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On the Formation of Local Communities in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory in the 19th Century

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Abstract. The purpose of the article is to consider the formation of local communities in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory in the religious migrant world. The authors refer to religious migrants as migrants who left their place of permanent residence in Central Russia and moved to Siberia in the 19th century in an attempt to preserve and spread their non-Orthodox religion. The authors analyse literature, sources from the Siberian archives, scientific articles and monographs on the life of religious migrants in other regions of Siberia and the Far East.

The article gives a classification of sects, adopted by pre-revolutionary scholars, examines in detail the representatives of all faiths living in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory, namely Molokans, Dukhobors, Skoptsy, Catholics and Protestants, especially Lutherans, their number, farming conditions and interaction with local population.

The conclusion sets out the reasons why local communities in the studied region did not form: the border location of the region, the indigenous population, which was just beginning to accept Orthodoxy, the fragmentation and small number of sectarians.

Keywords: local communities, Khakass-Minusinsk territory, religious migrants, Molokans, Dukhobors, Sabbatarians, Skoptsy, Catholics, Protestants, Lutherans.

Research area: history, culturology.

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Introduction

The global processes of our time objectively raise the question of regional identity, place and role of local communities. The term of local community entered historical sciences in the 70s of the last century and, like many modern terms, has several definitions. From English into Russian, local community can be translated as a community of people in any space. But domestic historians put a broader meaning into this concept (Orekhovskaya, 2018: 82). This article discusses the spiritual and religious local communities and the problem of their formation in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory in the 19th century.

Theoretical framework

In a number of studies, local communities are considered to be a group of people who embody social relations in a particular place, “representing a territorial referent of social and cultural specificity” (Ragulina, 2014). In addition, “a holistic culture of the local community, formed as the result of life in certain natural conditions” is the criterion for distinguishing a group of people into a local community (Kalutskov, 2008). Almost all researchers pay attention to the conjugation of the landscape as a natural-geographical component and the human community. Thus, the compact residence of a group of people united by one religion in a certain territory can be considered a local community.

Statement of the problem

In the framework of this article, we will consider one of the factors in the formation of local communities in the 19th century, namely, religious migration. Migrants, representatives of a particular religious denomination, change their place of residence within the same country and even one region, while they seek to preserve the values and traditions inherent in their culture and affect the local population. If these emigrants practice a religion that is different from the dominant one, in our case, the Orthodox, having arrived at a new place, they retain their religious identity, and also try to extend it to the local population, especially if they were forced to emigrate for religious rea-

sons. Religion was and is a criterion of social differentiation and often a source of social conflict. Therefore, inter-confessional differences are one of the sources of not only religious, but also cultural confrontation, leading to the separation of people.

Religion is associated with the civilizational mechanism, which, in comparison with the ethnic one, provides a wider field of communication that spans the boundaries of all local groups. In a substantial aspect, interfaith relations are realized at two levels: doctrinal (a form of correlation of religious systems and ideas) and institutional (a form of correlation of the interests of faiths).

Methods

In interfaith relations there are four types of relationships: conflict, indifference, cooperation and dialogue. The formation of types depends on a number of particularly on the course of historical events, the leading type of cultural paradigm, and the characteristics of the historical and social development of an ethnic group.

Religion appears in numerous directions and confessional varieties. Various creeds form their own worldview, specific features that are manifested in normative relations, in the daily behaviour of adherents in various spheres of public and personal life. Significant differences present in morality, in moral relations, ideas, characteristic of a particular religion.

