



DOI: 10.22250/2072-8662.2017.4.21-30

Уайт Д.М.

Бурханизм, веротерпимость и Русская православная церковь на Алтае (1904–1914 гг.)

Статья написана при поддержке Российского научного фонда, грант № 17-18-01194



Аннотация. В статье рассматривается рост популярности бурханизма среди коренного населения Алтая и реакция на эти процессы Русской православной церкви в 1904–1914 гг. Бурханизм был реформистским движением, направленным на очищение местного шаманизма от элементов, связанных с культом мёртвых. Появление бурханизма вызвало жесткую реакцию со стороны русских поселенцев, поддержанную местными церковными деятелями. Такая реакция резко отличалась от относительно толерантных миссионерских стратегий предшествующего периода. В статье исследуется, почему эти церковные деятели порвали с существовавшей традицией, и какие методы они использовали для давления в отношении бурханизма в 1904–1914 гг. Используя методы и термины этнографической науки, миссионеры и священнослужители пытались обвинять движение в про-японской, жестко антироссийской ориентации, и представляли его как форму буддийского прозелитизма. Такая позиция оспаривалась светскими антропологами, которые полагали, что движение имело только религиозные мотивы. Концепция, предлагаемая в статье, рассматривает сдвиг от терпимости к стратегии принудительного миссионерства как шаг от «волюнтаристской» концепции религии (человек имеет неотъемлемое право выбирать веру) к «конфессиональной» концепции (религиозная принадлежность зависит от требований государства).

Ключевые слова: бурханизм, Русская православная церковь, Алтай, Макарий (Глухарев), православная миссия, веротерпимость

James M. White

Burkhanism, Toleration and the Russian Orthodox Church in the Altai (1904–1914)

The paper is supported by a grant of the Russian Science Foundation, project № 17-18-01194

Abstract. This article details the rise of Burkhanism's popularity among the native peoples of the Altai and the reaction of the Russian Orthodox Church between 1904 and 1914. Burkhanism was a reform movement aimed at purging local shamanism of elements associated with the cult of the dead. The initial outbreak of Burkhanism provoked a violent reaction from local Russian settlers, one partially sponsored by local Orthodox churchmen: this was a departure from previous missionary strategies, characterised by their tolerant approach. This article seeks to understand why these churchmen broke with tradition and what methods they used between 1904 and 1914 to try and repress Burkhanism. Using the methods and vocabulary of ethnographical science, missionaries and priests attempted to stigmatise the movement as being pro-Japanese, violently anti-Russian, and a form of Buddhist proselytization. However, secular anthropologists argued the movement had only religious motives. The article conceptualises the shift from a tolerant to a coercive missionary strategy as a move from a 'voluntarist' conception of religion, reliant on an individual's inviolable right to choose their faith, to a 'confessional' one, where religious belonging was dependent on the requirements of the state.

Key words: Burkhanism, Russian Orthodox Church, Altai, Makarii (Glukharev), Orthodox mission, religious toleration

James Matthew White – PhD, Senior Research Fellow at the Laboratory for the Study of Primary Sources/Laboratory of Archaeographical Studies, Ural Federal University, Alumnus of the Department of History and Civilization at European University Institute, Italia.; 4 Turgenev str., Ekaterinburg, Russia; james.white@eui.eu

Джеймс Мэттью Уайт – обладатель степени PhD, старший научный сотрудник Лаборатории эдизионной археографии/Лаборатории археографических исследований Уральского федерального университета, выпускник кафедры истории и цивилизации Европейского университетского института, Италия; Екатеринбург, ул. Тургенева, 4; james.white@eui.eu

Amidst the spectacular scenery of the Altai in April 1904 walked an itinerant shepherd called Chet Chelpanov. Accompanying him was his twelve-year-old adopted daughter Chugul. As she tended to the flock, a vision came to her. An old man, riding a white horse and dressed in a white robe, proclaimed himself to be 'AkBurkhan', messenger of the legendary hero Oirot Khan who was soon to return to the Altai. Chugul was instructed to abolish blood sacrifices and ignore the 'black shamans,' those who communed with the spirits of the underworld. Russian money and goods should be rejected. If all the Altai prayed for the khan, then he would expel the Russians and establish a rich and happy kingdom [Sherstova, 2010, 225–244].

Chuguland Chet began to preach their new faith. They met with rapid success: by the beginning of June, 3,000 nomads had gathered around Chelpanov's yurt in the Tereng valley to pray to the new deity. However, in February, the Russians had begun their ill-fated war with Japan. The first police officials to investigate returned with stories of the Altaians worshipping a deity called 'Oirot-Iapon,' the latter word being very close to the Russian for Japan. Rumours spread of huge armies in the mountains and Altaians plans to rise up for the Japanese. The Russian peasants, frightened and insecure on their appropriated land, began to flee to the cities.

