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AN OVERVIEW OF CATEGORIES OF IDENTITY
IN THE LATE XIX – EARLY XX CENTURIES
ON THE TERRITORY OF MODERN UZBEKISTAN

Abstract. At the moment, the process of formation and development of the Uzbek identity is one of the key issues in the ethnology and anthropology of Uzbekistan. Today, the historical, ethnological and anthropological science of Uzbekistan is on the verge of a new stage of development. With independence, the development of historical science did not occur uniformly. The long existence under the control of the Soviet government also influenced the scientific activities of each state. Basically, the scientific traditions of the twentieth century and the methodology almost invariably continued to exist after the creation of independent states of Central Asia. The set course by Soviet scientists continued and still continues to have an impact on the worldview of the local intelligentsia. When in the West and in Russia itself already from the end of the twentieth century, a revision of the old paradigms and their rethinking, the creation of new directions, such as constructivism, ethnosymbolism, modernism and postmodernism, began in Uzbekistan still continue to study historical sciences in accordance with Soviet theories of statehood. Local researchers, instead of researching and studying new and new theories, continue to rewrite and retell old ones. As a result, a large gap has appeared between the studies of foreign experts and local ones. Several key factors, such as: lack of knowledge of a foreign language, limited access to foreign sources, a scanty amount of joint research, and others eventually led to stagnation in this direction. The purpose of this article is to study and analyze English-language materials on the identity of Uzbeks before the colonial period. Also, in the article we will try to show what categories of identities existed in Central Asia, in particular in the territory of modern Uzbekistan and to reveal how much this stage of the history of Uzbeks was consecrated in foreign literature. The study of this period is relevant in that, without knowledge and understanding of existing identities before the formation of the Uzbek identity, we will not be able to fully see the picture of this process. As a result, we will be able to understand what identities the Uzbek national identity has united. At the end of the article, we will identify the main barriers that have become the reason for the study of this question and try to give our recommendations to fill the existing gaps.

Key words: Uzbek identity, Islamic identity, linguistic identity, constructivism, Central Asia.

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XIX ғасырдың аяғы – XX ғасырдың басындағы қазіргі
Өзбекстан территориясындағы жеке тұлғалардың категорияларына шолу

Аңдатпа. Қазіргі уақытта өзбек бірегейлігінің қалыптасуы мен дамуы Өзбекстан этнологиясы мен антропологиясының негізгі мәселелерінің бірі болып табылады. Бүгінде Өзбекстанның тарихи, этнологиялық және антропологиялық ғылымы дамудың жаңа сатысында тұр. Тәуелсіздік алғаннан кейін тарих ғылымының дамуы біркелкі болған жоқ. Кеңес үкіметінің бақылауындағы ұзақ өмір сүру әр мемлекеттің ғылыми қызметіне де әсер етті. Негізінен XX ғасырдың ғылыми дәстүрлері мен әдістемесі Орталық Азияның тәуелсіз мемлекеттері құрылғаннан кейін әрдайым өмір сүре берді. Кеңес ғалымдарының алға қойған бағыты жергілікті зиялы қауымның дүниетанымына әсерін тигізді және жалғасуда. Батыс пен Ресейдің өзінде XX ғасырдың аяғынан бастап ескі парадигмаларды қайта қарастыру және оларды қайта қарастыру, конструктивизм, этносимболизм, модернизм және постмодернизм сияқты жаңа бағыттардың құрылуы Өзбекстанда кеңестік мемлекеттілік теорияларына сәйкес тарихи ғылымдарды зерттеуді жалғастыруда. Жергілікті зерттеушілер жаңа және жаңа теорияларды зерттеудің және зерделеудің орнына,

ескілерін баяндауды және қайта жазуды жалғастыруда. Нәтижесінде шетелдік сарапшылар мен жергілікті зерттеулердің арасында үлкен алшақтық пайда болды. Бірнеше негізгі факторлар, мысалы: шет тілін білмеу, шетелдік көздерге қол жетімділіктің шектеулі болуы, бірлескен зерттеулердің аз мөлшері және басқалары ақырында бұл бағыттағы тоқырауға әкелді. Бұл мақаланың мақсаты – отарлау кезеңіне дейінгі өзбектердің жеке басы туралы ағылшын тіліндегі материалдарды зерттеу және талдау. Сондай-ақ, мақалада біз Орталық Азияда, атап айтқанда қазіргі Өзбекстан территориясында қандай сәйкестіктер бар екенін және өзбектер тарихының осы кезеңі шетелдік әдебиеттерде қаншалықты сақталғанын көрсетуге тырысамыз. Бұл кезеңді зерттеу өзекті болып табылады, өйткені өзбек сәйкестігі қалыптасқанға дейін бар сәйкестікті білместен және түсінбестен біз бұл процестің көрінісін толық көре алмаймыз. Нәтижесінде біз өзбек ұлттық сәйкестігін қандай сәйкестіктер біріктіргенін түсіне аламыз. Мақаланың соңында біз осы сұрақты зерделеуге себеп болған негізгі кедергілерді анықтап, орын алған олқылықтарды жою үшін өз ұсыныстарымызды беруге тырысамыз.

