

## THE ETHNOGENESIS IN THE ETHNOLOGY – FORMATION AS THE SCIENCE ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF NATIONS

**Nurbek Sattorov**

*Basic doctoral student Tashkent State Pedagogical University Uzbekistan, Tashkent*

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### Annotation

In the 1920s, the Bolsheviks took measures to re-establish the internal administrative-territorial structure of the Soviet state on the basis of national characteristics. Eventually, each of the newly formed republics and provinces was given a specific "nation title," and accordingly individual regions and all the places within them were associated with the name of a particular nation. Thus, there was a need to create a thesis on autochthony and natural rights to a particular area.

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Through the thesis to be created, the history of the origin of the Uzbek people, as well as the peoples of the Soviet state, became more organized. More precisely, when the policy of national delimitation was introduced in historical Turkestan in 1924, it began to be on the agenda. The heart of this policy was the policy of dividing the Turkic peoples into national republic, governance was based on the policy of the Soviet Union, which was "Divide into minorities and govern". The main focus in the conduct of national territorial delimitation was to be based on language and ethnic composition.

From the very beginning, academic scholars of various specialties have been involved in the process of collecting and compiling references on special status peoples, demarcating borders between republics and regions, and colonizing national cultures and languages. Another important factor in the Soviet Union's extensive ethnographic research on the territory of the USSR was that clothing ethnologists were underestimating the Soviet peoples according to the Migration Theory of the Origin of the Nations Created by them. As a result, a number of studies were conducted by Soviet scientists to scientifically substantiate these processes. Restoring the imperialist traditions, a special commission was formed from Soviet scholars to organize the nations of the Soviet state from the historical and ethnological point of view.

The commission was initially headed by the Institute for the Study of Nationalities of the Soviet Union, headed by Nikolai Marr (1865–1934), and later by the Miklukho-Maclay Institute of Ethnology, headed by Julian Bromley (1921-1990). During the Soviet era, the science of ethnology was forced to submit to history, which was the main propagandist of the Marxist idea, which required the study of the

characteristics of peoples to be based on the temporal direction of their existence.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of ethnological research, national communities have been studied into very specific stages of development: tribe (plemiya), people (narod) and nation (natsia).

Each of them came into being through socio-economic, economic and cultural development at one of the stages of primitive social order, feudalism, capitalism, socialism and communism, which were the historical stages of human development proposed by Marxist-Leninist science. As an echo of the research, N. Marr's theory of the origin of nations was created on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theories only in the science of ethnology of the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup> The theory developed by N. Marr played indeed an important role in the concept of ethnogenesis. In the 1930s, N. Marr's ideas of autochthonous evolution about the gradual development of people and the formation of a nation through the social development of the population living in an area of origin were so successful that he destroyed all other ideas of ethnology. In the late 1930s, Marr's idea about that the formation of peoples in a region had no direct effect on the evolution of language led to the emergence of a new science, ethnogenetics.<sup>3</sup> Ethnogenesis emerged as the second science from ethnology, which organizes the origin of peoples as the main object of study in Soviet ethnology.

One of the main reasons for the emergence of this science, as noted above, was a clear classification of the composition of the population of the multinational USSR, the organization of the history of the formation of nations and the determination of ethnicity. Another reason was the emergence of autochthonous theories in the second half of the 1930s in the USSR against the pan-Germanist theories of the origin of the Eastern Slavs.

In the Middle Ages, Soviet science which claims that Slavs came from the East faced a pan-Germanic debate that portrayed the Slavs as 'eastern' nation who came from the depths of the Asian deserts in the Bronze Age. Naturally, the Theory of Migration, interpreted by the Germans as a nomadic people who had migrated to Europe from the Slavic peoples, was strongly opposed by Soviet scholars. Soviet ethnologists reject the migration theory of German ethnologists. Soviet scientists argued that the stages of human development were determined not by innate biological characteristics but by socio-economic conditions.<sup>4</sup>

Numerous studies have been conducted by Soviet scientists to substantiate their views. Ethnological research was conducted not only within the Slavic peoples, but within all the peoples of the USSR. From the research conducted, the center focused not only on scientific purposes, but also as one of the factors that allow the development of political and economic goals, that is to say that they considered to broaden their territory with other territories of national republics. During the Soviet era, the idea of 'autochthonousness'<sup>5</sup> was raised as a major issue in ethnology and ethnography.