St. Petersburg was already demanding information: Minister of the Interior V. K. Pleve telegraphed K.S. Starynkevich, the governor of Tomsk, to ask whether 'decisive measures' were needed [Sherstova, 2010, 227]. Although the governor replied that the affair was purely of a religious nature, he still had to disperse the meeting. The Biisk police captain and Bishop Makarii (Pavlov) headed out to Ust'-Kan to collect a force of peasants. Around 1,000 men had gathered in the village by 20 June armed with clubs and guns, converts and adherents to the old shamanism from the native population among them. Makarii blessed the group: 'The bishop prayed that the assembled men would not use any force against the child-like sons of the Altai. The Kalmyks, he prayed, should be pitied, like little brothers who had fallen into a wicked fog. Blessing the assembled men, the bishop instructed them to have Christian virtues in their hearts: humility, patience, love and mildness' [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 23–24].

After the blessing, the group moved out to the Tereng valley. Surrounding the praying Altaians, they demanded the surrender of Chelpanov: 'The Kalmyks said not a word. They stood like voiceless statues and seemed like living walls, defending the great Chet and the holy place where the yurt stood [...] they seemed like a people completely independent of the authorities, inviolable members of their new independent society, which was ruled by their own rights, laws and order' [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 25]. As the Kalmyks refused to give in, it was decided to resort to force. Police officials pushed their way into the yurt to arrest the new prophet. At this point, someone fired a shot and an altercation broke out. The missionary Kumandin reported that one Altaiian was killed and around 50 wounded. On the Russian side, only one individual was heavily wounded. Chet was arrested and removed to Biisk. Dr Barsov, an 'unwilling participant', managed to remove Chugul from harm's way when the peasants started 'to jeer at her' [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 101–102]: according to him, she was raped in the chaos [Barsov, 1905]. Order was restored and the Altaians were treated to a missionary lecture from Kumandin, who told them they had no choice other than Orthodox Christianity now that they had lost both their old faith and their new prophet [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 28].

Chet and his closest collaborators were tried in May 1906, accused of claiming supernatural powers in order to excite the natives and imprisoning several who had refused to join him. D.A. Klements, an ethnographer from the Imperial Geographical Society, testified that the new movement was of a purely religious character and did not contain 'a single atom of Buddhism.' Much had been made of a Mongolian book found in Chet's yurt: Klements reported that this was a manual on how to grow potatoes [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 30]. On 2 June 1906, the court cleared Chelpanov and his co-defendants of all crimes.

The history of Burkhanism is of how religious toleration functioned as a key structure in framing the way in which the Orthodox Church and Russian state handled the natives and vice versa. As in other parts of the empire, the confessional structure acted in lieu of a nationality policy: its aim was ultimately to keep the empire together and allow

the government to achieve its foreign policy objectives [Crews, 2006]. The Church ultimately had to act within that structure. However, the Altai was a unique imperial space where neither internal nor external stability was at stake. Thus the Church could be allowed to deploy campaigns of conversion whose aims and methodology did not need to be dictated by the requirements of state security. In short, Christianisation for its own sake could be permitted in the Altai, which allowed church actors to develop a creative missionary methodology, one characterised by tolerance.

However, how did the Church react when its freedom of action was radically curtailed by the emergence of a new religion? Burkhanism was an almost unique occurrence in the history of Russian Siberia: a new religion with explicitly anti-Russian sentiments that, partly at least, put the indigenous peoples on the path to nationhood [for another example, see Werth 2001, 144–172]. How did the Church deal with this new problem given their previous methodologies?

Altai, Empire, Church

The Altai region is located in south-western Siberia, sitting directly on the Russian border with Mongolia. The 19th century region included sections of Tuva, Kermovo and the Kazakh steppe. In the north were the Teleuts, Shors, Kumandins and Chelkans, while the Altai-kizhi and Telengits resided in the southern Biisk district. This north-south division manifested itself in several ways. The northern groups speak various Turkic dialects while Mongolic languages prevail in the south. Economic habits also differed. The immense forests of the north made these tribes dependent on hunting and gathering fruits and berries. In the south, sheep herding was the major economic activity, which is one reason why they remained nomadic for much longer. Estimates vary as to the total native population of the Altai in the 19th century: one western scholar puts the figure at 50–55,000 [Collins, 1989, 53].

Perhaps, the most important event in the Altai's pre-Russian history was its part in the Dzhungarian Federation, a loose Mongolian confederacy that emerged in the 17th century and engaged in a series of destructive wars against the Manchu Chinese before finally being annihilated in 1756–59 [Perdue, 2005]. Some 15,000 southern Altaians were driven into Russian territory in order to avoid the mass slaughter [Forsyth, 1992, 129]. The time of the Dzhungarian Federation became idealised in Altaian folklore: they told of when an unnamed enemy had driven Oirot Khan from both his land and people [Sherstova, 1997, 69].