Түйін сөздер: өзбек сәйкестілігі, исламдық сәйкестілік, тілдік сәйкестілік, конструктивизм, Орталық Азия.

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Обзор категорий идентичности в конце XIX – начале XX века на территории современного Узбекистана

Аннотация. На данный момент процесс формирования и развития узбекской идентичности является одним из ключевых вопросов в этнологии и антропологии Узбекистана. На сегодняшний день историческая, этнологическая и антропологическая наука Узбекистана находится на пороге нового этапа развития. С обретением независимости развитие исторической науки происходило неравномерно. Долгое существование под контролем Советского правительства оказало влияние и на научную деятельность каждого государства. В основном, научные традиции XX века и методология практически неизменно продолжали существовать и после создания независимых государств Средней Азии. Заданный курс советскими учеными продолжал и поныне продолжает оказывать влияние на мировоззрение местной интеллигенции. Когда на Западе и в самой России уже с конца XX века начался пересмотр старых парадигм и их переосмысление, создание новых направлений, таких как: конструктивизм, этносимволизм, модернизм и постмодернизм, в Узбекистане до сих пор продолжают изучать исторические науки согласно советским теориям государственности. Местные исследователи вместо исследования и изучения новых и новейших теорий продолжают переписывать и пересказывать старые. В результате, появился большой пробел между исследованиями зарубежных специалистов и местных. Некоторые основные факторы, такие как: не знание иностранного языка, ограниченность доступа зарубежных источников, мизерное количество совместных исследований и другие, в итоге привели к застою в данном направлении. Целью данной статьи является изучение и анализ англоязычных материалов по идентичности узбеков до колониального периода. Также, в статье автор пытается показать, какие категории идентичностей существовали в Средней Азии, в частности на территории современного Узбекистана, и выявить, насколько данный этап истории узбеков было освящен в зарубежной литературе. Изучение данного периода актуально тем, что, не имея знаний и представлений о существовавших идентичностях до формирования узбекской идентичности, мы не сможем полностью увидеть картину данного процесса. В результате мы сможем понять, какие идентичности объединила в себя узбекская национальная идентичность. В конце статье мы выявим основные барьеры, которые стали причиной для исследования поставленного вопроса и попытаемся дать свои рекомендации для заполнения существующих пробелов.

Ключевые слова: узбекская идентичность, исламская идентичность, языковая идентичность, конструктивизм, Средняя Азии.

Introduction

It is known that the study of issues of identity is one of the leading places in ethnology and social anthropology. However, today identity and its research have gone beyond the framework of these sciences, and are of interest not only in the field of the humanities, but also in political science, economics, and in other fields.

The relevance of the chosen research topic is determined by the fact that the existing historical and ethnographic studies of the Uzbek people

are not able to reveal the process of awareness of the Uzbek population by the local population. Presently published research works mainly continue the tradition of descriptive ethnography, which does not affect the development of ethnographic, anthropological and historical science of Uzbekistan. This article is a pioneer in the study of foreign, English-language studies on the formation of the Uzbek identity, which will help strengthen the methodological basis of the study and open up an outside view of the question posed.

As the basis for this article, various studies, monographs, articles, collective collections, abstracts written in English, and published over the past quarter century have been selected. The geography of the literature used consists mainly of the works of European and American researchers, and some Australian, Canadian, Japanese and Oriental studies in English were also used for analysis. The choice in favor of English-language publications was made by the author in accordance with three goals: firstly, the author will try to assess the scope of the study of the chosen topic and their contribution to the development of historical science in Uzbekistan; secondly, the author wishes to move away from the dichotomous comparison of the West with Russia; thirdly, studies in Russian are to some extent already known to local scholars, and English-language publications remain a "dark forest" for the local intelligentsia.

According to these goals, this article will help to identify the main categories of identity in Central Asia, in particular in the territory of modern Uzbekistan, their role and place in society, as well as their current state, based on English-language materials. In addition, the methodological principles for determining "identity", the features of their definition, and the concept of "boundaries of identity" will be considered. And also, the main categories of identities in the territory of modern Uzbekistan, the degree of knowledge in foreign studies, and their current status will be analyzed. The chronological framework of the article covers the period from the end of the 19th century to the 20s of the 20th century.

Materials and methods

In the process of historiography analysis, several foreign methodologies were taken into account, such as ethnosymbolism, constructivism, and modernism (postmodernism). Consideration of issues in the field of several theories at once makes it possible to understand in more detail the essence and purpose of foreign studies, as well as test them for objectivity in relation to the Uzbek case. And also it was not without the use of traditional principles, such as the principle of truth, the principle of objectivity, the principle of historicism, the principle of comprehensiveness (*the sequence of principles determines their level of importance for the author – M.A.*). Subject to these principles and in considering issues, we used the comparative method.