Historian Terry Martin, who studied the history of the USSR in the 30s and 40s of the twentieth century, cites in his works that cultural and linguistic rights were granted to each of the Soviet peoples on the basis of the principle of autochthonism.<sup>6</sup> Another historian, Francine Hirsch, argues that the concept of autochthonism served as the main idea of Russian ethnologists and local intellectuals in

<sup>1</sup> Frédéric Bertrand, "Une science sans objet? l'ethnographie soviétique des années 20–30 et les enjeux de la catégorisation ethnique," *Cahiers du monde russe* 44, 1 (2003): 93–110.

<sup>2</sup> Marlen Laruel *Central Peripherers*. London 2021. P-23.

<sup>3</sup> Shnirelman, Viktor A. 'Aryans or Proto-Turks? Contested Ancestors in Contemporary Central Asia'. *Nationalities Papers*, 37 (5) (2009): 557–87.

<sup>4</sup> Hirsch, Francine. *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005. P-231-272

<sup>5</sup> autochthonism-(greek. autochthon – lical) lical people of which ethnogenesis emerged in one location

<sup>6</sup> Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca, nY: Cornell University Press, 2001)

organizing the history of the ethnic origin of indigenous peoples.<sup>7</sup> Yuri Slezkin conducted research on the ethnological situation in the Soviet state, emphasizing that the development of science, political environment, social sciences in the pre-war period in the Soviet state was subordinated to politics.<sup>8</sup>

Historical research of the 30s and 40s of the XX century shows that the combination of archeological, anthropological, linguistic, topographic research in each republic with the principle of ethnogenesis on the basis of the concept of autochthonization strengthens the understanding of the true historical connection between the people, its territory and state. However, over the next decade, political and social changes in the Soviet Union accelerated the process of division among the peoples of Central Asia and the nationalization of their republics. This led to a serious focus on the origin of peoples in the USSR at that time. In 1934 and 1936, the political leadership called for a new history of the USSR, focusing on the history of all the peoples within the Soviet Union.

The scientists of the commission headed by N.Marr had conducted a lot of research on the problems of ethnogenesis and come to a number of conclusions. Historian Alexander Bernstam argues that German migration theory was developed under the influence of Western bourgeois science, with the aim of diminishing the Soviet people's place in world history.<sup>9</sup> The famous anthropologist GFDebets (1905-1969) argued that bourgeois Western anthropology focused on racism. At the same time, Western anthropologists had denied the connection between race and language in their views on the origin of peoples. Soviet science, on the other hand, correctly demonstrated the "compatibility between anthropological types and language, cultural and ethnic groups," proving that the organization of this harmony was "the main means of multifaceted analysis of ethnogenesis."<sup>10</sup> The autochthonous theory of the origin of the Soviet peoples against the theory of the origin of the peoples put forward by the scholars, criticized Western ethnologists for not taking into account the economic and economic elements which were the main factors of the development of the peoples. "Ethnic history cannot be reduced to migration, which is mainly caused by political events and military conflicts. Such an approach is not scientifically correct."<sup>11</sup> Historians of every nation in the Soviet Union were instructed by the Soviet government to focus on the theory of autochthonism of the origin of peoples and to reject theories of migration.