In terms of their religion, the Altaians shared a Turko-Mongolian heritage. Their cosmology imagined a world of three parts: an underworld, the 'real' world and an overworld. All three contained a seemingly infinite variety of spirits and gods who could influence human life for good or ill. The most infamous way of controlling them was the black shamans who sought, through song, ecstatic dance and animal sacrifice, to bargain with the spirits of the underworld to assuage death and disease [Vinogradov, 2003]. Russian ethnographers, particularly those belonging to the Church, were keen to perceive elements of Buddhism in these shamanistic religions: however, while the Mongols had launched an aggressive campaign of conversion in the 17th century on the southern groups, its impact was marginal and left its sign only in some religious paraphernalia.

Russian involvement with the Altai began in the 17th century. Cossack fortresses appeared on the River Biia and Lake Teletskoe in the 1630s [Kreidun, 2008]. The Russians soon established several fortified towns in the northern Altai, the most important being Biisk (1709) and Barnaul (1739). Silver was found in 1736, which led the Russian government to seize the mines and place the entire region under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Cabinet [Hudson, 1996, 46–49]: it 'embraced the whole of the southern half of the Tomsk province – an area larger than Spain or France' [Forsyth, 1992, 116]. By 1858, 38,789 'factory peasants' belonged to these imperial domains [Sibiriak-Skitalets, 1906, 44].

The north-south divide in the Altai was very much exacerbated by the first wave of Russian settlement. The north had prolonged contact with the Russians: as the 19th century progressed, more and more began to adopt the sedentary lifestyle of their Russian neighbours. This made it easier for the first missionaries to convert much of the population, at least nominally, to Orthodoxy. Estimates differ how many were actually converted: Danilin suggests that, by 1897, 34 % of the northern Altaians had been baptised [Danilin, 40].

In the south, however, the natives ‘did not mingle with the Russian population’ until the second wave of settlement after the 1860s [Znamenski, 1999, 200]. Rules established in 1811 forbade Russians from settling in the south since the area was a ‘Kalmyk habitat.’ However, this changed entirely with the abolition of serfdom in the 1860s: peasants now had the opportunity to settle in Siberia to relieve some of the land hunger in the central provinces [Treadgold, 1957]. The majority of peasants (62 per cent) migrating to Siberia went to the Altai [Znamenski, 1999, 201]. Two million Russian settlers arrived between the 1860 and 1912: to support them, the government gave away 105,000 square miles of land [Forsyth, 1992, 186]. For the natives, the worst came in 1899 when St Petersburg ignored the nomadic needs of the natives and issued them with patches of land designed for settled farming: ‘the 1899 decree, in order to create a large reserve of surplus lands, demanded the Altai nomads adopt sedentary living’ [Znamenski, 1999, 203].

International relations also helped create a feeling of entrapment for the southern Altaians. Prior to 1864–5, the natives of the south paid *iasak* (fur tribute) to both the Russians and Chinese. However, China’s international weakness after the Opium Wars left Russia feeling confident enough to rescind this agreement, which was ratified in the Protocol of Chuguchak. The border between the two countries was now effectively closed and the Altaians could no longer swap masters as easily.

Prior to the 19th century, missionary work in the Altai had been sporadic and largely ineffective. The most important reason for this was the attitude of the government. Converts did not have to pay *iasak* to the state and therefore the central authorities did not support missionary initiatives in Siberia. The lack of church infrastructure also played a role. Until 1832, the nearest episcopal see was Tobol’sk, and its bishop was responsible for almost the entirety of western Siberia. The various Russian factories and fortresses equipped themselves with chapels and churches but it was not until 1750, with the construction of a church in Barnaul, that ‘the official development of parish structures in the Altai’ began [Kreidun, 2008, 33]. By the end of the 18th century, some 500 Altaians had accepted baptism, but they converted of their own accord [Kreidun, 2008, 35].

By 1828, the Holy Synod established a mission for the Altai in Tobol’sk. The see very quickly found an excellent candidate to lead it: Makarii (Glukharev). Makarii was a protégé of Filaret (Drozdov), the foremost churchman of the 19th century, and an expert translator. Volunteering himself in 1829, he learnt some of the native dialects very quickly and began work in 1830. Makarii’s most enduring legacy was his belief that the native tribes had to be taught in their own languages. To this end, he established the practice of recruiting assistants from the local population and putting some liturgical literature into one of the Altai dialects. It was a practice that marked the Altai Ecclesiastical Mission (ADM) until its closure in 1919.

Makarii’s tolerant attitude towards conversion is noteworthy. Certain areas of Siberia remained wedded to the idea of mass baptism: missionaries and clergy in Irkutsk continued making use of bribery and coercion into the 1850s [Hundley, 2010, 243–244]. For Makarii, however, such methods completely undermined the very core of the sacrament, as they brought about only a superficial change. Baptism had to be the choice of the individual, the product of soul-searching. This was one of the reasons why Makarii and his successors emphasised spreading the Christian gospel in various Altai dialects. Makarii also believed in the power of example and thus highlighted the need for missionaries to live among their intended targets and to assist in their day-to-day lives, particularly with medical knowledge. Indeed, sharing food and clothing with the natives was enshrined in the first section of the missionary rule that Makarii designed in 1829 [Dokumenty, 1997, 105].