The meanings of some terms are used in the sense in which the author defines and uses them. This interpretation is not final, since a single dictionary of ethnological and historical terms in the Uzbek language has not yet been developed, which accurately conveys the same meaning from the original language.

According to historiography analysis, it was revealed that the topic of Uzbek (ethnic / national) identity, issues of formation and transformation of identities in Central Asia were studied many times. However, the approaches used by foreign researchers are numerous, and the results obtained are scattered. Their conclusions, despite some common points of general understanding at the macro level, at the micro level, opinions differ widely.

Before moving on to historiography analysis, we will consider some methodological principles that will help to better understand the essence of the formation of the Uzbek identity.

It is known that each researcher has his own methodology and research methods. Based on this, in the process of analysis there are a lot of versatile methodologies that sometimes even contradict each other. Issues of studying the formation of identity also have their own subtleties that should be taken into account by the researcher in the analysis process. For example, as the sociologist L. Adams writes, the basis of the concept of identity is that it, in fact, is a relational phenomenon: "I" is primarily determined in relation to the "other" (Adams 2009: 316). However, there are many difficulties in defining this relationship. For example, a researcher spends a long time in a research setting, observing, listening to and taking extensive notes about what is happening, conducting formal or informal interviews, and possibly working with other types of documentation, such as sketches, genealogies, videos, photographs, audio recordings and documents. These forms of documentation are data that the ethnographer uses to build his analyzes. Ethnographic analysis, as a rule, is interpreted in an attempt to explain the meaning, rather than make reliable predictions, or, as K. Geertz put it, "... that what we call our data really are our own constructions of other people's constructions

and their compatriots" (Adams 2009: 317). L. Adams very rightly notes that an ethnographer or sociologist can involuntarily construct and confirm the conclusions that he himself came to and wishful thinking.

However, the advantage of ethnography is that the data obtained can immediately confirm or deny existing theories and hypotheses. Ethnography only "guesses" the meaning, evaluates the guesswork, and draws explanatory conclusions from the best guesses (Adams 2009: 318). According to this statement, when analyzing the materials that we have, we should know that any conclusion of the scientist is not final, and refers to them, as the final results can lead the researcher astray. In a further analysis of the publications for this article, we tried to find a balance of power, and tried to evaluate the studies, given all the above tips.

Before analyzing identity, it is also important to understand how to separate one kind of identity from another. For example, researcher L. Adams noted that ethnographers often look for three types of indicators in the study of identity: boundaries (that inside or outside, as well as permeability of the border); changing and challenging the boundaries and content that they encapsulate; and narratives that express the implicit or explicit cognitive content of the group's personality (Adams 2009: 319). In our opinion, the border is an important marker of identity. Since the existence of borders, firstly, indicates the existence of identity within a given border; secondly, the group identified by the borders will make every effort to protect its identity from impurities caused by cultural pollution; thirdly, the group border can expand and contract, or a group with an unstable border can become part of a large border; fourthly, common attributes of identities will be developed within the border that will help demarcate members of this group, etc.

And what are these boundaries manifesting, and how to define them? In carrying out our daily work, we often take a stand in favor or against something else. The identity and productivity of a person is not alien to this process, because by doing or not doing, we determine *who we are* and *who we are not*. Whether or not we consume a particular product, we fulfill and reproduce *this identity* (Polese et al. 2018: 3). (*Italics mine – M.A.)*

There are different opinions about the definition of boundaries of identity. Philosopher C. Taylor associates morality with identity. In his work, he argues that a person (self / inner "I" – M.A.) develops in relation to the values and obligations that a person adheres to (Rasanagayam 2011: 11).

Noteworthy is the philosopher's point of view that a person is defined by obligations and definitions that provide a framework or horizon within which you can try to determine what is good or valuable, or what needs to be done, or what I approve or against. In other words, this is the horizon within which I can stand (to oppose myself – M.A.) (Taylor 1989).

Another way to build boundaries is what Bourdieu calls – the "*habitus*", socially conditioned beliefs and orders of a person that define and limit the tastes and preferences of a person. Ethnographic research is a good way to explore how group membership shapes preferences, for example, how identity identifies goals and tastes ("what do we want? What do people like us usually want?" (Adams 2009: 318).

Summarizing all the above considerations, we came to the conclusion that the process of determining identity is a long and time-consuming process in which several important aspects must be taken into account at once. If you miss at least some element or nuance, you risks erroneously determining the category of identity and its boundaries. Next, we examine how effectively, broadly and objectively the categories of Uzbek identities were revealed.

According to our analysis, existing English-language studies do not have a unified answer to some questions about Uzbek identity. For example, did identities in Central Asia form naturally, or are they a construct of the Soviet state and its policy? Who played the main role in the process of "construction" of the Uzbek identity? The local intelligentsia in the person of the Jadids, are actors of the first plan or second? What categories of identities existed before the formation of the Uzbek identity, and which of them still continue to live? What identity is the cornerstone that ultimately became the framework for the formation of the Uzbek identity?

