthropology, and Russian National Identity on Trial: The Multan Case, 1892–1896," Russian Review (October 2000).

I cannot possibly enumerate all the other friends—in the East, the West, and many places in between-who have given their moral support, kept me company, and tolerated my fascination and preoccupation with a subject that for many of them was rather obscure (I hope it will be so no longer). I thank them collectively. I extend special gratitude, however, to Michael Gorman, Patrick Patterson, Scott Hunter, Franny Nudelman, Marion Rust, and Evinrude, who did the most to keep me sane during critical periods in the writing of this book (though perhaps they don't think they succeeded). They knew when to lend their interested and sympathetic ears and when to throw up their hands (paws, in one case) and distract me from my work instead. Finally, I thank my parents for supporting and taking interest in my education at every stage, and ultimately for making this project possible. I dedicate the book to them.

