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RELIGION, SCIENCE AND 'RELIGIOUS EDUCATION' IN RUSSIA
SIX REGIONAL PROJECTS

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Abstract

The research is carried out in the framework of the project 'Philosophical Religious Studies as a 'Glocal' Project: Youth of Germany and Russia in Dialogue on Religion', which received grant support from the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (18-011-00935 A, 2018-2020). It focuses on the issues of formation of local identities, combining 'religion', 'science' and 'education', which are being formed in the regions after the collapse of the USSR (1991), and on the adoption of the standards of freedom of conscience in modern Russia (Constitution, 1993). We represent the regions in order of their historical integration as part of the modern Russian Federation: Vladimir (990), Moscow (1147), Kazan (1552), Oryol (1566), Arkhangelsk (1584) and Ulan-Ude (1666). These cities act as urban centres, where political, economic, educational and religious elites are concentrated, and support and reproduce the 'collective memory' of 'Pax Christiana', 'Pax Islamica', 'Pax Buddhica', 'Pax Khazarica', 'Pax Tatarica' and 'Pax Sovietica', in global, local and 'glocal' forms of their construction in the system of public school education (since 2012 - the course 'Basics of religious cultures and secular ethics').

Keywords: faith, belief, Orthodoxy, personalism, cultural memory

1. Introduction

This article contains the results of researches of the variety of historical and cultural grounds of the formation of religiosity of Russian students in the

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framework of the project 'Philosophical Religious Studies as a 'Glocal' Project: Youth of Germany and Russia in Dialogue on Religion', which was supported by the scholarship of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (18-011-00935 A, 2018-2020). The research focuses on the problems of the formation of local identities combining 'religion', 'science' and 'education' after the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991), and the establishment of freedom of conscience in modern Russia [1]. The democratization of social life and the growing citizens' religious identity influence on social processes are manifested in the establishment of three competing forms of the normative relations of 'religion', 'science' and 'education', supporting the collective memory concerning forms of worthy existence in the world, specific for cultures of the 'temple', 'media' and 'Soviet atheism' in six regions of Russia, presented further in the order of their historical involvement in a single whole of the 'Russian Federation', where by the end of the 20th century, as sociological researches show, 'Pro-Orthodox consensus' was created (1997).

2. Basic concepts and terms

The concept of a 'region' ('Zalessk land', etc.) is taken conditionally within the limits of modern territorial borders, which have changed many times in history. All cities historically emerged as fortified citadels on rivers linking 'Pax Christiana', 'Pax Islamica', 'Pax Buddhica', 'Pax Khazarica' and 'Pax Tatarica', forming as urban centres where political elites, economy, universities, religious institutions, libraries, architectural monuments and similar forms of 'imagined unity' are concentrated, supported by 'collective memory', in which Jan Assmann proposed to distinguish 'communicative' ('oral histories', 'eyewitness accounts') and 'cultural' ('book stories', 'festive constitutions') forms [2].

Their political development is represented in 'Interactive World History Atlas' [*Interactive World History Atlas since 3000 BC*, http://geacron.com/home-en/?&sid=GeaCron263614]. We will present the regions in the order of their historical involvement in one whole multicultural and multi-confessional state unity of the modern Russian Federation: Vladimir (990), Moscow (1147), Kazan (1552), Oryol (1566), Arkhangelsk (1584) and Ulan-Ude (1666).

Citizens' 'worldview' ('identity') will be perceived as an attribution of oneself as a person to a particular 'religious tradition' (Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, etc.) or 'philosophical school' (atheism, agnosticism, scepticism, etc.), which became a free self-determination for the first time in Russian history only at the end of the 20th century (Constitution of Russian Federation, 1993), revealing among other things open option for parents to choose for their children one of the six disciplines of the federal course called 'Basics of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics (BRCSE)', introduced in the state schools of the country since 2012.

The concept of 'religion' and 'religiosity' enters into Russian literature in the 18th and 19th centuries, overpassing at least three stages, on the first one specifying 'natural involvement' in the 'dominant' confession ('Synodal Orthodoxy'), the withdrawal from which until 1905 was regarded as a criminal offence [3]. The situation changes dramatically at the second stage when, during the Soviet period (1918-1988), they begin to be qualified as implication to the 'dying superstition', and 'religious education' has been classified as a crime. The modern freedom of conscience and self-identification has revealed a 'cultural memory' that formed a 'Pro-Orthodox consensus' coexisting with the numerous forms of other 'worldview identities' of those who define themselves as 'believers' [4]. Sociologists and publicists often evaluate the current situation as a 'mosaic', 'eclectic' or 'centauric' phenomenon of 'weak faith' [5].

This text represents a project, where the terms 'religion' and 'religiosity' are presented in a more discriminating way than it's customary in official statistics on the population [*Population of the regions of Russia*, 2010, http://worldgeo.ru/russia/lists/?id=23&page=1; *Information about registered non-profit organizations*, http://unro.minjust.ru/nkos.aspx]. Important information about religious identity in regions is presented in the 'Arena' project, where the following 16 headings are highlighted in the section of 'religion', and the percentage (%) of their followers in Russia is indicated: 'Orthodox in Church' (41%), 'Believers without religion' (25%), 'Atheists' (13%), 'Muslims' (4.7%), 'Christians' (4.1%), 'Sunni Muslims' (1.7%), 'Orthodox out of the Church' (1.5 %), 'Pagans' (1.2%), 'Buddhists' (0.5%), 'Old Believers' (0.5%), 'Protestants' (0.5%), 'Shia Muslims' (0.5%), 'Catholics' (0.5%), 'Judaists' (0.5%), 'Hindus and others' (0.5%) and 'Pentecostals' (0.5%) [*Arena Project: The 'Environment (Sreda)' Research Service - Atlas of Religions and Nationalities of Russia*, 2012, http://sreda.org/arena]. Such classification mixes institutions and forms of personal identity, linguistic and extra-linguistic reality, scientific terminology and everyday perceptions language, inasmuch as, for example, the term 'Christians', on the one hand, is logically common to 'Orthodox', 'Old Believers', 'Catholics', 'Protestants' and 'Pentecostals', whereas, on the other hand, at the level of sociological polls revealing everyday mass perceptions, it is often understood in Russia as a definition of 'Protestants' in particularly, who usually call themselves 'Christians', unlike the actual 'Orthodox', etc. The researcher deals with empirically given jurisdictions, actual brotherhoods of coreligionists, complex and self-determined 'living' communities that make up an extra-linguistic reality. Each such community, linguistically labelling itself as a 'special unity' ('Orthodox', 'Pentecostals', 'Christians', etc.) on the one hand, whereas, on the other hand, it is identified 'from the outside', where it is described as 'faith', 'denomination', 'dissent', 'cult', etc.