Uzbek identity

Chronologically, the formation and development of the Uzbek identity can be divided into three major stages:

1) Uzbek identity in the pre-colonial and colonial periods (XIX – beginning of XX century);

2) The formation of a modern Uzbek identity during the period of the Uzbek SSR (20s – 80s of the 20th century);

3) The development of national Uzbek identity in the period of independent Uzbekistan (from the 90s of the XX century to the present).

As is known, in the pre-colonial and colonial periods several categories of identities existed

immediately, such as: *religious (or confessional), tribal, territorial-regional, estate (clan), linguistic, economic, cultural*, etc. Do not forget that "ethnic" identifiers such as Uzbek, Tajik and Kyrgyz also existed in this cultural space, but non-ethnic categories (for example, tribe, district, city, village or religion) were much more likely to be used by people to navigate to the social world than the aforementioned "ethnic categories" (Hierman 2015: 521-522). Each kind of identity had its own border, which distinguished one group from another, but this difference was sometimes so elusive that it led to the confusion of many researchers. It is noteworthy that, on the one hand, complexity, on the other hand, the feature of the identities of the peoples of Central Asia was determined by their relationship to several identities at once. This kind of identity can be supposedly called "*polyidentity*" or "*changing identity*".

For example, a resident of Central Asia in the pre-colonial period could be identified in relation to representatives of other religions as a "*Muslim*"; in relation to other clans and tribes as "*ming, kungrat, kangli, kipchak*"; in relation to other territorial regions such as "*Bukharian, Ferghanian, Samarkandian or Tashkentian*" (*Bukhoroli, Fargonali, Samarkandli, Toshkentli*); in relation to other classes as "*hodja, toura, sayyid, khan*"; in relation to the economic and cultural image as "*settled, nomadic or semi-nomadic*", etc. The self-identification of the indigenous people was largely dependent on the situation. This local feature has always brought down many foreign researchers, which ultimately led to the emergence of conflicting data for the same region.

According to historiography analysis, it was found that foreign researchers often did not distinguish between a thin line between categories of identities. Some foreign researchers divide them into two groups and believe that the "real" identities of the Central Asian population are those who survived the pre-Soviet past. These identities have been described as categories broader (e.g. Turkestan, Islam) or narrower (e.g. kinship, locality) (Esenova 2002: 12). What identity was the main, how many and how long these identities was existed, the author does not give any explanation.

For example, researcher A. Bennigsen identifies three different levels of identity, "subnational" or those associated with "tribe" and "clan"; "Supranational" – a sense of belonging to the *Islamic Ummah* (italics mine – M.A.); and "national" consciousness is one way of defining these relationships in a Central Asian context

(Sengupt 1999: 1650; Bennigsen 1989). From the context it is clear that the author distinguishes the Islamic identity from the rest, but also does not give any clarification of how strong this identity is or has any opportunity to unite the large population of present-day Uzbekistan.

According to researcher O. Ferrando, in pre-colonial Central Asia, most residents did not define themselves in ethnic soil. Linguistic, religious, clan, and economic divisions often did not match, and people immediately subscribed to several identities (Ferrando 2008: 490). This conclusion of the author is not entirely correct, since, despite the tribal nature of ethnicity, the peoples of Central Asia had certain identification boundaries (cultural, linguistic, religious, economic) that distinguished them from other peoples of this region. However, one should not forget that ethnic self-awareness is a phenomenon of the new and modern times (Abashin 2007: 24-25).

There is an opinion that Central Asia has always been an ethnically and linguistically diverse region, and political unity has occurred only for relatively short periods. In the nineteenth century there were more than 20 bloody interethnic conflicts in the Kokand khanate and even more in the Khiva khanate (Khazanov 1998: 147).

Based on the analysis of foreign literature, it is possible to conditionally divide the identities of the peoples of Central Asia until the twentieth century into several large categories: *religious, tribal, regional-territorial, linguistic and class (clan)*.

Religious form of identity. This category of identity was considered in more detail in the writings of researchers, such as: A. Khalid (Khalid 2017: 1-5), D. Abramson (Abramson and Karimov 2007: 319-338), D. Montgomery (Montgomery 2007), J. Rasanagayam (Rasanagayam 2011), Sh. Akiner (Akiner 1997: 362-398), Sh. Akbarzadeh (Akbarzadeh 1997a: 517-542; 1997b: 65-68), O. Ferrando (Ferrando 2008: 489-520) and others (Hierman 2015: 519-539; Esenova 2002: 11-38).

As known, Islam is a determining aspect of life in Central Asia, and sacred places, mainly shrines, have played a key role in the daily spiritual life of Muslims throughout most of the region's history over the past twelve centuries (Abramson and Karimov 2007: 319). According to D. Abramzon, "many of the ritual practices observed today have centuries-old roots, they also have new, modern meanings for Muslims in the region" (Abramson and Karimov 2007: 319).