Makarii remained a missionary dedicated to bringing souls into the Orthodox Church. The modern idea that truth could lie in all religions was very far from his thinking. ‘In the heart of Jesus,’ he wrote, ‘tolerance is not indifference to truth and error but mercy to the erring’ [Glukharev, 1894, 4]. Equally, the laws by which Siberia was governed provided for indigenous freedom of conscience. For the government, the overriding concern remained general stability: forceful measures could only undermine this priority [Raeff, 1956]. Makarii himself felt the sting of these prohibitions when his initial request to be sent to Kazakhstan was denied because the government did not want Christian

preaching in the area [Collins, 1989, 54]. In essence, it was these laws, in combination with the respect that Makarii and his successors maintained for internal transformation prior to conversion, that led the ADM to place education (Makarii set up three schools during his time) and literature above forced baptism as missionary tools [Collins, 1991, 99].

Makarii was certainly not the only Orthodox missionary to believe this. Innokentii (Veniaminov), working in Russian Alaska, used similar methods [Vinkovetsky, 2011]. The two men were at the forefront of a new attitude towards religion in the Russian Empire. For them, the important thing was a voluntary confession of faith from the individual: to produce this, the individual had to be educated in at least the basic tenants of the Christian faith and persuaded of their divine truth. This was at odds with the confessional policy that would continue to determine the Russian Empire's attitude to religion and conversion up until 1905 (and beyond), where one's religion was a matter of group identity and state control. Jeffrey Cox has conceptualised this change as a shift from a 'confessional' to a 'voluntarist' religious settlement [Cox, 1997].

Such an approach produced results, at least in the northern part of the Altai. While one can take issue with the number of converts the ADM reported each year, it is difficult to dispute their institutional success: 'from 1830 to 1912 clerics established twenty-one stations, two monasteries, two convents and seventy-four schools with more than one thousand native students. Missionaries also founded a Catechism College, which gave room and board to twenty-two students designated to become native clergymen' [Znamenski, 1999, 205]. In 1880, the mission was institutionalised via a new see in Biisk.

So, in the north, the tolerant approach of the mission had made significant inroads. However, what if a movement emerged in opposition to the Russians and thus Orthodoxy? What if this movement began exhibiting signs of national consciousness? Veniamin (Blagonravov), archbishop of Irkutsk, had already warned 'the more developed national self-consciousness in a particular people becomes, the more difficult it is to convert them to Orthodoxy. This is because they stubbornly stand by their nationality and with it their faith, even if they are convinced of its bankruptcy' [Blagonravov, 1882, 5].

Burkhanism

Since its emergence, Burkhanism (or '*Ak Iang*' in Altaian, meaning 'the White Faith') has been the subject of debate among Russian ethnographers. As we will shortly see, the Church fought to control this debate for its own ends: the ADM had a strong tradition of ethnographical writing, beginning with V.I. Verbitskii's descriptions of shamanism [Verbitskii, 1893]. So what precisely was Burkhanism? At its core, the new faith was a rejection of elements associated with the 'black shaman' and the underworld. Chelpanov's followers avoided these shamans and burnt their drums. Animal sacrifice was prohibited and replaced with burning heather on altars, sprinkling milk (its colour symbolising purity) and tying coloured ribbons to branches. The fact that these prayers were conducted collectively, as occurred in the Tereng valley in 1904, was a novelty, as were the new kind of 'clergy' leading these prayer meetings, the *iarlykchi*. Chelpanov forbade smoking and drinking, which was meant to induce physical purity and purge addictions to 'Russian' substances. However, once the initial eschatological fervour had worn off, it proved harder to prevent both licentious habits and the re-emergence of black shamans. Even Chet had begun smoking again by 1914 and argued that he and the shamans professed the same faith [Znamenski, 2005, 42, footnote 38].

The precise nature of the Burkhanist 'pantheon' is difficult to determine, largely because there were so many 'gods' in the Altaian religious system. Indeed, it is not entirely clear whom Chugul saw in the mountains: was it Oirot-Khan, his messenger, Ak-Burkhan, or both [Vinogradov, 2003]? Whoever this figure was, he told Chet and his daughter to worship the sun, the moon and several other deities. Oirot Khan himself appears largely to be a conglomerate of Turko-Mongolic deities and historical figures [Vinogradov, 2003, 247–248]. The essential change from previous shamanistic patterns of deity worship was the complete rejection of Erlik, the lord of the underworld.

One of the most important aspects of Burkhanism was in developing a form of ethnic consciousness among southern Altaians. Burkhanism acted as 'the spiritual device that began to generate awareness among the nomadic Altaians of their common identity through constant recitals of Burkhanist songs and hymns' [Znamenski, 2005, 39].

