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SECTION 30. Philosophy

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THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN REGULATING OF THE PRODUCTION SPHERE OF THE TURKESTAN SOCIETY

Abstract: This article examines some aspects of the consideration of the role of the world religion of Islam in the economic sphere and in particular in the sphere of production in the Turkestan region.

Key words: Turkestan region, Islam, ethno-cultural peculiarities, Muslim society, Shariat, Koran, dehkans, usto, shogird.

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Introduction

At the close of the 19th and early 20th centuries, a strong factor defining the life pattern of the population of Turkestan region was Islam. The laws of the Koran and the Shariat regulated the spiritual and social spheres of daily activities, every-day life relations and ethno-cultural standards of communication. Islam also had a great influence on the regulation of the work of farmers, artisans and merchants.

Materials and Methods

1. By nature of its economy the Turkestan region was an agrarian region. Farm labor was especially appreciated by the Muslim religion. The Koran reads that Allah protects and renders special aid to those whom he "attaches to the land" [1]. Moral commandments of the tiller regulating his labor were written in the "Risolya-i-dekhkonchilik" ("Tiller's regulations"), written based on the Koran. It stated that those tillers, who earn their living exclusively by tillage and farming the personally, fulfill Allah's directions and on time, are called "the noblest of the noblest" and their social status is as high as the status of martyrs and fighters for the faith [2]; that the first plough was made by the angel Djabrail (Gabriel) from the paradisiacal tree "tuba" and the first bulls and the first horsewhip were also delivered from paradise. Djabrail himself made some initial furrows and handed the plough into Adam's hands. In the Risolya some moral admonition is given to the tiller for using these gifts in order that Allah's grace will come down upon him in the form of good harvest and in the next world rewards will be given to him to the same extent as if he would have built a thousand *madrasas* or thousands of mosques or given clothes to thousands of poor people without clothing. Otherwise, he will cover himself with shame in both this and the next world [3]. That is why every *dekhkan* (farmer) tried to stick strictly to the precepts of the *Risolya*.

Due to the insufficiency of irrigated lands in Turkestan, the leasing of land became wide spread among farmers. According to the Shariat the leasing relations between owners of land plots and *chairikers* (tenant farmers having no or small portions of lands) were called shirkat (association). Profits from it could be allocated according to agreements of both parties. It should be noted that while signing the leasing contracts, the laws of the Shariat supported the neediest party – i.e. the *chairikers*. The Shariat required to thoroughly stipulating all the conditions of the future deal. According to the Shariat the basis of the bargain could be the harvest just produced but not the size of the leased plot; it was forbidden to define in advance the exact amount of payment.

The landowner and leaser with mutual consent concluded the agreement only for the share of each party in the future harvest. It could consist of a quarter, one third or one-half of the harvest produced [4]. If the *chairiker* strictly observed the terms of the



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contract, he was protected by the Shariat from bankruptcy in case of failure of crops or natural calamities. These were considered acts of God.

2. Another rather significant group of the society according to their number and role in the economy of Turkestan was represented by artisans and artisans. Their activity was well developed in the region and was adapted to meeting the people's needs. Artisans in each field of activity joined takiya (guilds). Their task was to develop a specific handicraft, rallying the artisans into a closer community and rendering them material and moral support. Each *takiya* activity was sanctified by the Muslim religion and was strictly regulated by their own *Risolya* (Charter).

The *Risolya* for each craftsmen's association, like the "Risolya of Tillers" talks about the origin of the given trade and which moral attributes everyone should have who chooses this kind of work and what duties are expected of him. For example, in the "Risolya of Bakers" it is said, "The trade of bakers is the most prominent, because the barest necessity of all arts is knowledge and the barest necessity of scholars is bread. As is known there is nothing better for people's health than bread" [5].

In the "Risolya" were listed the rituals and prayers to accompany the process of baking bread, and it was stressed that every baker should have a clear spirit and body and should be truthful, generous, god-fearing and law abiding person [6].

It should be stressed that in Central Asian society the labor of a tiller – grain-grower and the labor of a baker were always highly respected. In addition, this is the reason why a street passer-by never allowed himself to ignore any piece of bread lying on the road. He or she would pick it up, shake off the dust and put it aside, but not on the ground but to a place higher than the ground. This respectful attitude toward bread, which feeds us, and to the labor of people who make it still survives in our society up to the present.

Each professional association of artisans had its own Pir (spiritual patron), selected from among Muslim prophets and saints. Thus, the Pir of weavers was Imam A'zam, of shoemakers - Bobo Paraduz, of water-carriers - Abbas (Prophet Muhammad's uncle), of black smiths - Prophet Daud, of stablemen - Kanbar [7]. The main producer in each kind of handicraft was the *usto* (master). In his workshop, he worked with one or several khalfa (journeyman) and shogirds (apprentices). In order to become an usto, one should from childhood on pass through a long school of learning the craft. After completing a fixed term of apprenticeship and having passed the tests, the shogird received from his usto the right to open his own workshop. Certain rituals accompanied all these activities. According to custom, the shogird was taught by the usto and lived with him free of charge. But later, having opened his own workshop

he had to allot some of the money he earned to his *usto*. In case of failure to organize his own business, the former *shogird* could find shelter and food at his *usto*'s place for an unlimited period.