There are different opinions on why Islamic identity in modern Central Asia is studied with

some drawbacks. According to D. Abramzon, Islamic beliefs and practice are a discrete category that requires impregnable purity of intent to be considered legally religious (Abramson and Karimov 2007: 331).

According to researcher Sh. Akiner, Islam did not always function as a marker of identities, since almost all of Central Asia professed Islam, had a common belief system, shared institutions, shared social and cultural values (Akiner 1997: 365-366).

Our studies showed that, despite the general identification at the macro level, as Sh. Akiner states, there were some differences at the micro level, to which the author did not pay attention. This type of "sub-identification" or "local identification" existed mainly in densely populated cities than in remote semi-settled or mountainous areas. For example, there was a class-religious identification and division of Muslims into representatives of the "*white and black bones*". Representatives of the "white" bone identified themselves as "descendants of Muslim saints," and held exceptionally high religious and social posts than representatives of the "black" bone. But, the existing confusion between class-religious concepts such as *"Khoja", "Ishan", "Toura"* and their demarcation has not yet been brought to a single state and needs a separate study. There were also estates without a religious connotation, such as *khon, bek, mir*, etc.

A. Khalid, unlike Sh. Akiner, argues that in the countries of Central Asia the most common term for describing the indigenous community was "*Muslims of Turkestan*" (Khalid 2017: 1). As practice shows, the position of A. Khalid is close to reality, since other types of local identities (tribal, linguistic/dialectical, regional) have not developed to a politically significant level (Esenova 2002:12).

It is known that the "Muslim" denoted members of the confessional community, and not one that is determined by the strength of inner faith or ritual observance. In both Russian and local use, a "*Muslim*" was used as an adjective referring to the local (seated) population – the "*Muslim part of the city*", "*Muslim clothing*" and even "*Muslim language*" (Khalid 2015: 42). This confirms that there was a list of generally accepted attributes of Muslim identity. It was this type of identity that was the most persistent of the new nationalist policy of the Soviet state. Thus, even in the Stalin era, Muslim communities identified themselves directly as part of the Islamic world, and were identified by other Muslims elsewhere as part of this world (Voll 1998:66).

Facts indicate that as early as 1922, respondents answered the question of "nationality" as: Uzbek, 43; Islam, 2; muslim 4; sart, 2; Uzbek Turk, 1; no answer, 33 (Khalid 2015: 278). The above example shows that the population, in most cases, has already identified itself as an "Uzbek," and some considered themselves to be "Muslim." But a certain number of the local population simply did not know how to answer the question, since they felt themselves both Uzbek and Muslim, and therefore they simply did not give an answer. This proves that before the emergence of the national state, there was already an understanding of the Uzbek identity, but there was also "polyidentity", and the demarcation process gave impetus to the crystallization of these processes.

According to the Australian researcher Sh. Akbarzadeh, for residents of the Ferghana Valley, identity was a multi-layered concept; the activation of each layer depended on external circumstances. Facing more and more "*kafir*" Russians in the 18th century, local (italics mine – M.A.) identification marks were insufficient to express the depth of the difference that separated them. Their identity associated with the place of birth / residence or their submission to the khan was assigned a secondary importance when they encountered a community of non-Muslims. Confessional identity became known among Muslims of the Ferghana Valley, and in this they found grounds for unity with other Muslims in the khanates of Bukhara and Khiva (Akbarzadeh 1997: 65-66). Historical facts show that the author correctly points out that religious identity has become one of the main indicators of unity against an external aggressor.

A similar conclusion is found in the studies of O. Ferrando. In particular, the author writes that in pre-colonial times, Central Asians were not familiar with ethnonyms. They used different identity registers depending on the situation: relations with their homeland gave an indication of geographical origin; professional activity has revealed its role in society; religious practices indicate a common faith. The society was structured along solidarity networks whose members were aware of a common family, kinship, clan, tribe, or territorial identity (Ferrando 2011: 43-44). D. Abramzon believes that Islam is seen as an integral part of national identity for most Muslims in Central Asia (Abramson and Karimov 2007: 339).

There are also categorical opinions about religious identity. For example, researcher A. Sengupt believed that in Central Asia, "*Islam*" was never a reality. And he notes that various other

trends, such as Sufism or even pre-Islamic religions, such as shamanism and other religions, especially Buddhism, had a wide influence and power. There is also interaction in the region between dogmatic religion, Sufism and popular piety, "*official*" Islam and "*popular*" Islam. And he concludes that all these streams share the same faith, but the social structures in which their general Islamic sentiments developed differed, as did their political experience (Sengupt 1999: 3649-3652). As an argument, she refers to a large number of Western grants to study the crucial role of "Islam" in the region, which was due to the "*anti-Islamic*" propaganda of the Soviet state.