Each community of this kind acts as a communicative unity of personalities ('believers'), which can be distinguished as two subcultures. First of all, they are supporters of 'strict devotees of truth', who are ready to be 'faithful to their brotherhood up to martyrdom', and often intolerant to 'others'.

Secondly, they are supporters of 'weak faith', claiming to be carriers of the 'living' and unformalized 'goodwill', 'conscience' and 'heart'. A descriptive example of the latter is presented in the well-known soviet science fiction movie called 'Kin-Dza-Dza!' (Director: Georgiy Daneliya, 1986), where the heroes ('Uncle Vova' from Moscow and 'Violinist' from Batumi/Georgia), despite the horrors of being on the planet 'Plyuk', twice rescued the characters 'Wef' and 'Bi', who were far from the ideal.

3. Vladimir and the Land of Zalesskaya (990)

Vladimir is located on the Klyazma River, which flows into the Volga River through the Oka River. According to archaeology data these lands began to be inhabited from the Palaeolithic era (40,000 BC). Later Finno-Ugric and Slavonic tribes settled here.

Nowadays, according to sociological studies, the students of Vladimir city identify themselves as Orthodox (50%), simply believers in God (13%), searching for themselves (8%), sceptics and agnostics (7.5%) or atheists and materialists (7.0%) [6]. Parents of school children, studying BRCSE, identify themselves as Orthodox (92.2%), simply believers in God (3.6%), Muslims (1.8%) and atheists (1.8%) [7]. These data can be interpreted as cultural memory actualization in the post-Soviet period, which goes back to the traditions and standards of social life in Russia until 1917, when active propaganda of atheism began.

Orthodox and Christian traditions began to develop in the 9^{th}-11^{th} centuries, when this area appeared to be on the water trade route between the Vikings, the Khazars, the Arab Caliphate and Byzantium, obtaining the name of the 'land of Zalesskaya' ('beyond the forests' from Kiev). The first cities which were built here were Murom (862), Vladimir (Володимѣрь, 990) and Suzdal (Соужъдаль, 999). Vladimir is mentioned in 'Interactive World History Atlas' since the beginning of the reign of the 'triarchy of Yaroslavichi' (1054-1073) [http://geacron.com/home-en/?&sid=GeaCron263614].

The Baptism of Kiev (988), included the land of Zalesskaya into the global 'Pax Christiana' under the jurisdiction of Constantinople's 'Great Church of Christ' ('ἡ Μ Μεγάλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία') as the part of the community of 'Christian nations', in contrast to neighbouring countries of - Khazar Khaganate, where the three 'Abrahamic faiths' coexisted ('Pax Khazarica', 'Harmonia Abrahamica'), and Volga Bulgaria, which converted in 922 to Islam and the global culture 'Pax Islamica' quite advanced for that time..

The split between Rome and Constantinople (Schisma anni 1054), led to the fact that the 'faith of the Greeks' (θαθολικής Εκκλησίας) has come to be opposed to the 'faith of the Germans from Rome' ('Ecclesia Catholica') [*The Tale of Bygone Years/The Library of Literature of Anciet Rus*, http://lib2.pushkinskijdom.ru/tabid-4869]. However, the ruling elites of Russia continued to maintain relations with 'Pax Romana', and in the 12^{th} century magnificent architectural monuments in 'Roman style' common for the Western

culture are created here, when Vladimir, began to dominate as the new geopolitical centre of the 'Russian land', by efforts of Prince Andrey Bogolyubsky (1111-1174).

In 1238, 'Vladimir Land' became part of the global Pax Tatarica (Mongol Empire, 13th-16th centuries), receiving the status of the regional centre of 'Christians', where the literature began opposition of 'Western Country' ('godless Germans', 'Romans') to 'Eastern Country' ('Tartaria', 'Horde') including the 'land of Alexander' (Grand Prince Alexander Nevsky, 1220 - 1263) [*Life of Alexander Nevsky*, The Library of literature of Ancient Rus, http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4962]. These divisions reflected the conflict at the beginning of the 13th century, when the 'Ecclesia Catholica Romana' brought into subjection Constantinople, which became the capital of the 'Imperium Latinorum' ('Λατινική Αυτοκρατορία της Κωνσταντινούπολης', 1204-1261), causing a centuries-long enmity between elites of 'Greeks' and 'Latins'. After devastation of Kiev, Vladimir acquires the status of a new centre of 'Orthodoxy' and diplomatic relations between 'Tartary' and the Nicaean Empire, where the patriarch went to forced exile from Constantinople. The cathedra of Greek 'Metropolitans of All Russia', receiving from the 'Horde' a special 'yarlyk' (Khan's letter) protecting their privileges, moved from Kiev to Vladimir (1299-1325). Again, these lands grew in importance in the 16th century, when Ivan the Terrible moved from Moscow to Alexandrov (1565), de facto the capital of Russia during the Oprichnina period (1565-1581). Soon the 'Vladimir land' was involved in the geopolitical conflict of the 'Time of Troubles' (1598-1613), and then became one of the centres of the 'Schism' (of the 'Old Belief', 1653-1685).

From the 18th century, the city acquired the status of a provincial centre, where, as the first census of population of the empire showed (1897), Russians (98.4%), Jews (0.56%) and Poles (0.55%) lived, who in confessional pattern divided into 'Orthodox with fellow believers' (97.5%), 'Old Believers and those evading Orthodoxy' (0.8%), 'Roman Catholics' (0.8%), 'Jews' (0.6%) and 'Protestants of different creeds' (0.3%) [8].