3. The development of commerce in the region is directly associated with the advancement of farming the land and handicrafts. If farming, according to the Shariat, was an activity to ennoble the soul, commerce returned benefits and created real opportunities to fulfill the directions of Allah, Every true Muslim believer could donate a significant portion of his income to a charitable contribution, and by doing this pleased both Allah and the people. Therefore, in the second half of the 19th century in the Central Asian region a rather large portion of the population was engaged in commerce. All the aspects of commerce, like the labor of tillers and handicraftsmen were thoroughly elaborated and regulated by Islam. Commercial bargains should be fulfilled in strict accordance with the laws of the Shariat. One could sell only those goods that could be examined, measured, counted or handed over to somebody in person; in the process of exchanging goods for goods all the goods should be equal and of the same quality; the buyer should have the possibility to see all the goods. For this reason and in order to avoid deceit, all commercial bargains should be made in day light, and both parties should be aware of the rate of market prices. The seller was obliged to announce the price of his goods when the buyer demanded it. The outbidding of goods with the aim to resell it at higher price was severely punished [8]. When selling a plot, a house or an orchard the right of shafaat (the right of a neighbor) was strictly observed, i.e. it was the first right of the neighbor to buy the aforementioned immovable property [9]. This custom still survives in rural and urban mahallas up to the present. Concerning credit transactions, the Koran and the Shariat directed that they should be arranged in the presence of two witnesses: either two men or one man and two women. The persons called to testify had no right to refuse when asked [10]. Only large amounts of loans were officially registered, but in every loan transactions, a promissory note was given not by the debtor to the creditor, but vice versa and was left with the debtor until the payment of the debt. This secured him from being charged more money than he owed [11]. While concluding loan bargains the Koran forbade lending money for interest [12].

4. Islam not only regulated the production sphere of people's life in Turkestan, but also formed its mentality. The strong side of the Koran's teaching was to benefit the people, to help families, orphans, poor people, travelers and those asking for help [13]. In particular, an integral feature of Muslims in the region was their firm persuasion that charity is a God-pleasing deed of high moral standards, saving one's soul. Allah would reward only true believers,

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those doing good, praying and giving alms [14]. However, it was expected that to do good and give alms should be done in secret without boasting [15].

In addition to helping the poor, the major benefitors of charity in Turkestan were mosques, madrasahs and maktabs. The rich built mosques, madrasahs, korikhonas and then donated to them as vakf immovable property. With the income from these properties, these God-pleasing institutions were financed. A characteristic feature was that the greater part of the vakf property in the Turkestan region belonged to the *madrasa*, the source of theology and education. At the beginning of the 20th century, using the charitable funds, they began opening ambulancestations, Russian-type and indigenous schools, jadidtype (new-methodic) maktabs, libraries, athenaeums (reading rooms) and book shops selling books and text-books for schools at very moderate prices. Charity, having been sanctified by religion, was widespread in the region. It ennobled the society and softened social tension.

Islam exerted a great influence on the way of life of the local population and formed the attributes and features of their character. The well-known ethnographer N.P.Ostroumov wrote that Turkestani Muslims "are notable for their religiousness, honesty, soberness and moderateness and frugality in life. Religiousness forms the principal feature of their breeding ...honesty; soberness moderateness form the natural features of their patriarchal way of life" [16]. Following the Koran's requirements to conduct oneself decently, the mutual relations of people in the region, according to European testimony, were remarkable for showing restraint and politeness. The Europeans were especially struck by the good breeding of Muslim children, their "ability to be self-controlled and to maintain discipline even when looking at sweets and delicacies" [17].

Islam regulated not only the behavior and spiritual-and-moral cast of mind of every Muslim, but it also defined social relationships within the society. The way of life of people in Turkestan was very simple. The mode of life of the poor and that of the rich showed only minor differences, especially in the kishlak (village). In contrast to landowners in Russia living separately from their peasants on landowners' estates, in Turkestan the rich bais and poor dekhkans lived side by side and did not differ in their way of life, cultural development and religious beliefs. The same picture was observed also in urban makhallas. This was advantageous for low-income people because Islam made it obligatory for the rich to render assistance to them. Community associations strengthened the rallying of the people. In the kishlaks these were rural communities and in the cities - makhallas. They engendered a harmonious ethical system of mutual assistance, hospitality and respect for the elders. They created in their members

a sense of being soundproof and protected as everyone could rely on sympathy and support in hour of need. This was how cases of the adoption of Islam by Russian peasants-settlers were explained. "They were fascinated by the way the Muslim society and organized to help in need" - wrote Dmitry – the bishop of Turkestan to A.V.Samsonov - the General-Governor in Turkestan [18].