According to A. Sengupt, it is necessary to critically consider the role of Islam as a common identity for the region, since the common Islamic culture was not a force strong enough to unite the Central Asian states. In conclusion, the author emphasizes that there are many types of Islam in the region. The syncretic culture of the region will also mean that religion also has a syncretic form, and it is presented as a way of life, rather than a system of well-integrated structures. Finally, it is claimed that Islam is the political construct of the new nationalist elite (Sengupt 1999: 3652).

In our view, the preservation of some features of local pre-Islamic beliefs confirms the assertion that the population of Central Asia has been autochthonous since ancient times, and with the advent of the Islamic religion in the 8th century, these religions are replaced by the Islamic, but with the preservation of some local traditions. Where Basilov and Snesarev suggest the idea of unitary "*pure*" Islam and try to distinguish this from non-Islamic or pre-Islamic practice, it is more productive to consider all identified Muslim practice as part of a single local tradition (Rasanagayam 2006: 381).

In concluding the discussion of religious identity, the following conclusions should be emphasized: firstly, most foreign scholars on the issue of Islamic identity confirm the leading role of Islam as a factor in uniting the local population under a common identity. In their opinion, this category of identity was the most significant than other types. However, not one of the authors could not fully explain, why the Islamic identity was not able to develop into a national identity? Why, despite one faith of confession, did people continue to use a lot of identity? These issues still remain unresolved in English-language studies. Some assumptions and conjectures cannot replace the real reason, which needs to be comprehensively investigated.

Tribal kind of identity. This category of identity was not in great demand in foreign studies. Fragmented data are found in the works of E. Allworth (Allworth 1990: 259-260), J. Glenn (Glenn 1997: 131-155), J. Wheeler (Wheleer 1962; 1964; 1966) and others.

As practice shows, the process of self-identification was rather amorphous and constantly changing: some family-related group could eventually turn into a subdivision of a clan or clan, and then, if circumstances developed for it successfully, it turned into a subdivision of a tribe or tribe. At the same time, the process of community development and expansion took place due to not only natural multiplication, but also the conclusion of friendly alliances with other family-related groups, clans, and tribes (Abashin 2007: 18-19).

It was revealed that economic, political, social interests or the struggle for self-preservation played a decisive role in choosing one or another identity. Often a strong political leader or his clan united related groups and tribes around themselves, constructing a single conglomerate of tribes or alliances that were held together by genealogical mythical ancestors. As a result of these artificial alliances, completely natural kinship relations appeared between previously unrelated tribes and clans. Assimilation occurred, inter-family, inter-tribal, and as a result inter-ethnic unions appeared. And after passing several generations, the children born began to identify themselves in the name of one ethnic group.

Researcher A. Sengupt believed that the identification of subgroups (subgroups) of identities, such as tribal, ethnic groups and places of residence were mixed. However, the religious community remained the primary source of identity (Sengupt 2000: 404-405). It is impossible to agree with this conclusion of the author, since identities were not mixed, and the choice of one or another category of identity was related to the situation or situation in which the identifiable defines him. The author was unable to accurately determine this subtlety. Perhaps the lack of materials on a given topic became the reason for this alignment.

Researcher J. Glenn notes that the existing family ties have been preserved mainly in rural areas ... In addition to this, people still identify with their tribe, and many villages also bear the name of the tribe that lives there (Glenn 1997: 140; Allworth 1990: 260).

Obviously, tribal relations are thus still significant in more rural areas. In areas that were settled before the Russian presence in Central Asia, that is, in Bukhara, Samarkand and the Ferghana Valley, tribal relations between the settled populations, which had

already lost their significance, decreased to such an extent that they either disappeared altogether or did not matter. However, the family unit is still important for sedentary Uzbeks who can trace their descent over nine generations (Glenn 1997: 140). The author rightly notes the fact that tribal relations no longer play a big role in this case, as was the case before the colonial period.

The American historian E. Allworth argued that "the inhabitants of the country (Uzbekistan SSR – M.A.) of the mid-1970s – the conservatives of group identity – still lived amid reminders of the tribal past in names of places throughout the countryside" (Allworth 1990: 259-260). Our studies show that, despite the preservation of tribal names in some regions of the Republic of Uzbekistan, it is more formal in nature than physical. Residents no longer felt attached to the names of their territories, and could easily change their habitat. The situation with clan or family identification, on the contrary, has remained more resilient to change.

Unfortunately, this category of identity has been studied very narrowly. In fact, in the southern regions of Uzbekistan, where mainly nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes lived, tribal identity was considered the most important. Religious, linguistic or other kind of identity was not considered decisive. Only tribal identity determined the future of his individual. It was this factor that was one of those barriers that did not allow other identities to become major, and to unite the local population under a single state.

Regional-territorial type of identity

This category of identity has been studied to varying degrees in the writings of such researchers as O. Roy (Roy 2000), J. Luong (Luong 2002), Sh. Akbarzadeh (Akbarzadeh 1997: 65-68), M. Subtelny (Subtelny 1998: 50 -51) and others.