In 1936, at the initiative of academician Y. Goethe, "Ancient history of the peoples of the USSR" was published. The USSR Academy of Sciences decided to continue this initiative, and under the leadership of A.D.Udal'tsov organized four conferences on the ethnogenesis of the peoples of the USSR: the first in 1940 by the peoples of the Far North, the second in 1942 by the peoples of Central Asia, the second in 1943 by the Slavs and the last in 1944 devoted to the Indo-European problem. The Central Asian Conference was held in Tashkent in August 1942 and was attended by about 15 researchers, mostly Russian scholars, whose papers were summarized in the "Central Asian Ethnogenesis" chapter of the 1947 book "Soviet Ethnography".<sup>12</sup> This founding conference set out the principles of ethnogenesis for Central Asia as a region. At the same time, it was demanded to clearly define the final period and dynasty of the formation of the population of each republic as a historical nation. Thus, the ethnogenetic issue of the Uzbek people was put on the agenda and its ideological basis was created. Although the Tashkent Conference of 1942 noted that the ethnogenetic theme was officially included in the national historiography of Central Asia, in Uzbekistan this term had officially been used a year before that time.

<sup>7</sup> Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005) University of Michigan Press, 1999)

<sup>8</sup> Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Шахматов В. Ф. К вопросу об этногенезе казахского народа // Известия Академии наук Казахской ССР, вып. 6 (1950): 81.

<sup>10</sup> Дебетс Г.Ф., Антропологический материал как источник изучения вопросов этногенеза, 24, 28.

<sup>11</sup> Абрамзон С. М., Киргизы и их этногенетические и историко-культурные связи. наука, 1971; репр. Фрунзе: Кыргызстан, 1990), 28.

<sup>12</sup> «Сессии по этногенезу Средней Азии». 1947.

The 500th anniversary of the birth of the poet Alisher Navoi (1441–1501), considered the greatest representative of Uzbek literature, but interpreted by Tajik scholars as his national figure, was marked by the revival of national identity after the mass cleansing of 1937–1938, the Uzbeks and Tajiks faced a competition to determine who the indigenous people really were. In order to solve these problems and express the national feeling in accordance with Stalin's ideology, the study of the ethnogenesis and ethnic history of the Uzbek people was entrusted to the orientalist, archeologist A.Yu. Yakubovsky. A.Yu. Yakubovsky in his book "On the question of the origin of the Uzbek people" ("On the question of the ethnogenesis of the Uzbek people"), published in 1941 in Tashkent in Uzbek and Russian languages, challenged the historiography developed in 1920-30. He rejects the notion that the origins of the Uzbeks date back to the early 16th century, when the nomadic group that migrated from the eastern part of the Golden Horde to present-day Uzbekistan came with the arrival of the Shaibani dynasty. He expresses his views on this issue as follows: "When the Uzbeks of the 92-year-old desert of Dashti Kipchak entered Central Asia, led by Shaibanikhan, they met the ancient Turkic population. This stable Turkic population mingled with the ancient Iranian-speaking peoples living between the two great rivers of Central Asia (Amudarya and Syrdarya).

The nomadic Turkic tribes, on the other hand, were components of a new ethnos formed five centuries before their arrival, but they gave a name to local people. On the basis of these views of A.Yu. Yakubovsky in the field of ethnology (ethnography) of the Soviet period developed a scientific concept (the concept of national autochthonism) on the ethnic origin of the peoples of the Central Asian republics (Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Karakalpak). The essence of this concept is A.Yu. It is also reflected in Yakubovsky's work "The Golden Horde and Its Fall"<sup>13</sup> published in collaboration with academician BD Grekov.

In the introductory part of his pamphlet, he clearly emphasizes the fundamental object of future ethnogenetic research in the organization of the ethnic history of nations: "We must distinguish between the history of its name and the conditions under which this or that nation was formed."<sup>14</sup> As soon as the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan was established in 1943, historians decided to publish a two-volume "History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan" (История народов Узбекистана). Historians of the Uzbek SSR began to create a two-volume fundamental work "History of the peoples of Uzbekistan." Scientists S.P.Tolstov, A.Yakubovsky, Y.G.Gulomov, T.N.Qori Niyazov, V.I.Zohidov, M.E.Voronets, E.Sh.Rajabov, V.A. Shashkin, K.B. Trever and others took part in writing this work. The purpose of this book was to put precise information to the historical literature about the peoples of Uzbekistan.