In the 20th century, during the 'Soviet' period (1917-1991), a new public identity emerged, when, according to the data of 1988, among the employees of the Vladimir Tractor Plant there were 10.5% 'believers in God', 20.7% - 'atheists' and 68.8% recognized themselves as 'indifferent to religion'. However 51.1% of 'non-partisan', 24.8% 'Komsomol members' and 27.4% of CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) members baptized their own children [9].

There are about 400 registered religious organizations in the region today. They belong to 12 different confessional groups. More than 320 of those organizations belong to the Russian Orthodox Church, followed by evangelical groups (51), after that followed by Old Believers (9) and Muslims (6) [*Statistical Information on religious organizations*, 31/03/2018, http://ngo33.ru/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/p03.pdf].

The population of the Vladimir region, as shown by the census of 2010, consider themselves as Russians (94.7%), Ukrainians (1.1%) and Tatars (0.57%) [*Vladimir region. National make-up*, http://worldgeo.ru/russia/reg33/]. The same citizens, according to the data of 'Arena' project (2012), identified themselves as 'Orthodox in the Church' (42%), 'believers without religion' (32%), 'atheists' (14%) and 'Muslims' (about 1%) [10]. According to regional studies, 82.6% of the region's population identify themselves as 'Orthodox'; the second place is taken by citizens, who did not identify themselves with any religion: Vladimir city - 26.4%, Murom city - 19.8%, Kovrov city – 19.6% [11].

In the last 30 years, three regulatory forms of transferring of 'knowledge about religion' have been established here: 1) 'confessional tradition/Theology' (Vladimir seminary of the Russian Orthodox Church, Weslian College, Sunday schools, etc.), 2) 'religious studies' (Vladimir State University) and 3) BRCSE (Basics of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics) in regional schools. New aspects of identity are revealed in the choice of school children parents in the area of the disciplines of the BRCSE (Basics of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics) federal course of study, where out of the six options the main choice comes on three: 'Basics of secular ethics' (about 50%), 'Basics of Orthodox culture' (34.6-41.8 %) and 'Basics of World Religious Cultures' (12.9-14.5%) [12].

4. Moscow (1147)

Modern Moscow is one of the largest metropolises in the world with a population of over 12,000,000 people (Moscow city and the Moscow Region - 19,000,000 people), where the main centres of political, economic, cultural and religious life of the Russian Federation are concentrated. Historically, this area began to be developed from the Neolithic era (8000 BC). Later on, Finno-Ugric and Slavic tribes settled here. Moscow (the first written reference – in 1147) originated as a small settlement (part of the modern Kremlin) on the border of the Vladimir principality.

Modern students of the metropolis, as shown by our research, consider themselves as Orthodox (45.5%), as themselves (13.4%), as simple believers in God (9.1%), as atheists and materialists (8.0%) or sceptics and agnostics (7.0%) [13]. Parents of school children studying BRCSE identify themselves as Orthodox (84.2%), as simple believers in God (9.9%), Muslims (2.5%) and atheists (2.5%) [7]. We interpret these data as manifestation of cultural memory, aimed at strengthening the special political status of Moscow, which began to form from the 13th century, when this city of Tartaria (of the 'Horde', 'Pax Tatarica') was given to Alexander Nevsky (1252) and soon became the centre of the Moscow principality (1263).

The 15th century became the period of Moscow rivalry with the principality of Tver and 'Magnus ducatus Lituaniae', the idea of 'New Jerusalem', and the beginning of the building of 'white-stone Moscow', where the princely 'throne' and the Cathedra of the Greek 'Metropolitans of All

Russia' (1325) moved from Vladimir, making Moscow a new global centre for relations between Pax Mongolica, Pax Islamica and Pax Christiana, marked in The Interactive World History Atlas [http://geacron.com/home-en/?&sid=Gea Cron263614].

In the 15th century, Moscow rises as the main city of the Russian Kingdom ('Moscovia', 'Russia'), which in conflicts with 'Magnus ducatus Lituaniae' and 'Regnum Poloniae' conquers important centres - Novgorod (1478), Tver (1485) and Pskov (1510), while in the chronicles the campaign of Ivan III against Novgorod (1471) was described as the war of 'Orthodoxy' (true Christianity) against the 'infidels' [*Moscow tale about the compaign of Ivan III Vasilievich to Novgorod*, http://lib.pushkinskijdom.com/Default.aspx?tabid=5065]. These events reflect the new status of the city that emerged during the period of the Ferrara-Florence Cathedral (Concilium Basiliense, 1431-1449), when, without the authorization of 'Tsargrad', inside metropolitan has been elected in Moscow (1448), and the term 'Orthodoxy' becomes 'confessional', meaning in particular 'Moscow Orthodoxy' ('shining piousness') [14]. The period of 'autocephaly' (1448-1589) and separation from Constantinople, which soon fell under the power of the Muslims (1453), begins. During this period, the relations with Sacrum Imperium Romanum were developed in Moscow, the first 'German Quarter' was being built and 'fryazi (foreigners)' were invited to build the Moscow Kremlin (1475-1508).

In the 16th century, when Europe was going through the Reformation period (1517-1648), the formulation of the concept 'Moscow – the Third Rome' (1524) and the origin of the elites from Augustus the emperor 'Imperium Romanum', begins in 'Muscovia'. The Livonian War (1558–1583), the Moscow Patriarchate establishment (1589) and the 'The Union of Brest' (1596) aggravate the opposition between the 'Latins' ('Ecclesia Catholica Romana') and the Moscow 'Orthodoxy', especially during the Time of Troubles (1598 - 1613), when the elite on behalf of 'Vladislav Zhygimontovich' (Władysław IV Waza; 1610 - 1613) ruled in Moscow for three years and the perspective of including 'Muscovia' in 'Rzeczpospolita' (1569-1795) appeared. In 1613 the Romanov dynasty ruling in the Russian Kingdom ('Russia', 'ίωσία) begins, the 'Council Code' (1648) was being introduced, the first legal document in Russian history, beginning with the section on struggle against 'Church rebels'.