This type of identity was mainly used in local relations. The Great Silk Road and other types of commercial and commercial relations between neighboring countries, peoples and tribes played an important role in the development of this type of identity. As a result of active and continuous interactions of different cultures for several centuries, multiethnic and multilingual cultures appear on the territory. As a result, a special type of identity is formed in which the region plays a special role. For example, when a merchant came to Bukhara from Kokand, he identified himself as a "*Kokandec*" (from Kokand – M.A.). Thus, he expressed, firstly, devotion to his khan, and secondly, distinguished

himself in relation to non-Kokandians (Akbarzadeh 1997: 65-66).

The opposite point of view is held by M.E. Subtelny, and believes that there was no strong sense of ethnic or national identity, and residents often did not know who they were ethnically, identifying themselves only by their tribal name, the name of their city ("*Bukharli*", etc.) or simply "*Muslims*", there was no territorial identity (Subtelny 1998: 51). The author correctly points out that the population identified itself with a tribal, religious or regional name. However, its conclusion that there was no territorial identity is controversial, since, after the creation of the three khanates, the inhabitants tried in every possible way to show their devotion by identifying themselves with any of the khanates.

Some scholars believed that it was regionalism that remained more stable even in Soviet times. For example, P. Luong believed that the predictions of a widespread ethnic conflict in Central Asia were based on the erroneous assumption that a pre-Soviet identity (tribe, clan, or religion) would emerge as the most significant socio-political identity after Soviet rule. On the contrary, I argue that stability was possible precisely because, during the transition, the elites adopted the very political identity that they adopted under Soviet rule – regionalism (Luong 2002: 17).

Territorial identity and peculiarity is manifested not only in communication, everyday life or clothing, it is also manifested in the practice of religion. For example, if we take the Ferghana Valley, some scholars considered it the center of Islamic radicalism (Rashid 2000; Rotar 2006: 6-8), and others as the heart of religious practice, art, science and spirituality in Central Asia (Khalid 2007; Egger 2008). Although it is tempting to talk about this region as Uzbeks and Muslims, not every inhabitant of the valley is an Uzbek, not every Uzbek is a pious Muslim, and not every pious Muslim is Uzbek. Society and religion "*do not coincide*" (Peshkova 2009: 6-7).

As the results of our study show, foreign studies only partially fragmentary affect this identity. To a greater extent, this is due to the fact that this category of identity is manifested only in personal communication with the respondent. The respondent at a subconscious level regionally identifies himself with any region. This information about the region can help immediately guide future conversation. For example, if the informant is not from the southern regions of Uzbekistan, it is useless to ask him for "tandoor meat" food. Because this food is a regional

feature of the population of only the southern regions of Uzbekistan. Based on this, it can be assumed that foreign researchers did not know these nuances, which ultimately led to the absence of any detailed studies in this direction.

Linguistic type of identity

The existence of linguistic (dialectical) identity was noted in the writings of some foreign researchers, such as: Sh. Akiner (Akiner 1997: 362-398), Sh. Akbarzadeh (Akbarzadeh 1997: 65-68), B. Manz (Manz 1998), etc.

According to British researcher Sh. Akiner, archaeological data and the physical anthropology of the modern peoples of Central Asia indicate a high degree of mixed marriages between different groups. There was also a strong tendency towards cultural assimilation. Indeed, one of the distinguishing features of the Central Asian art of this and later periods is its syncretic nature. ... A bilingual Turkic-Iranian culture has emerged in which both elements have equal status. Therefore, because of this symbiosis, these two languages did not serve as markers of ethnic identity in relation to each other (Akiner 1997: 365).

One can agree with the author's conclusion, because centuries of migration and resettlement of the Turkic-speaking tribes created a deep symbiosis of the speaking population in the Turkic and Persian languages. This led to high rates of mixed marriages and bilingualism, so the separation of the "*Uzbek*" or "*Turkic*" from the "*Tajik*" or "*Iranian*" is not an easy task. Rather, Persian and Turkic speakers lived deeply interconnected lives in which customs and practice are identical, bilingualism is common, and language has never been a knot of identity (Khalid 2015: 292).

According to Sh. Akbarzadeh, in the Ferghana Valley, a change of identity occurs after the capture of the Kokand Khanate by the Russian Empire in 1876. The tsarist administration used the general term "*Turk*" to describe the majority of the population under its subordination in the Ferghana Valley and the steppe land to the north. The name was chosen based on the Turkic languages of these people. This was a new form of identification for the Kokand Muslims, who until then had looked at the folk language as a means of communication rather than a criterion of identity (Akbarzadeh 1997: 66). The author's conclusions are very similar to previous opinions. He further determines that bilingualism prevailed in large shopping centers, and the use of language as the

cornerstone of identification confronted them with an embarrassing situation.