The chronological boundaries of this two-volume book covered the period from antiquity to the October Revolution: Volume I was published in 1950 under the direction of K.V.Trever, A.Yu. Yakubovsky, M.E. Voronets and covered the period of the peoples of Uzbekistan from ancient times to the beginning of the XVI century. The second volume was written in 1947 by S.V. Bakhrushin, V.Ya. Nepomnina and V.A. Shishkin. The second volume was a logical continuation of the first volume and covered a short period of time from the establishment of the Shaybani state to the October Revolution. Surprisingly, the second volume of Volume II, which covered the period from the Shaybanid period to the 1917 revolution, was published three years before Volume I, in 1947. The second volume was written on the basis of communist ideology, in which the historical events of the origin and development of the Uzbek people were falsified, and ideologically inaccurate scientific conclusions were made. This volume had provoked opposition from local historians and A. Yakubovsky to the views of the national history and the migration of the Turkic population to the region. In this second volume, by the Shaybani dynasty was continued to highlight the ideas of the 1920s as a key element in the emergence of the Uzbek people. In the preface to the first volume of the book "History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan" A.Yu.

<sup>13</sup> Греков Б.Д., Якубовский А.Ю. Золотая Орда и ее падение. Москва.-Ленинград. 1950.

<sup>14</sup> Якубовский А. Ю., К вопросу об этногенезе узбекского народа (Ташкент: Узфан, 1941), с-1.



Yakubovsky reiterated the claim that the existence of the Uzbek people appeared before its ethnonym.<sup>15</sup>

Historian SP Tolstov supports Yakubovsky's views. "History of the Uzbek SSR" was published in 1955-1958 under the editorship of S.P.Tolstov. S.P.Tolstov states that from 1947 to 1950, from the publication of "The History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan" to the publication of a book under his leadership in 1955, the history of the people underwent many changes. S.P.Tolstov also noted that the second volume of the book "History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan" was intended by the team of authors to give students the impression of the post-Shaybanid period as a new era.<sup>16</sup> At first glance, the publication of the book "The history of the peoples of Uzbekistan" and the ensuing controversy give the impression that the ethnological and ethnographic knowledge of the origins of the Uzbek people was expanding in the science system. But these processes showed that the colonial policy of the Soviet government was working, as well as that the ideological project of building a single Soviet history was preceding brilliantly.<sup>17</sup> Before analyzing the open and secret debates, it should be noted that the book was called "The History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan". It is difficult to determine for what purpose this title was given to the book, but it was certainly not chosen by chance. The title was supposed to refer to one nation, the Soviet national republic known as the Uzbeks, but the title stated that the history of many "peoples" was given, not one nation. However, the book provides a wealth of information on the origins of the Uzbek people.

One of the main goals of our dissertation is to come to unanimous conclusions based on the analysis of this information, free from political ideologies. In the 50s and 60s of the last century, research on the origin of the Uzbek people was conducted. Research and ideas on the origin of the Uzbek people were conducted not only by Russians, but also by local historians, archeologists, ethnologists, ethnographers, sociologists and linguists. Such a local historian and philosopher V. Zahidov in his article "Struggle to explain the history of the history and culture of the peoples of Uzbekistan in Marxist-Leninist" published in 1949 suggested by A.A.Semenov that the original owner of the cultures created in Uzbekistan was the Persian-speaking population. He was against the fact that Uzbek monuments are not found in cultural monuments in Tashkent, Fergana and other regions contradicts the idea that these cultures are cultural monuments of the Persian-speaking population.<sup>18</sup> Another local historian, R.N. Nabyev also said that language was not the first factor in the formation of a nation. R.N.Nabyev: "The Uzbek people are mainly descended from indigenous peoples and tribes, as well as from more immigrants. The process of formation of the Uzbek people has begun from time immemorial. " He concluded that "Uzbeks existed until the 16th century, because in a short time, even in a century, it is almost impossible for an entire nation to emerge."<sup>19</sup>