There is a hierarchy of faiths In Russia: the Russian Orthodox Church held a dominant position; recognized denominations included Christian non-Orthodox Catholic and Protestant churches and non-Christian churches – Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, paganism; tolerant denominations included Old Believers and some sects; the unrecognized and intolerant denominations included Pashkovites, Dukhobors, Molokans, Sabbatarians, Skoptsy. All sectarians were usually divided into three groups “according to the degree of harmfulness” without taking into account the religious characteristics of each sect. In 1864, an attempt was made to change this classification, based on the attitude to the state and society, the attitude to the Russian Orthodox Church. This attempt did not lead to anything. But, nevertheless, in 1883,

the term “especially harmful sect” disappeared from the “Code of Criminal and Correctional Sentences”. Before the revolution, researchers had divided the sects into rationalistic and mystical, this division was not official, legislatively fixed. Rationalist sects (Dukhobors, Molokans, Baptists, etc.) interpreted the Bible based on reason. Mystical sects (Skoptsy, Khlysty) learned the truth through inner revelation, often in a state of ecstasy, reincarnation, dialogue with God (Suslova, Zvorygina, Yarkova, 2017: 205-206).

Discussion

In the south of the Yenisei territory, the landscape naturally restricted the migration of the indigenous population and newcomers and influenced the localization of faiths. The number of representatives of various sects was insignificant, official statistics took into account only Skoptsy, Molokans, Dukhobors and Sabbatarians. Moreover, due to the fact that all sects led a secretive lifestyle, there is no exact data on their numbers.

The eviction of sectarians from the central provinces to Siberia began in the 1920s of the 19th century. The Molokans were sent to the Khakassia-Minusinsk Territory by decision “On the Proposed Settling of Molokans (a schismatic sect) in Siberia” dated October 4, 1827. The state sought to isolate them geographically, so the obligatory conditions for resettlement were the absence of other settlements nearby, the possibility of allocating 25 tithes of arable land, not “adjacent to each other”, a sufficient number of meadows and forest.

Spiritual Christians (Molokans and Dukhobors) of Siberia did not live in local, isolated settlements, but among other inhabitants. The authorities exiled the Molokans (and the Dukhobors, without clarifying the differences in their beliefs) to remote and inaccessible places in Siberia, they were ordered to be exiled to the Yakutsk region. When the Russian development of the Far East began, the government used the Molokans as the first resettlement resource. The path to these new lands was difficult, associated with heavy human losses, but in the Far East the Molokans were

able to form a local community, they found material benefits (provided by the government to all migrants) and tolerance of the local population. It was here that the Molokan communities achieved great economic success. Their public positions were strong until the 1917 revolution (Buyanov, 2017: 63).

The situation with sectarians in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory was different: The Governor-General of Western Siberia P.M. Kaptsevich wrote that there were no places suitable for the resettlement of spiritual Christians in Western Siberia, but there was the Sagai steppe in the Yenisei province. To which A.P. Stepanov, the governor of the Yenisei province, replied that it was dangerous to resettle the Molokans in Khakassia, since there was a border between Russia and Mongolia, in addition, there were no lands suitable for agriculture in the steppe, “it contains the main heritage of the Tatars of the Minusinsk district”. And, what is most important, the “Tatars of the Minusinsk district” were already “unstable in faith.”¹

Due to the position indicated by the provincial administration, there were few Molokans in the Khakassia-Minusinsk Territory; by 1837, according to official figures, 36 people had lived there (4 people in Minusinsk, 8 people in the village of Tesinskoye, 12 people in the village of Bir, and 12 people in the village of Novoselovo).

The Molokans were socially isolated, they were forbidden to communicate with the Orthodox and, especially, with the indigenous people, to hire them, etc. In 1852, Arseny Grischenkov, an Askiz priest, complained that “some foreigners work for Molokans and Sabbatarians in the village of Iudino for years. A search was initiated and the assessor of the Steppe Duma Cheblak Chemakchinov reported that there were no such, i.e. working in annual hiring, but “there are those who work on a daily basis by agreement” and noted that he “did not notice the skills of Molokan rites among foreigners.” The head of the village of Iudino reported that “in general there are no Orthodox foreigners in the village.”² The government,

¹ SAIR. F. 24. Op. 3. T. 1. K. 3. D. 37. L. 1–7 ob.

² NARKh. F. I-2. Op. 1. L. 489. L. 1–3.

prohibiting the conversion of Orthodox Christians to any non-Orthodox faiths, protected the converts from co-religionists. For example, Molokan families who converted to Orthodoxy received benefits from the state, Molokan wives could divorce, marry the Orthodox, and leave with their children for a new family³.