Constant reference to the Altai Mountains as a common homeland began to erode tribal distinctions in the southern region as the nomads dropped their various monikers and asserted a general identity. Prayer songs venerated the Altai as a mother and worshipped its mountains and rivers [Danilin, 1993, 132]. Equally present were two 'others' against whom the southern Altaians began to define themselves: the Russians and the black shamans.

How did the Orthodox Church react to this movement? Prior to 1904, the Church had been able to rely on the ethos established by Makarii (Glukharev). However, the arrival of Burkhanism radically changed the situation: the new faith was very actively proselytised, it began to establish a degree of unity among the natives and it consciously defined against the Russians. The old methods, it seemed, had lost their usefulness in the face of this challenge.

A range of attempts to suppress the new faith by calling on the state for support followed. At first, this was relatively easy: the confusion surrounding Chelpanov's prayer meeting, combined with the unease of both the local administration and Russian settlers, meant that it appeared as if the state would back direct repression. The evidence that Dr Barsov provided at the trial indicates that destruction of the new movement was at the heart of the Church's motivation. Barsov asked Makarii whether a campaign against Chet was necessary: once Oirot-Khan failed to appear, surely Chet's followers would see him as a fraud? Makarii answered that heresy had to be destroyed [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 101–102]. Certainly, Kumandrin believed that the arrest of Chet would spell the end of Burkhanism: he sanguinely predicted that 'not far into the future, the Kalmyks will probably take holy baptism, find peaceful shelter in the bosom of the Orthodox Church and prosper under [...] the Russian emperor' [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 28].

Such an action against the Burkhanists marked a great departure in the behaviour of the ADM. The Church had frequently backed the natives in their struggle with rapacious peasant settlers for obvious reasons: deprivation of land would alienate the indigenous population, thus making missionary work harder: 'in all conflicts connected to land issues, the missionaries stood, as a rule, in defence of the interests of the indigenous residents of the Altai' [Kreidun, 2008, 79]. Even after Burkhanism emerged, the Church remained fully cognisant of the problems created by land reform, as the ADM's 1906 account demonstrates: 'What if our converts align themselves with the mountain Kalmyks and prefer the poverty of nomadic life, leaving their family plots: then they will not be turned into settled *inorodtsy* and, in the near future, peasants [...] It is terrible to think that one law, composed somewhere far away in a cabinet of ministers, can, if not destroy, then suspend the entire business of peaceful conversion of the Altai Kalmyks' [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 88]. That the Church resorted to violence in the first instance gives some idea of the extent of their concern about Burkhanism.

The trial and its verdict meant that Burkhanism had received a degree of legal, scientific and social recognition as a purely religious affair. However, the Church did not give up trying to persuade the government that Burkhanism was a political movement and thus could be repressed. Having seen the power of expertise to sway both the court and the state, it is not surprising that the Church chose to fight this battle through its own ethnographical research on Burkhanism. Just as Daniel Beer has shown how the Church seized on modern medical language to give greater relevance and power to their theology, in this case the Church seized upon ethnography to give scientific and social validity to their attempt to push the state into action [Beer, 2004].

In their research, the Church had three general aims in mind. The first was to try and prove foreign influence and thus demonstrate that the new movement was aiming to subvert the Russian Empire. This manifested itself in perpetuating the myth that Burkhanism was either sympathetic to the Japanese or had been created by them: constant re-iterations of the Japanese connection appear in missionary accounts. For instance, in the collection of Burkhanist prayer songs published by the ADM in 1910, one prayer supposedly sung by the *iarlykchi* has the line 'in the country of Tokyo' [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 280, 282]. The Church was aware that the Altai sat on an imperial border: while this border had been relatively safe throughout the 19th century, the ambitious Far Eastern policy of Nicholas II had transformed sensibilities about the region's security. In making such an argument,

based on the flimsiest possible evidence (an accidental or deliberate mistranslation of 'Oiroi-Iapon'), the Church showed that it understood that foreign policy motivations were far more likely to force the hand of the state than appeals on religious grounds. The state's prerogatives had determined the emergence of a tolerant religious policy in the Altai: it was now presumed that the shift in those prerogatives could justify an intolerant one.

Based on far more substantial evidence were the Church's claims for Buddhist influence. Klements' argument that there was not 'a single atom' of Buddhism in Burkhanism was not difficult to undermine. Chelpanov himself probably crossed the border between Mongolia and Russia on several occasions and talked with Buddhist lamas: the Church dubbed him a 'Mongolian exile'. One missionary gave historical backing to such a claim, studying an earlier religious movement in the Altai started by a former Buddhist monk: prayers had been said at tremendous cost, and even children were given away to garner the blessing of this duplicitous individual [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 280, 282]. The same charges made against Chelpanov were a major point in the trial: this contributed to a campaign of vilification launched at the 'poor shepherd.' The churchmen described him either as a fraud, wringing money and gifts out of the hapless Altaians, or a 'psychotic' [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 89].