In the 18th century, Peter the Great moved the capital to St. Petersburg (1712), and the Moscow Patriarchate was being reformed into the 'Theological Board' (Holy Synod, 1721), headed by the emperor. At the end of the 19th century, as the first census of the empire's population showed (1897), Great Russians (95.03%), Germans (1.71%), Poles (0.89%) and Jews (0.49%) lived in Moscow, who were divided into 'Orthodox with cobelievers' (93.2%), 'Old Believers and dissenters' (6.1%), 'Protestants' (2.2%) and 'Roman Catholics' (1.4%) [8, Vol. XXIV, p. XXX]. Two revolutions of 1917 lead to the patriarchate restoration (Moscow, Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, 1917-1918) and the transfer to Moscow of the capital of the new state - Soviet Russia, and from 1922 the Soviet Union (USSR), which became the

global centre of propaganda for 'militant atheism' (1925-1947) and, later on, 'scientific atheism' (1954-1991). In Moscow, the newly elected patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Tikhon (1865-1925) stayed in Donskoy Monastery (often under arrest), but the authorities supported the parishes of the 'Living Church' and other opposition movements (1922-1946). In the Second World War extreme conditions the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (1943) was organized, where the new patriarch was elected and the modern legal name 'Russian Orthodox Church' was adopted for the parishes of the Moscow Patriarchate.

After 'Perestroika' and the collapse of the USSR (1991), Moscow is established as the capital of the modern Russian Federation, where the Constitution (1993), guaranteeing freedom of conscience, belief and religious education, was adopted. In the 21st century, as the census of 2010 showed, the population of the city included Russians (91%), Ukrainians (2.2%), Tatars (0.8%) and Belarusians (about 1%) [*Ethnic makeup of the Moscow Region*, http://worldgeo.ru/russia/reg50/]. According to the data of the project 'Arena', 'Orthodox in the Church' (45%), 'believers without religion' (29%), atheists (9%) and about 2% of Muslims live in Moscow city and the Moscow region [10, p. 193]. Today, more than 1,000 religious organizations belonging to 39 confessional traditions are registered in Moscow, more than 50% of which adhere to the Russian Orthodox Church, about 22% to Protestant unions, 5.2% to Jewish communities and 3.9% to Islamic communities [*Religious denominations of Moscow*, http://relig.moscow/archives/342].

In the past 30 years, three standard forms of transferring the 'knowledge about religion' have been established here - 1) 'confessional tradition/Theology' (Moscow Theological Academy, Saint Philaret Orthodox Christian Institute, Saint Tikhon Orthodox Humanities University, Saint Thomas Institute of the Roman Catholic Church, Moscow Islamic Institute, Religious College under the Rogozhsky Centre of the (ROORC) Russian Orthodox Old-Rite Church, a number of Protestant seminaries and Sunday schools at Moscow synagogues); 2) 'religious studies' (MSU, RSHU, etc.) and 3) basics of religious cultures and secular ethics (BRCSE), where parents of school children give the main preference for such disciplines, as 'Fundamentals of secular ethics' (45-35%), 'Fundamentals of Orthodox culture' (11-41%) and 'Basics of world religions cultures' (18-25%).

5. Kazan and Tatarstan (1552)

Modern Kazan is the capital of Tatarstan, a republic within the Russian Federation. Modern students of the city, as shown by our sociological studies, identify themselves as Muslims (40.8%), Orthodox (26.7%), simple believers in God (7.3%), atheists and materialists (7.3%) or looking for themselves (5.8%) [13]. Parents of school children studying BRCSE, identify themselves as Muslims (38.7%), Orthodox (37.3%), simple believers in God (11.3%) and atheists (10.8%). These data reflect features of the region population cultural

memory, where they strive to maintain the balance of 'pro-Islamic' and 'pro-Orthodox' subcultures.

Tatarstan is located in the Volga-Kama region, the reclamation of which is dated to the Paleolithic era (100 000 BC). Later on, it was settled by the nomadic tribes of the Turks and Huns, engaged into global context by the Volga-Baltic trade route, connecting Scandinavia with the Caliphate, and then with the Khazar kaganate, Rus and Volgian Bulgaria [15].

The name of Kazan has been known since 1005, when this city became the frontier fortress 'Pax Islamica' in Volgian Bulgaria, the elites of which adopted the 'Law of Muhammad', Arabic script, theological and legal ideas of the Sunni school of Imam Abu Hanifa madhab of Mesopotamous Kufa (699-767), and the cultural heritage of the most ancient urban civilizations of the East (Damascus, Baghdad, etc.). The name 'Tatarstan' comes from the term 'Tatars', which historically, beginning from the global 'Pax Tatarica' ('Mongol Empire') of the 13th century, became the ethnonym (name of the ethnic community), and confessionym (name of the confessional community). The city rose in the 15th century as the capital of the Kazan Khanate (Kazan Khanlygy, 1438–1552), appearing (1439) in the 'Interactive World History Atlas' [http://geacron.com/home-en/?&sid=GeaCron263614]. Within this period, maktab schools and tertiary schools of the Khanifit mathab were created, and Sufi communities acted.

Within the next century (1437-1552), the Kazan Khanate carries wars with Russian principalities and the growing Muscovia, until it was conquered by Ivan the Terrible, joining as the Land of Kazan into the Russian kingdom. This event turned the Russian state into a biconfessional social reality, where Islam from the religion of 'foreigners' was transformed into 'indigenous dwellers' faith and, from the 18th century, into the recognized religion of 'subjects of Mohammedan law', when the first mosque was built (1770), and Kazan became the centre of ruling of Siberia.

From the 19th century, on the one hand Kazan acquired the status of the regional centre for the study of oriental languages and oriental researches at Imperial Kazan University (1804). On the other hand, the Kazan Theological Academy (1842) was opened here, which existed until 1921, where special 'missionary' offices targeted to work among Muslims ('anti-Muslim'), among Buddhists ('anti-Buddhist'), among Old Believers ('anti-schismatic '), as well as among Mari and Chuvash 'pagans', were established. By this way, the power of the empire tried to educate country's non-Russian population as loyal subjects. [16].