The Dukhobor sect arose in the second half of the 18th century among the state peasants of the Voronezh province as a protest against feudal serfdom. The followers considered themselves “fighters for the spirit” – hence its name. The Dukhobors did not recognize the clergy, temples, icons, sacraments, fasts, monasticism. They understood God as “wisdom”, “good”, “love” being in the world, and present in a believer. Prince N.A. Kostrov, historian, ethnographer, being the district chief, in 1855 wrote “they believe in the Trinity and the Resurrection, but they do not accept the sacraments.”⁴

In Eastern Siberia, the Dukhobors appeared after a special circular (1833) that determined the places of their settlement. And soon, in the 30-50s of the 19th century settled in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory, mostly following the wave of “Kiselev” relocations.⁵

The Sabbatarian sect that arose in Russia at the turn of the 17th – 18th centuries among the landlord peasants of the central regions of Russia got its name due to the fact that its followers celebrated Saturday. It is usually referred to as the Judaic, i.e. religious associations with a non-Jewish etymology, which profess the “Mosaic Law” in one form or another. Such groups usually arose under the influence of Judaism or as a result of an autonomous study of the Old Testament (Khizhaia, 2015: 160)

In the 19th century tens of thousands of people were ranked as Sabbatarians; they lived in thirty provinces of the Russian Empire. The followers of this sect were large merchants and industrialists, and they, as a rule, belonged to the top of a religious group (Klibanov, 1974: 22, 153, 176, 197). On the territory of the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory, most of the Sabbatarians lived in the village of Iudino, Shush-

enskaya volost, where they were exiled by the government in the 1920s of the 19th century⁶.

Skopty formed in Russia as a sect in the 18th century after unsuccessful uprisings of peasants. They got their name due to the operation of castration, which had a ritual character. All followers were supposed to go through this procedure. According to representatives of this religious group, human sinfulness is the result of carnal desires. The Skopty did not voluntarily enter the Khakassia-Minusinsk Territory, all of them were there by court order. Let us cite Fedor Zhuravlev and Vasily Ivanov as an example; the first of them was “convicted for self-incineration, the last one was for participating in the commission of the aforementioned crime. Since the convicts had long been imprisoned, they were sent to “the most remote place in the Minusinsk district.”⁷ In 1861, 224 Skopty lived in the Yenisei province, of which 157 people, i.e. 70%, lived in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory. The government resettled the Skopty in Minusinsk, in the village of Tigritykaya (96 people) and in the village of Murino. In Minusinsk the Shchegoltsovs, the Gurkovs, the Yuriev, who were petty bourgeois Skopty, lived.

At the end of the 19th century, in connection with the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the number of sects and sectarians increased. And after the proclamation of the principle of religious tolerance (Decree of April 17, 1905), which granted every adult Russian citizen the right to profess any Christian doctrine, the total number of sectarians in Siberia and the Far East amounted to about 26 thousand. The sectarians took advantage of the decree and, moving to the Siberian provinces, began to conduct active propaganda there.

8.9% of the population considered themselves Catholics in Russia, 5.2% regarded themselves as Protestants. The position of the Western Christian denominations was legalized in the 19th century. The Lutheran church was legislated in 1832, and the Catholic one was later in 1857. The status of these churches was naturally limited, but freedom to profess Catholicism and Protestantism was recognized.

³ Ibid. D. 623. L. 4.

⁴ MGI “ACM”. F. 106. Op. 1. D. 22. L. 101–101 ob.

⁵ SATR. F. F-170. Op. 1. D. 86. L. 25–77.

⁶ MGI “ACM”. F. 106. Op. 1. D. 22. 101–101 ob.

⁷ SAIR. F. 24. Op. 3. T. 1. K. 18. D. 488. L. 1–4.