Given these Buddhist connections, it is not surprising that Burkhanism was seen as a Buddhist ploy to undermine Orthodoxy. The missionary Ivan Novikov put it thus: 'There is undoubted and authentic data that Chet acted under the influence of Buddhist propaganda. Mongolian lamas often come with their propaganda to the pagans of the Altai, using somewhere in the wilds of the Altai to hide from Orthodox eyes. They create great confusion among the pagan Altaians with their tales about the soon-to-be realised appearance of Oiroi Khan' [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 47]. The key to the Church's claims was that the Buddhists were proselytising: while Buddhism was a tolerated religion in the Russian Empire, it had no right to proselytise even after the toleration edict of 1905. Therefore, proving that Burkhanism was a Buddhist attempt to convert both Orthodox and polytheist Altaians was key in trying to repress the new religion.

The last strut of the campaign was to prove how anti-Russian Burkhanism was. It was widely known that Burkhanism demanded that its adherents reject certain material trappings of Russian existence (drinking tea and using Russian goods): Chet and some of the later *iarlykchi* advised their followers to abjure from eating or drinking with Russians [Danilin, 1993, 114]. One local official told the governor of Tomsk that the Burkhanists were preaching 'soon there will be a time when there are no Russians: a heavenly fire will exterminate them, together with those Kalmyks who do not pray to Burkhan. There will be no white tsar and Iapon Oiroi will rule in the Altai, where there should be only Kalmyks' [Maidurova and Tadina, 1994, 59]. This aspect of Burkhanism was a reaction to Russian settlement and contributed to the process of self-identification as members of the Altai-kizhi.

The Church consistently framed this issue as one of loyalty to the Russian state: acceptance of Burkhanism meant to oppose the tsar. After the arrest of Chet, Kumandrin asked the assembled worshippers to affirm their loyalty. On 5 May 1905, M. Stankevich, the state prosecutor at Chet's trial, told that one missionary had approached him with a plan for the 'pacification of the Altai.' This consisted of gathering a large group of natives and then asking them to divide into those loyal to the tsar and those who were not. The former could then write a patriotic manifesto that would influence the latter [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 56]. This particular missionary evidently conceived the problem of Burkhanism as being one of political loyalty. References to the idea of Burkhanism's appeal to 'nationalism' (*natsional'nost'*) were frequently included in missionary works and often emphasised to prove its political dangers.

A collection of prayer songs published in 1910 was collected to demonstrate that Burkhanism 'has under it not so much religious as political grounds. By this we mean the political origins of the *iarlykchi*', we have reason to be suspicious of it [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 276]. The songs make copious mention of violence against Russians. Take this section, for example: 'From six bows we will fire/There will be no Russians/From ten bows we will fire/The Russians won't stand' [Maidurova, Tadina, 1994, 284]. The song collection is presented as ethnographic labour and thus equal to Klements' work: however, the Church came to precisely the opposite conclusions because their intention was

portray Burkhanism as a politically motivated movement. Their hope in doing so was to bring down the state on the heads of Burkhanists and thus end the threat the religion posed to Orthodoxy in the region.

Conclusion

The case study shows how the Church's relations with the polytheistic tribes of the Altai were prefigured by toleration and how, in turn, such toleration was dependent on the imperial goals of the state. Throughout much of its existence, the ADM made tolerance one of the foundations of its missionary ethos, a principle born out of esteem for baptism. To conduct baptism on those who had not truly seen the light of the Christian faith was to show disrespect for this sacrament. However, one of the reasons this principle gained such enduring popularity was its efficacy: it truly did seem to work among the northern tribes of the Altai. When this efficacy diminished, so too did the ADM's commitment to it: hence initially resorting to violent repression and then a ceaseless campaign to politicise Burkhanism. In returning to our earlier conceptualisation of confessional and voluntarist religious settlements, we can see that voluntarist settlements do not necessarily have to arise from a modern belief in the rights of the individual but can instead arise from particular conjunctures of imperial permissiveness and a religious conviction in the holiness of baptism, a holiness that necessitates proper preparation and individual transformation. Thus, it was entirely possible for the Church to establish a voluntarist religious settlement when the imperial aims of the government allowed it.

However, there needs to be a space where baptisms are at least possible: this was originally present in the Altai but it rapidly diminished after the events of 1904. When the very possibility of baptism vanished, the Church was capable of rapidly returning to a preference for a confessional settlement, where faith was determined by the state and violators of state religious laws could be punished. Makarii (Glukharev) had believed that there could only be one true religion. His successors in 1904 believed it too, only now they had reason to far less optimistic that the Altaians could find the path without the guiding hand of the state.