On the cusp of the 19th-20th centuries during the 'Jadid reform', the introduction of modern sciences in Muslim education began. The study of secular subjects such as mathematics and geography, as well as Russian language (that caused protests among the Tatars) was introduced in elementary (maktab) Muslim schools at mosques. These reforms transformed Tatar culture, making it more European [17]. At the end of the 19th century, as the first census of the empire showed (1897), that in the Kazan province Russians (38.4%),

Tatars (31.1%), Chuvash (23.1%) and Mari (5.7%) lived, who considered themselves as 'Orthodox with coreligionists' (68.9%), 'Mohammedans' (29.1%) or 'Old Believers and those deviating from Orthodoxy' (1.1%) [8, vol. XIV, p. V, VII]. During the period of 'Pax Sovietica' (1917-1991), all Islamic educational institutions and most part of the mosques were closed, clergy were subject to repression and introduction to tradition took place in families or through people of 'inner circle' in secrecy.

The modern population of the Republic of Tatarstan, as shown by the census of 2010, includes Tatars (52.9%), Russians (39.5%), Chuvash (3.4%) and Udmurts (about 1%) [*National make-up of the Republic of Tatarstan*, http://worldgeo.ru/russia/reg16/]. According to the data of 'Arena' project, Muslims (32%), 'Orthodox in the Church' (30%), 'believers without religion' (21%) and atheists (9%) live in Tatarstan [10, p. 218]. According to official data (2010), the Republic of Tatarstan has about 1,440 religious organizations that mainly belong to Muslim (1087), Orthodox (262) and Protestant (66). The educational system plays an important role in the confessional life of the region. In the last 30 years, three standard forms of transferring 'knowledge about religion' have been established here: 1) 'religious studies' (Kazan (Privolzhsky) Federal University), 2) 'confessional tradition/theology' (Islamic University, Russian Islamic Institute, Kazan Theological Seminary, courses affiliated to mosques, Sunday schools, etc.) and 3) BRCSE (Basics of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics) in all schools in the region.

Within the framework of the BRCSE in Tatarstan, the unique situation has come about, when the authorities and society came to consensus on the choice of only two courses out of six possible ones 'Basics of World Religious Cultures' (61.3-37%) and 'Basics of Secular Ethics' (38.7-63.9%) [18]. In the republic, they are striving to reduce the risks of interreligious relations aggravation by refusing courses on 'Fundamentals of Orthodox Culture' and 'Fundamentals of Islamic Culture', believing that "a child should get acquainted with religion in the family and in the temple" [L.V. Egorova, *Neither the Foundations of Islam, nor the Foundations of Orthodox Culture will not be this year in Tatarstan*, http://www.nsad.ru/articles/v-tatarstane-ni-osnov-islama-ni-opk-v-etom-godu-ne-budet].

6. Oryol (1566)

The Oryol is located in the source of the Oka River, the largest feeder of the Volga river, whose waterways began to be developed from the Palaeolithic era (40,000 BC), later on got settled by the Finno-Ugric, the Balts, and, from the 8^{th}-9^{th} centuries, the Slavic tribes. These lands happened to be located on the Volga-Baltic trade route 'from the Varangians to the Greeks', and from the 12^{th} century joined the Chernigov principality of the Riurikids, where the first urban centres established - Mtsensk (1146), Kromy (1147), Novosil (1155), etc. In 1238, this territory is joined to the 'Mongol Empire' (13^{th}-16^{th} centuries), and, according to 'Interactive World History Atlas', from 1363 passing from 'Pax

Tatarica' to 'Magnus ducatus Lituaniae', and from 1501 to 'Muscovia' [http://geacron.com/home-en/?&sid=GeaCron263614].

Sociological researches within our project showed that students at Oryol University consider themselves as Orthodox (58.5%), simple believers in God (10%), on their own (8%), who were undecided (8%), or sceptics and agnostics (5.0%) [13]. Parents of school children studying BRCSE identify themselves as Orthodox (81.1%), simple believers in God (8.5%), atheists (8.5%) or Muslims (0.9%) [7]. We can consider these data as demonstration of cultural memory, preserved from the period when the Oryol was founded by Ivan the Terrible in 1566 as one of fortresses for protection of southern borders of the Russian kingdom, against the raids of the Crimean Khanate (1441-1783), growing 'Rzeczpospolita' (1569) during Reformation (1517-1648). During 'Time of Troubles' (1598-1613) and Dimitriada (Dimitriads, Polish – Muscovite War, 1605-1618), these territories were controlled by the troops of the Rzeczpospolita supporters, who were striving to seize Moscow, and Oryol itself was devastated and turned into ruins (1615-1635). Afterwards, these lands become part of the border fortifications of the 'Belgorod Zasechnaya Line' (1635-1677) against the Crimean Tatars, later turning into a region of agriculture, handicrafts and trade.

In the 18th century, the city and the territory were administratively reformed many times. The formation of regional religious education here began with the establishment of 'episcopal schools', some of them became seminaries [19]. In the 19th century, within the framework of the theological and educational reform of 1808-1814, Bishop's Cathedra and Seminary are transferred to Oryol. Education, both national and theological, began to develop particularly rapidly in the middle of the 19th century, when in 1817-1867 the Oryol seminary trained almost 3,000 people, who completed its full course, from them about 160 people entered the theological academies, mainly Kiev theological academy.

At the end of the 19th century, as the first census of the empire's population showed (1897), Great Russians (99.3%), Jews (0.3%) and Little Russians (0.21%) lived in the Oryol province, who were referred to 'Orthodox with adherents' (99.11%), 'Jews' (0.81%), 'Old Believers and those who deviate from Orthodoxy' (0.26%) or 'Roman Catholics' (0.20%) [8, vol. IX, p. X].