These religions were usually practiced by ethnic minorities, i.e. Poles, Germans, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Swedes, etc. Catholic and Protestant churches instilled moral principles, customs and traditions of Russian nationalities in their parishioners, although most of them belonged to one ethnic group. The national policy of the Russian Empire for several centuries implemented the principle of anti-Catholicism, which had a clear political tone. Catholic or Lutheran issues were not considered independently, they entered the context of political and ethnic relations, were associated with a complex of state and national problems.

Catholics and Lutherans were exiled to the Khakassia-Minusinsk region for political reasons in the 19th century. From 1821 to 1827, 22 Polish exiled settlers arrived in Shushensky volost. After the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1830-1831 Anton Dozherolov, Osip Kliarner, Wojciech Levodovsky, Ferdinand Milevsky, Reginsky, Khelmitsky were exiled to Minusinsk; Ippolit Korsom was exiled to the village of Shushenskoye; Tomash Prezhdetskiy was exiled to the village of Ermakovskoe. In the city of Minusinsk at the end of the 19th century the Polish diaspora was formed, consisting of the Wojciechowskis, the Korzhenevskiiis, the Andronovskiiis and others. In the house of N.O. Wojciechowski, a Catholic chapel was built, in which services were held with the participation of the parish priest Franchisk Skobeika from Krasnoyarsk (Leonchik, 2016).

Representatives of the Evangelical Lutheran faith in the Yenisei province appeared in the middle of the 19th century – Finns, Estonians, Latvians and Germans were exiled “for unimportant crimes”. Member of the statistical committee, current state adviser, chairman of the Yenisei provincial government V. Gaup in his report “The state of the colony of exiled Lutheran confessions in the Shushensky volost, Minusinsk district from 1850 to 1865” noted that colonies were established for the resettlement of exiled convict Lutherans, and pastors were appointed for the purpose of “spiritual edification” and “observation of their morality.”

All the criminals of the Lutheran confession who lived in the Yenisei province absent-mindedly went from Krasnoyarsk, Tobolsk,

Achinsk and other places to the Shushensky volost to specially formed villages (Second Memorial Book, 1865: 58, 73, 78). But the local community was not formed here as well; the state confessional policy ordered to resettle “all three tribes” in different colonies in order to avoid “misunderstandings, troubles and quarrels” between settlers, “special moral weaknesses and vices, for example, not to allow Finns to drink”, as well as the opportunity to send worship and teaching in schools in their native language.

In the village of Upper Suetuk of the Ermakov Volost, founded in 1851 by Yuri Kuldemeä, it was planned to place Finns, in Nizhny Bulanka (1858) it was planned to place Latvians (later the Germans arrived there), Estonians were planned to place in the Upper Bulanka founded in 1861. In 1859, there were 54 Finnish criminals convicted of criminal offenses, vagrancy, misconduct, theft, etc. from among peasants, apprentices, and retired soldiers under the supervision of a pastor appointed with the consent of the Finnish Senate in the Upper Suetuk section⁸. Most of the exiles were unmarried people, while the ratio of male and female population was extremely unfavourable and averaged 1: 9, which contributed to the conclusion of mixed marriages (Second Memorial Book, 1865: 60, 64–68, 75).

The choice of terrain for the founding of the Lutheran colonies was very successful. The settlements turned out to be around 100 versts from the county town of Minusinsk. The presence of free land and soil fertility made it possible to allocate plots of 15-21 acres per male per capita. In 1860, a school was founded in the village of Nizhny Bulanka, which was supported by funds allocated by the central committee of the auxiliary fund for Lutheran parishes in Russia. Teaching at the school was in Latvian and German and was compulsory for all children. In 1886 in the Latvian-German Lower Bulanka, in 1888 in the Finnish-Estonian Upper Suetuk, Lutheran churches, built at the expense of compatriots in the homeland in favour of the “lost countrymen”, were consecrated. Of course, the creation of a religious community was necessary due to the crowding of criminal

⁸ MGI “ACM”. F. 42. Op. 1. D. 1023. L. 4–15.

elements. Priests lived in the community permanently. The pastor received 1,500 roubles of salary per year and had in his use a plot of land, mowing and a church house, and the catechist had 360 roubles of salary, an apartment in the church house, as well as a plot of land and mowing (Bykonya, 2007: 38, 119, 177).