Библиографический список

1. Барсов, М.К. О столкновении между калмыцким и русским населением в горном Алтае летом 1904 г. Отчет алтайского подотдела Русского географического общества за 1904 г. / М.К. Барсов. – Барнаул, 1905.
2. (Благодравов) Вениамин. Обязанности русского государства по обращению раскольников и иноверцев к православной русской церкви / Вениамин (Благодравов). – Иркутск: Тип. Н.Н. Сеницына, 1882.
3. Вербицкий, В.И. Алтайские инородцы: сборник этнографических статей и исследований алтайского миссионера / В.И. Вербицкий. – М.: Тип. А.А. Левенсон, 1893.
4. Данилин, А.П. Бурханнизм. Из истории национально-освободительного движения в горном Алтае / А.П. Данилин. – Горно-Алтайск: Ак-Чечек, 1993.
5. Документы по истории церкви и вероисповеданий в Алтайском крае. – Банаул, 1997.
6. (Глухарев) Макарий. Мысли о способах к успешному распространению христианской веры между евреями, магометанами и язычниками в российской державе / Макарий (Глухарев). – М.: Тип. А.И. Снегиревой, 1894.
7. Крейдун, Г. Алтайская духовная миссия в 1830–1919 году: структура и деятельность / Г. Крейдун. – М.: Изд. ПСТГУ, 2008.
8. Майдурова, Н.А. Бурханнизм. Документы и материалы / Н.А. Майдурова, Н.А. Тадина. – Горно-Алтайск: Горно-Алтайский гос. университет, 1994.
9. Шерстова, Л.И. Тайна долины Теленг / Л.И. Шерстова. – Горно-Алтайск: Ак-Чечек, 1997.
10. Beer, D. The Medicalization of Religious Deviance in the Russian Orthodox Church (1880–1905) / D. Beer // *Kritika*, 2004, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 451–482.
11. Collins, D.N. Colonialism and Siberian Development: A Case Study of the Orthodox Mission to the Altai, 1830–1913 / D.N. Collins // *The Development of Siberia: Peoples and Resources* / Eds. A. Wood and R.A. French. – London, St. Martin's Press, 1989.
12. Collins, D.N. The Role of the Orthodox Missionary in the Altai: Archimandrite Makarii and V.I. Verbitskii / D.N. Collins // *Church, Nation and State in Russia and Ukraine* / Ed. G.A. Hosking. – New York: St. Martin's Press. – 1991. – P. 96–107.

13. Cox, J. Religion and Imperial Power in Nineteenth-Century Britain / J. Cox // Freedom and Religion in the Nineteenth Century. Ed. R. Helmstadter. – Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997. – P. 339–372.
14. Crews, R.D. For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia / R.D. Crews. – Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2006.
15. Forsyth, J. A History of the Peoples of Siberia. Russia's North Asian Colony, 1581–1990 / J. Forsyth. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
16. Hudson, H.D. The Rise of the Demidov Family and the Russian Iron Industry in the Eighteenth Century / H.D. Hudson. – Newtonville, MA, Oriental Research Partners, 1986.
17. Hundley, H.S. Defending the Periphery: Tsarist Management of Buriat Buddhism / H.S. Hundley // Russian Review, 2010. – Vol. 69. – P. 243–244.
18. Perdue, P.C. China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Asia / P.C. Perdue. – Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2005.
19. Raeff, M. Siberia and the Reforms of 1822 / M. Raeff. – Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956.
20. Sherstova, L.I. Burkhanism in Gorny Altai. Religion and Politics in Russia: A Reader / L.I. Sherstova / Ed. M.M. Balzer. – New York and London, M.E. Sharpe, 2010. – P. 225–244.
21. Sibiriak-Skitalets. Altai i Kabinet // Sibirskie voprosy. – 1906. – № 3.
22. Treadgold, D.W. The Great Siberian Migration. Government and Peasant in Resettlement from Emancipation to the First World War / D.W. Treadgold. – Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957.
23. Vinkovetsky, I. Russian America: An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire, 1804–1867 / I. Vinkovetsky. – New York, Oxford University Press, 2011.
24. Vinogradov, A. Ak Jang in the Context of Altai Religious Tradition / A. Vinogradov. – MA Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2003.
25. Werth, P.W. Big Candles and 'Internal Conversion': The Mari Animist Reformation and Its Russian Appropriations / P.W. Werth // Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia / Eds. R. Geraci and M. Khodarkovsky. – Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001. – P. 144–172.
26. Znamenski, A.A. Shamanism and Christianity: Native Encounters with Russian Orthodox Missions in Siberia and Alaska, 1820–1917 / A.A. Znamenski. – West Port, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1999.
27. Znamenski, A.A. Power of Myth: Popular Ethnonationalism and Nationality Building in Mountain Altai, 1904–1922 / A.A. Znamenski // Acta Slavica Iaponica. – 2005. – Vol. 22. – P. 25–52.

Текст поступил в редакцию 25.10.2017.