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, under Khrushchev, the party began to have a significant impact on ethnological relations. Khrushchev urged Soviet scientists to include more biological terms in the definitions of ethnic groups. Khrushchev's policy in the field of ethnology is applied to Yulian Bromleyamal, director of the Institute of Ethnology of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In his works, published by Y. Bromley, the issue of ethnos is raised as the main object of Soviet ethnology.<sup>20</sup> Y. Bromley wrote his ethnological views under the influence of S. Shirikorov's works, and before the 1917 revolution S. Shirokogoroff developed a general model of ethnos based on research on pigs, one of the Siberian peoples. In his view, the ethnos should have served as a common basis in the origin of peoples,

<sup>15</sup> Якубовский А. Ю., введение в «Историю народов Узбекистана» (Ташкент: Академия наук Узбекской ССР), с-1:8.

<sup>16</sup> С. П. Толстов, Р. н. набиев, я. Г. Гулямов, В. А. Шискин, ред., История узбекской ССР, д. 1, корп. 1 (Ташкент: Академия наук, 1956)

<sup>17</sup> See Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and Colonial Encounter* (New York: Humanity Press, 1973); Shoshana Keller, *Story, Time, and Dependent Nationhood in the Uzbek History Curriculum*, *Slavic Review* 66, no. 2 (2007): 257277.

<sup>18</sup> О марксистско-ленинском освещении истории, 2022.

<sup>19</sup> О марксистско-ленинском освещении истории, 2022.

<sup>20</sup> Chirokogoroff, S.M. *La théorie de lethnos et sa place dans le système des sciences anthropologiques*. *LEthnographie*, 32 (1936):

in which the history of peoples and their cultural identity were embodied.<sup>21</sup> However, Shirikorov's views were persecuted for not conforming to the Soviet ideology of the time, and he fled to China. Based on the works of S. Shirikorov, Y. Bromley called the ethnos - a socio-historical phenomenon that was explained by the productive forces and the resulting social relations. Because the emergence of an ethnos is not a biological phenomenon, but a historical phenomenon, which is passed down from generation to generation.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the concept of national autochthonism allowed for the harmonization of Marxist theories with the primordialist concept.

By the end of the Soviet era, many different ideas and views continued to be appeared on the origin of nation's emergency. Ethnological and ethnogenetic (ethnogenesis) research on the origin of peoples continued to be conducted.

Indeed, the theory of national autochthonism developed during the Soviet era served to form national republics within the USSR, to form national languages, to understand minorities, and to form a national mentality specific to each nation. This concept was also under the strong political protection of the ideology of the former regime against pan-Turkism, pan-Islamism. The unified history of the peoples of Central Asia, which lasted until the policy of national delimitation, became the ideological basis for the separation of the history of each people from the regional historical process and inter-ethnic distribution in the organization of a single common historical process. But now, thanks to independence, a lot of research is being conducted on the origin of the Uzbek people on the basis of real historical facts.

After the disintegration of the USSR and the independence of its allied republics, the struggle for a place of origin among the neighboring republics began. In practical life it really happened. However, there are also positive aspects of its tragic consequences, that is, on the map of history, as a result of this policy, a number of independent states have been established in domestic and foreign policy, there have been dramatic developments in economic and cultural life. For example, the Turkic-speaking population of the region, which was divided into three feudal khanates, and the nomadic Uzbeks, who had limited political rights, united into the so-called Republic of Uzbekistan. The Uzbek ethnos, the Uzbek people, has appeared on the stage of history. There was a need to write his ethnogenesis and ethnic history, the history of the nation.

If national demarcation had not taken place in 1924, when its political legitimacy had not taken place, its successors, the modern Uzbek people, and the name of its statehood would have caused a number of problems. Now the Uzbek ethnonym has become the name of an independent state of an entire nation, and the Uzbek name has acquired an ethnic meaning and content. Citizens of independent Uzbekistan are now proud of this title.

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