In the 20th century, the Oryol seminary, after celebrating the 100th anniversary of its existence (1917), during the period of 'Pax Sovietica' ceased its activities, like all theological schools, parochial schools and the teaching of the 'Law of God', most of the temples were closed, and clergy repressed.

The revival of theological education traditions began with the project called 'Christianity - Education - Mercy. Regional studies experience' (1992-1998), supported by Oryol administration. Further work in this area moved to Oryol State University, where in 1996 the first admission of future teachers of history was made with the additional specialization 'State-Church Relations in the History of Russia'. The Department of Religious Studies and Theology, opened in 1999 (at that time the Department of theory and methods of teaching religious studies) brought the study of religion to a quite new level, providing for fundamental training in theological and religious education.

Almost the entire modern population of the region, as shown by the census of 2010 is Russians (95.3%), Ukrainians (1.3%) and Armenians (0.41%) [*National make-up. Orel region*, http://worldgeo.ru/russia/reg57/]. According to the 'Arena' project, 'Orthodox in the Church' (41%) and 'believers without religion' (34%), atheists (8%) and Muslims (1%) are the most noticeable in the region [10, p. 201]. Regional sociological data show that, 74.1% of respondents consider themselves as Orthodox believers, 4.9% Muslims, 3.5% adherents of other religions, and 17.5% do not confess any religion [20].

Today, 197 religious organizations have been registered in the Oryol Region, the majority of which affiliated to the Russian Orthodox Church (168), to Protestants (22), to Muslims (3), to Jews (2), to Old Believers (1) and to Catholics (1), all of them are developing their own educational projects.

An important role in the confessional life of the region plays the state educational system. Over the last 30 years, three regulatory forms of transferring 'knowledge about religion' have been established here: 1) 'religious studies' (Oryol State University); 2) 'theological studies/Theology' (Oryol State University, Theological Orthodox Centre 'Vyatsky Posad', which includes an Orthodox gymnasium and an Orthodox society, independent Sunday schools, etc. affiliated to religious associations) and 3) BRCSE (Basics of religious cultures and secular ethics) in schools of the region. Three out of six disciplines of the BRCSE are mainly chosen: 'Basics of secular ethics' (51%), 'Basics of Orthodox culture' (34%) and 'Basics of world religious cultures' (15%). In addition to BRCSE, a new experimental course, which is presented in different forms in 21-57% of educational organizations, called 'Basics of the spiritual and moral culture of the peoples of Russia' (BSMCPR) is being implemented in the region.

7. 'Pomorian land' and Arkhangelsk (1584)

Arkhangelsk, the largest port city of the Russian North, was founded by decree of Ivan the Terrible in 1584 at the estuary of the Northern Dvina river, as one of the fortresses for protecting northern borders of the Russian kingdom from the Kingdom of Sweden ('Konungariket Sverige'), after the Livonian War. As our polls has shown, students of the city identify themselves as Orthodox (23.7%), on their own (23.2%), simple believers in God (10.5%), seeking themselves (9.5%) or atheists and materialists (8,9%) [13]. Parents of school children studying BRCSE identify themselves as Orthodox (41.7%), simple believers in God (21.5%), atheists (17.8%) and Buddhists (4.9%) [7]. These data suggesting the presence of a special 'pro-personalistic' consensus of the region in the cultural memory, tied to its history.

According to archaeological data, these territories were developed from the Palaeolithic era (40,000), being settled later by the Finno-Ugric tribes, submitted from the 9th century, after the legendary 'Calling of the Varangians' and built by them the Ladoga (Aldeigjar, 753) and Novgorod (Holmgarðr, 859) fortresses of Rurik dynasty in Gardarik (Garðaríki, 'country of cities', 'Rus')

[21]. Novgorod lands, through the 'Zavolotsky Way' and the Northern Dvina River, connected to the Volga River, took part in active trade with Scandinavia, Bulgaria, Khazaria, Byzantium and the Arab Caliphate ('from the Varangians to the Greeks', 'from the Varangians to the Persians', 'from the Varangians to the Arabs'). Young Olaf Tryggvasson (963-1000), who, having been baptized by the 'Greeks', became the king and the baptist of Norway, and according to legend, one of the initiators of the baptism of Rus, being the last common saint of 'Chalcedonian Christianity', canonized by Constantinople (1030) and Rome (1164), fled through these waterways. Arkhangelsk, in the 'Interactive World History Atlas', has been marked since 1251 as the Mongol Empire's northern frontier in connection with the first known treaty signed in Trondheim, which delimited the Alexander Lands (Alexander Nevsky's possessions) and Haakon Hakonsson's land (1204-1263), the King of Norway (kongeav Norge) in 'Sacrum Imperium Romanum' [http://geacron.com/home-en/?&sid=GeaCron 263614].

The common forms of mutually beneficial international cooperation and trade at the everyday level were side by side with recurrent conflicts over the 'northern riches' between regional elites in this harsh land. In the 14th-16th centuries, the region became part of the strengthened Muscovia kingdom, and fell into the cataclysms of the Reformation (1517-1648). In the global context of the Livonian War (1558-1583), Ivan the Terrible signed a decree about the construction of a fortress on the banks of the Northern Dvina River, on the Cape Pur-Navolok for defence from a possible attacks of the Swedes (1583), and already in the next year wooden fortress walls were built here, at the centre of which stood the Michael Archangel monastery, mentioned since the 11th century, and later it gave the name to the city (1613). In the second half of the 17th century, the 'Pomorian Land' becomes one of the centres of opposition to Patriarch Nikon reforms, Solovetsky Monastery Uprising (1668–1676) and Dissension ('Old Belief'), in the context of which the Kholmogory eparchy, the centre of the spiritual Enlightenment of the entire Russian North, was established (1682).

The Arkhangelsk land became a 'protected region', a place where, for a number of reasons, the 'deep model of Russian culture' is being preserved, and even today continues to derive its own new contexts. According to N.M. Terebihin, a culture that acts at the limit – at the wane of its existence, returns to its original states, narrows down to self-consciousness, to its generating model. This feature of the local culture was manifested in the perception of the Russian North as a 'light', in other words holy. In this sense, the Russian North appears as a prototype, a symbol of the entire Russia – the Holy Rus, and is the expected Promised Land, in search of which the soul of any Russian strives - the monk and peasant, seagoer and traveller, when the discovery and development of these territories appears as a spiritual act of valour of the Russian people, an important step on the path of its self-knowledge, which turned the North from a geographical concept into a category of a religious nature [22].