In 1893, a library partnership was founded in Nizhny Bulanka. Its collections contained about 300 titles of literature and 12 periodicals in the Latvian language, mainly of religious content. Surveys in Siberia revealed that 95% of Lutherans were literate. During the rite of maturity young men at the age of 18 and girls at the age of 16 were confirmed with the condition of being able to read the Law of God and know the Old and New Testaments (Ivanova, 2004: 177).

In 1857, the first group of Latvians arrived from the Valmiera County of Latvia (the Livonia Province of Russia at that time), convicted of various crimes against the masters. They were assigned to live in a settlement in the distance of 80 km southeast of Minusinsk, in the fertile valleys of the Suetuk and Kebezh rivers, near the confluence of the Bulanka River in the Kebezh. The colony gradually grew, and already in 1864 975 people lived in it (Ivanova, 2003: 110).

In the middle of the 19th century several rural communities were formed, consisting of 14 boundary communities and colonies for exiled settlers. The largest of them were the Ermakovskaya, Zheblakhtinskaya, Upper-Kebezhskaya, Grigoryevskaya, Kindyrlykskaya, Migninsky, Raz'ezhenskaya, Salbinskaya communities, the Upper-Bulankovskaya, Low-

er-Bulankovskaya, Upper-Suetukskaya and Lower-Suetukskaya colonies, where the villages were located.

Conclusion

During the study period, the Russian government avoided the resettlement of representatives of non-Orthodox faiths in the region, which retained geopolitical importance, where a significant number of indigenous people who professed paganism lived. The role of the state intensified in confessional politics and the hierarchy of religious tasks, which is determined by a combination of geopolitical, socio-economic, and religious factors. Secular and spiritual authorities pursued a policy of religious isolationism in the region due to the border situation of the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory and the presence of a large number of autochthons. All non-Orthodox faiths in the region were fragmented, unorganized, and represented to a lesser extent than other parts of Siberia. Having studied this issue, we can argue that local communities as a result of religious migration in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory did not form. Despite the fact that in the 19th century representatives of all faiths (dominant, recognized, tolerant, unrecognized, and local pagan population) lived in the territory of the region, interfaith relations that developed in the region can be described as cooperation. At the same time, the existence of many social, ethnosocial, and confessional groups, the borders between which were blurred, made ethnic and cultural and social contacts and the process of integration of society somewhat difficult.

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List of abbreviations

1. SAIR – Regional State Treasury Institution “State Archive of the Irkutsk Region”.
2. SATR – State Archive of the Tomsk Region.
3. NARKh – state treasury institution of the Republic of Khakassia “National Archive”.
4. MGI “ACM” – municipal government institution “Archive of the city of Minusinsk”.

К проблеме формирования локальных сообществ в Хакасско-Минусинском крае в XIX в.

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Аннотация. Цель статьи – рассмотреть формирование локальных сообществ в Хакасско-Минусинском крае в среде религиозных мигрантов. Под религиозными мигрантами авторы понимают мигрантов, покинувших места постоянного проживания в Центральной России и переселившихся в Сибирь в XIX в. в попытке сохранить и распространить свою неправославную религию. Авторы анализируют литературу, источники из сибирских архивов, научные статьи и монографии, посвященные жизни религиозных мигрантов в других регионах Сибири и Дальнего Востока.

Дана классификация сект, принятая дореволюционными исследователями, подробно рассматриваются представители всех конфессий, проживавших на территории Хакасско-Минусинского края, – молокане, духоборы, субботники, скопцы, католики и протестанты, прежде всего лютеране, их количество, условия ведения хозяйства и взаимодействие с местным населением.

В заключение изложены причины, по которым локальные сообщества в исследуемом регионе не сформировались: приграничное положение региона, коренное население, которое только начинало принимать православие, разобщенность и малочисленность сектантов.

Ключевые слова: локальное сообщество, Хакасско-Минусинский край, религиозные мигранты, молокане, духоборы, субботники, скопцы, католики, протестанты, лютеране.

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.