Of interest in this regard is the opinion of B. anz, who claims that the various groups that make up the population had separate names and group identities that were associated only with language and territory, and were used not to promote separatism, but to identify and maintain a place in more large society (Manz 1998: 12). However, it is difficult to agree with this conclusion of the author, since, despite the individual group identities, the boundaries of these identities were easily erased depending on the situation. And language mainly played a secondary role due to the bilingual nature of the population. The primary link has always been Islam. In another article, she believes that a nomadic and sedentary lifestyle formed the most basic and unchanging markers of identity, strong enough to withstand even the sedimentation of most nomads. Language and religion, although important, were extensible (Manz 2003: 96-97). This conclusion of the researcher takes place, since the religious name "*Muslim*" was used not only to identify a person who professes the Islamic religion, but also in order to distinguish the local population from the European (Russian, non-Islamic).

Speaking of linguistic identity, one must understand that in many cases when it was not possible to determine the identity of a local resident, they simply asked his language of communication. From this began the "*great confusion*", which in physical form was called the "census". From that moment, the documented process of imagining various "ethnic" identities that previously did not have such an important value in the life of the local population began. In our opinion, for the local population, the identity indicated in the documents had no significance and was not reflected at all in their lives. It became an important identification only after the creation of nation-states in the 1920s. As a result, once imaginary identities began to turn into real ones, of course, not without the help of the policy of the Soviet state.

Ethnic or national identity. In foreign historiography of recent years, there is a widespread assertion that before the colonial period in Central Asia there were no ethnic or national names (Khalid 2017: 1; Ferrando 2011: 43-44). Indeed, the ethnic nomenclature in the region was different and rather unstable. Even the Russian imperial census of 1897 did not use a consistent set of labels throughout Central Asia (Khalid 2017: 1).

According to M. Fumagalli, the category of sedentary/settlers and nomads in pre-Soviet Central

Asia was much more important than any attempt to search for ethnic affection (Fumagalli 2007: 110). This fact was rightly noted. Not only the categories of settled or nomads, other categories of identities are also much wider and more often used by the local population than ethnic ones.

Conclusion. It must always be taken into account and not forgotten that Central Asia has always been a center of mutual influence and intermixing of various ethnic groups, tribes, peoples, various religious and confessional beliefs, various languages and dialects, various types of cultures and values. Determining the boundaries of identity in such a situation is especially difficult, and this is only possible with many years of research in this area. This problem remains incomplete.

To summarize, we learned what important categories of identities existed in Central Asia and who investigated them to one degree or another. It is encouraging that research in this area exists, and there is a reserve for the future. This topic, if we exclude discussions about the Sart problem and ethnicities, is still relevant, since a comprehensive study on this topic does not yet exist. And existing works do not reflect reality from the inside. Based on this, what we have today and what we lack:

1) The main categories of Central Asian identities were investigated, but their place in society was not investigated;

2) Religious identity has been studied in more detail; however, the role of religious identity in the formation of the Uzbek identity remains dark;

3) The studied categories of identities did exist on the territory of modern Uzbekistan, however, what is their current status in Uzbekistan;

4) In many English-language publications, an incorrect definition of borders was found, which leads in the future to develop clear markers of the borders of pre-colonial identities of Uzbekistan;

5) The current state of pre-colonial identities remains unexplored, although in modern Uzbekistan, despite the firm assertion of national identity, they continue to play a significant role within society.

Just blame foreign scientists and consider their mistakes make no sense. Because:

Firstly, many local studies are not available in world languages;

Secondly, foreign researchers do not know local languages;

Thirdly, there are no joint projects that can solve these open issues;

Fourthly, local Uzbek researchers have no idea about many foreign publications, as a result, they do not even know about their existence;

Fifthly, the system of reviewing modern research by local researchers has not been established, although this is not new in foreign practice;

Sixth, the local intelligentsia is very fixated on Soviet and Russian studies, and in the course about other Western or American schools;

Seventh, ethnographic and historical research in Uzbekistan, apart from a rare exception, basically continues a descriptive history;

Eighth, there is no multidisciplinary approach to the study of history;

All these factors and many other aspects push the "*artificiality*" of history, both from local researchers and from foreign ones.

Presumably we called this event "*forced constructivism*". When a researcher does not have enough material, or has, but does not know, how other local or foreign researchers have covered this issue, he is forced to imagine what actually was not.

In the end, I would like to note that how reliable and original our sources were not, how "objective" our conclusions were, they are our own constructs. In order to find the right balance between these constructs, it is imperative to combine the conclusions of foreign researchers (look from the outside) with the conclusions of local researchers (look from the inside). Unfortunately, there are very few local specialists in Uzbek identity, much to our regret. And those who have, knowing and understanding in modern foreign theories and methodologies even less. Therefore, this article is indeed a pioneer in this direction.

Conclusions and suggestions are solely the conclusions of the author of the article. These conclusions are not categorical and the author is always ready to discuss the opinions of other specialists in this direction. Discussions will only help in the development of this direction in the future.

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