References

1. Barsov M.K. *O stolknovenii mezhdru kalmytskim i russkim naseleniem v gornom Altae letom 1904 g. Otchet altaiskogo podotdela zapadno-sibirskogo otdela imperatorskogo russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva 1904 g.* [On the Clash between the Kalmyk and Russian Populations in the Mountain Altai in the Summer of 1904. The 1904 Account of the Altai Subdivision of the Western Siberian Division of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society]. Barnaul, 1905, 7–15 (in Russian).
2. Beer D. *Kritika* [Critics]. 2004, vol. 5, no. 3, 451–482 (in English).
3. (Blagonravov) Veniamin. *Obiazannosti russkogo gosudarstva po obrashcheniu raskol'nikov i inovertsev k pravoslavnoi, russkoi tserkvi* [Duties of the Russian State in Terms of Converting Schismatics and Non-Orthodox Christians to the Russian Orthodox Church]. Irkutsk: Tip. N.N. Sinitsyna, 1882 (in Russian).
4. Collins D.N. *The Development of Siberia: Peoples and Resources*. Eds. A. Wood and R.A. French. London: St. Martin's Press, 1989 (in English).
5. Collins D.N. *Church, Nation and State in Russia and Ukraine*. Ed. G.A. Hosking. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991, pp. 96–107 (in English).
6. Cox J. *Freedom and Religion in the Nineteenth Century*. Ed. R. Helmstadter. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997, pp. 339–372 (in English).
7. Crews R.D. *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2006 (in English).
8. Danilin A.G. *Burkhanizm. Iz istorii natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia v gornom Altae* [Burkhanism. From the History of a National Liberation Movement in the Mountain Altai]. Gorno-Altai: Ak-Chechek, 1993 (in Russian).
9. *Dokumenty po istorii tserkvi i veroispovedanii v Altaiskom krae* [Documents on the History of the Church and Religious Confessions in the Altai Region]. Barnaul: Upravlenie arkhivnogo dela administratsii Altaiskogo kraia, 1997 (in Russian).

10. Forsyth J. *A History of the Peoples of Siberia. Russia's North Asian Colony, 1581–1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 (in English).
11. (Glukharev) Makarii. *Mysli o sposobakh k uspeshneishemu rasprostraneniui khristianskoi very mezhdu evreiami, magometanami i iazychnikami v rossiiskoi derzhave* [Thoughts on the Means for Successfully Spreading the Christian Faith among the Jews, Muslims, and Pagans in the Russian Empire]. Moscow: Tip. A.I. Snegirevoi, 1894 (in Russian).
12. Hudson H.D. *The Rise of the Demidov Family and the Russian Iron Industry in the Eighteenth Century*. Newtonville, MA: Oriental Research Partners, 1986 (in English).
13. Hundley H.S. *Russian Review*. 2010, vol. 69, pp. 243–244 (in English).
14. Kreidun G. *Altaiskaia dukhovnaia missiia v 1830–1919 gody: struktura i deiatel'nost'* [The Altai Ecclesiastical Mission, 1830–1919: Structure and Activities]. Moscow: Izd. PSTGU, 2008 (in Russian).
15. Maidurova N.A., Tadina N.A. *Burkhanizm. Dokumenty i materialy* [Burkhanism. Documents and Materials]. Gorno-Altaiisk: Gorno-Altaiiskgos. Universitet, 1994 (in Russian).
16. Perdue P.C. *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Asia*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2005 (in English).
17. Raëff M. *Siberia and the Reforms of 1822*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956 (in English).
18. Sherstova L.I. *Taina doliny Tereng* [Secret of the Tereng Valley]. Gorno-Altaiisk: Ak-Chechek, 1997 (in Russian).
19. Sherstova L.I. *Religion and Politics in Russia: A Reader*. Ed. M.M. Balzer. New York and London: M. E. Sharpe, 2010, pp. 225–244 (in English).
20. Sibiriak-Skitalets. *Sibirskie voprosy* [Siberian Questions]. 1906, no. 3 (in Russian).
21. Treadgold D.W. *The Great Siberian Migration. Government and Peasant in Resettlement from Emancipation to the First World War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957 (in English).
22. Verbitskii V.I. *Altaiskie inorodtsy: sbornik etnograficheskikh statei i issledovanii altaiskogo missionera* [The Altaian Natives: An Anthology of Ethnographic Articles and Research by an Altaian Missionary]. Moscow: A.A. Levenson, 1893 (in Russian).
23. Vinkovetsky I. *Russian America: An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire, 1804–1867*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011 (in English).
24. Vinogradov A. *Ak Jang in the Context of Altai Religious Tradition*. MA Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2003 (in English).
25. Werth P.W. *Big Candles of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia*. Eds. R. Geraci and M. Khodarkovsky. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp. 144–172 (in English).
26. Znamenski A.A. *Shamanism and Christianity: Native Encounters with Russian Orthodox Missions in Siberia and Alaska, 1820–1917*. West Port, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1999 (in English).
27. Znamenski A.A. *Acta Slavica Iaponica*. 2005, vol. 22, pp. 25–52 (in English).