The region was a centre for international trade development and for cohabitation of different confessions adherents, in particular Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Anglicanism, Lutheranism, Judaism and Islam, who had their own temples, which, in the harsh natural conditions and remoteness from political capitals, historically formed a unique local culture of 'pro-personalist' consensus and respect for representatives of different cultural and religious traditions.

At the end of the 19th century, as the first census of the empire's population showed (1897) - Russians (85%), Zyrians (6.7%) and Karelians (5.6%), who were classified as 'Orthodox with coreligionists' (97.2%), 'Old Believers and those who evade Orthodoxy' (1.8%), 'Lutherans' (0.6%) and 'Roman Catholics' (0.2%) - lived in the Arkhangelsk Governorate [8, p. VII-VIII]. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, 'Dutch' (Reformed, Calvinistic) and 'German' (Lutheran) temples existed in Arkhangelsk, meanwhile all religious communities actively took part in the life of the 'Capital of Pomorye' [*Archangelites are the children of the German settlement*, https://www.paetz.wiki/ot-pervyh-krestovyh pohodov].

During the period of 'Pax Sovietica', local authorities persecuted viciously all religions equally, whose educational institutions and most of the churches were closed and destroyed, and believers and clergy were exposed to repressions, including in institutions known by the Soviet abbreviation as SLON (which means 'Elephant' - The Solovetsky special purpose prison camp', 1920-1939). As the census of 2010 showed, almost the entire population of the region are Russians (95.2%), followed by Ukrainians (2.1%) and Belarusians (about 1%) [*National make-up. Arkhangelsk region*, http://worldgeo.ru/russia/reg29/]. According to the project 'Arena', 'Orthodox in the Church' (29%), 'believers without religion' (32%), atheists (16%) and less than 1% of Muslims are represented in the region [10, p. 158].

According to regional sociological polls, most of the residents of the region have a positive attitude to adherents of other religious traditions, and religiousness or faith for them is not the main criteria in relations with people [23]. Over the last 30 years, three regulatory forms of transferring of the 'knowledge about religion' have been established here - 1) 'religious studies' (Northern Arctic Federal University); 2)'theological studies/theology' (Sunday schools, etc. affiliated to religious associations) and 3) BRCSE in schools of the region. According to the data on the choice of modules of the BRCSE, the large majority of parents in the Arkhangelsk region choose 'Basics of secular ethics' (BSE, 83-77%), then follow 'Basics of Orthodox culture' (BOC, 13-25%), and 'Basics of world religious cultures' BWRC, 4-5%).

From interviews with parents, it was found out that most of them support their choice of BSE by the fact, that such a course addressing morality and ethics, seems more indifferent to them, while those who chose the BOC, note that the Orthodox tradition lies in the basis of the development of entire Russian culture and especially the Russian North [24].

8. Ulan-Ude (1666)

The city of Ulan-Ude is the capital of modern Buryatia, a republic within the Russian Federation, located in the mountain part of eastern Siberia, beyond Lake Baikal on the border with Mongolia. According to our researches, students of the city consider themselves as Buddhists (28.2%), Orthodox (26.2%), on their own (10.9%), simple believers in God (10.9%) and found it difficult to answer (9, 9%) [13]. Parents of school children studying BRCSE mostly identify themselves as Buddhists (57.9%), Orthodox (30.3%), simple believers in God (5.3%) or atheists (4.6%) [7]. We interpret these data, as a manifestation of cultural memory, which shows the development of a 'pro-Buddhist' consensus in the region.

Historically, this territory began to be developed from the Palaeolithic era (35000 B.C.), being settled by Proto-Mongolian tribes, who already in the 2nd century B.C. began to join in Buddhism ('Pax Buddhica'). Here the nomad tribes of Huns (Hunni) were formed, whose raids threatened China and 'Pax Romana'. From the 13th century, these lands become part of the global 'Pax Tatarica' and the Mongolian dynasties, and since 1653 – of the Russian kingdom, which sought to use the natural resources of Siberia and trade routes to China [http://geacron.com/home-en/?&sid=GeaCron263614].

Inclusion of Siberia and Trans Baikal in Russia (16th-17th centuries) marked the beginning of the phenomenon of a special 'trifaith' of the regional population, due to the coexistence of Christianity, Buddhism and Shamanism, which occurred in the context of the global tensions of the problem of 'confessio - centrism' of the period of the Reformation and the adoption in Russia of the 'Council Code' '(1649) and '12 articles' (1685) against the 'Church rebels' ('Old Believers'). The Old Believers, in search of the legendary "Belovodye", where "in all its purity the Orthodox faith of Christ was preserved", headed here by themselves or were sent into exile, along with other "rebels" and "adherents of different faiths". Among them was the well-known leader of the "Old Believers", protopope Abbacum, who was confined at exile (1653-1663) in the Bratsk ("Buryat") stockade and was one of the first, who described the phenomenon of local "shamanism". Unlike Russia of that period, Trans Baikal, bordering with the "Heavenly Empire", distinguished with religious tolerance and its own tradition of understanding the actual concepts of "faith" and "religion", dating back to "Yassa" of Genghis Khan [25].

The confessional situation became complicated in the 18th century, when the families of "Polish resettled peasant farmers", who had previously fled from persecution to Rzeczpospolita, but after the conquest of this region by Russian troops, returned to the empire, were moved to Siberia in several stages (1735–1795). There is a special confessionim, mentioned in V. Dahl's dictionary, called "semeyskiye" ("with family members"), emerges, which reported that these were "Trans Baikal dissenters relocated with families" [26]. Today, the term 'semeyskiye' (descendants of Old Believers residing in the Trans Baikal region) is rather an 'ethnonym' than a 'confessionysm', as about 20% of population of

the republic call themselves, however they mostly no longer participated in the 'confessional' practices. In 1741, Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (Elizabeth I) recognized the status of Buddhism ('Shigemun' or 'Lamaic' faith) and legalized the existence of 11 Lamaistic temples (datsans) and 150 lamas with them [27].