All these social and everyday peculiarities in the life of the local population in the Turkestan region were formed under the influence of Islam and turned into one of many characteristic features of our national culture and psychology and are still kept up to present.

5. Changes in the political and economic situation in Turkestan and its transformation it into a colony of the Russian Empire, as well as the introduction the local population technological, building and everyday innovations affected the lines of occupation and activities of the population and some features of their patterns and way of life. Finally, all these led to an immediate clash with Muslim traditions, strict religious directions and habitual life foundations with new realties. The Muslim population gained real opportunity to take a turn for a better quality of living standards. That required changing life rates and, as a sequence, influenced the mode of life. The well-ordered life of the Muslims, which was subjected to the observance to perform quintuple prayers everyday under the zealous supervision of raises -the guardians of social mentality, were disturbed by the new economic relations, technologies, professions, goods etc. In order to earn money in these new conditions one needed as soon as possible to adapt to these conditions. This required more energy, more time than before; that is why true Muslims sometimes had to miss the prayer time. Growing commodity-money relations and the dramatic development of domestic and foreign trade made the dekhkanin to work in the field from morning until night, and the artisan - to accelerate production. Often it made them refuse from ordered by the Koran and Risolya obligatory saying prayers during each production operation, and sometimes - from having a rest on holy Friday and others. In this period, in connection with the abolition of the old khan's administration, the raises cancelled their activity and nobody observed the rigorous performance of religious rituals. Outwardly, it seemed that religiousness of people began degrading. Instead, those who more and more often broke with the directions of the Koran and Shariat their were redeemed by large donations. They excused themselves by referring to the Koran, which read that a person who gives alms would gain not only an atonement of these sins but also a lavish requital from Allah [19].

Nevertheless, despite some breaking of the order of behavior that was strictly regulated by the



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Koran and Shariat, the population of the region adhered to its teachings. The non-regular performance of everyday rituals and prayers was only an outward manifestation. The religious beliefs of the Muslims were not only their outer form of their social life but they were part of their national self-consciousness. That created a firm foundation for positions of Islam in the region. Analyzing the results of the Russian colonization in Turkestan, a senior official of the colonial administration, N.S.Lykoshin wrote: "The population of the Turkestan region with full willingness comes to closing in with the Russian compatriots, but when this closing does not touch the sphere of religious differences" [20]. Suffice it to note the fact that in Turkestan the merchants-entrepreneurs out of local population dealt with neither brewing winemaking. Thus, in Tashkent at the end of the 19th century all these plants exclusively belonged to the Europeans - N.I.Ivanov, V.N.Zhemchuzhnikov, E.I.Ilyin and Trading house "Pervushin and sons". The local merchants possessed leather-processing plants (tanneries), brick-works and cotton-cleaning plants and ginneries [21]. Pronouncedly following the Koran, they did not put money into the production of alcoholic beverages, despite the large profit it could bring.

The artisans, though they began simplifying some of the directions of the *Risoly*a, regulated their labor processes, but the major traditions of behavior were kept. Every artisan-owner once or twice a week invited a literate *mullah* to his workshop in order to read the *Risolya*; the ritual of initiation of the *shogird* to the rank of *usto* survived and was strictly performed; what also survived were the obligatory Friday common meals *khalfa* accompanied by saying cleansing prayers and so on. The Moral virtues of every Muslim, as before, were determined in society

by the degree of his strict obedience to the directions of the Koran and Shariat. A person taking strong drinks and being engaged in usury or other improper activities was considered non-pious and unreliable and was deprived of trust in his social environment. He was not admitted to guardianship, deprived of the right to witness when concluding legal deals or in the court for violation of the divine commandments [22].

Conclusion

Hence, the changes in the political and economic situation in Turkestan and initiated civilization processes disturbed the religious concepts of the Muslims, untouched within centuries, and stipulated a certain transformation of their mode of life and standards of behavior. All these weakened steadfast impact of Islam in society. However, these processes were not so strong to speak of the beginning of a religious crisis in Turkestan society. Moreover, in colonial Turkestan religion continued regulating inter-relations between Muslims, directing life and labor in all social strata. Solidity of positions of Islam in Turkestan noted the Russian colonial administration and with great sorrow confirmed that with this influence it would have to face for long. The Turkestan General-Governor S.M.Dukhovskoi in his all-national report to Nikolai II wrote: "Islam in the region up to present time still represents a solid power with which we inevitably will have to face for a long time. ... In no way should we speed up our missionary work... Islam in Turkestan is so strong that it would need a prompt radical change and especially for a generation grown under attraction of its present power" [23]. The role of Islam in the life of the civil society in Turkestan region at the end of the 19th – beginning the 20th centuries was as strong as it was previously.

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