The cataclysms at the end of the 18th century (the US Constitution, the Great French Revolution) actualized conservative projects aimed to unification of all who in the Russian Empire were called as 'gentiles' and 'indigenous dwellers'. The sources allow to speak about two approaches development, the first of which, tied to political and church elites, referred the 'Shigemun faith' and 'Shamanic Law' to the group of 'false belief' ('superstition', 'fable'), when, for example Catherine the Second wrote the play 'Siberian Shaman (Шаманъ Сибирскій)' (1786), where the hero was presented as a 'clever deceiver'. The second approach is associated with the Academy of Sciences expeditions seeking to describe objectively the "beliefs of Siberian nationals". These two trends continued in the 19th century, when, on the one hand, the first academic descriptions of "religions" peculiar to "Buddhists", "Buryat", and "Buddhist philosophers" [28] and to "shamanism" as the "ancient folk religion of the Mongols" [29] were published. On the other hand, as noted above, the "anti-Buddhist" missionary projects were created in Kazan [30], and their "faith" was qualified as "pretended revelations" and "false wisdom" [31].

As the first census of the empire's population (1897) showed, the population of the Trans Baikal region included Russians (66.2%), Buryats (26.7%) and Evenks (4.4%), who were classified as 'Orthodox with coreligionists' (65, 9%), 'Buddhists and Lamaists' (25.8%), 'Old Believers' (5.4%), 'Jews' (1.2%) and 'Pagans' ('shamans', 'Confucians', etc., 0.7%) [8, Vol. LXXIV, p. VII]. Only in the beginning of 20th century (The Decree of Nicholas II 'On strengthening the principles of tolerance', 1905) the authorities enacted to prohibit 'to call Lamaists as pagans and idolaters', and the Interim Government approved the bill draft 'On naming Lamaists as Buddhists in official documents' (1917).

Until 1917, Buryat-Mongolia counted 46 Buddhist monasteries, where they taught philosophical, medical, and tantric traditions. The high level of philosophical education in the Buddhist monasteries of Buryatia, noted in their writings the outstanding orientalists of that time: F.I. Shcherbatskoy, E.E. Obermiller. In the USSR, during the years of 'building the communism', all Buddhist monasteries were destroyed, tens of thousands of Buddhist clergymen were exposed to repressions, and only after the Great Patriotic War in 1945, it was allowed to build the Ivolginsky temple (datsan), which for a long time remained the only Buddhist temple in the USSR.

Today in Buryatia there are about 230 registered religious organizations including the Russian Orthodox Church (78) and the communities of Buddhists (68), Protestants (about 30), Old Believers (9), shamanists (5), Muslims, Jews and Catholics, with the population (of the year 2010) mainly including Russians (67.8%), Buryats (27.8%) and Ukrainians (about 1%) [*National make-up of the Republic of Buryatia*, http://worldgeo.ru/russia/reg03/].

An important role in confessional life of the region is being played by the educational system. Over the last 30 years, three regulatory forms of transferring the 'knowledge about religion' have been established here - 1) 'religious studies' (Buryat State University, Institute of Mongolian Studies, Buddhology and the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, etc.) have been established; 2) 'confessional tradition/theology' (Buddhist Institute 'Dashi Choyhorlin', Aginsk Buddhist Academy, Sunday schools, etc. of all religious associations) and 3) BRCSE in all schools of the region.

The complex of the BRCSE disciplines is represented in the republic by the courses of 'Fundamentals of secular ethics' (about 65.8%), and 'Fundamentals of world religious cultures' (26.3%), while 'Fundamentals of Buddhist culture' (4.3%) and 'Fundamentals of Orthodox culture' (3.1%) are in the minority. Discussions evoke on the subject and content of the module of 'Fundamentals of Orthodox Culture', which does not include information on the history of the Old Orthodox Church and does not even have an overview on the history of the Old Believers, which for the republic, where currently the ethno-confessional group of 'semeyskie' is about 200 thousand people or 20% of the population, is considered unfair, being actively discussed in the pedagogical community [7, p. 64].

9. Conclusions

All cities historically originated as fortified border fortresses on rivers banks, connecting 'Pax Christiana', 'Pax Islamica', 'Pax Buddhica', 'Pax Khazarica' and 'Pax Tatarica', where 'Orthodox', 'Islamic', 'Buddhist' and 'personalistic' forms of local mass identity developed, reinforced in the 'collective memory '.

The phenomenon of 'Pro-Orthodox consensus' that has developed in post-Soviet Russian society, shows that 'collective memory' has its own features in different regions, which differ by 'pro-Islamic' (Kazan), 'pro-Buddhist' (Ulan-Ude), 'pro-personalist' (Arkhangelsk) and etc. local consensuses, while youths (students) are less familiar with the traditions of denominations, as compared with the older generation (parents of school children studying BRCSE).

Within the period of 'Pax Sovietica' (1917-1991), when almost all educational institutions and most of the temples of all denominations were closed and the clergy were repressed, introduction to traditions occurred secretly, but 'atheism' as a 'personalistic' paradigm of science and ethics remains in self-identification of 3-9% of young people and 3-18% of adults.

'Pro-Orthodox consensus' unites those, who define themselves as 'Orthodox' or treat with respect this tradition, while sociologists distinguish 'Orthodox in the Church', 'Orthodox outside the Church' and even 'Orthodox atheists'.

Competition between 'pro-personalist' and 'pro-religious' models of normativity in society creates the threat of inter-religious conflicts and requires the formation of 'tolerant religiosity' in the BRCSE courses, while in regions

where two or more traditions are massive (Buryatia), they strive to remove 'religious' issues from schools into families and communities (Kazan, Ulan-Ude).

The 'pro-Orthodox consensus' in Russia coexists with 'pro-scientific' and 'pro-ethic' consensus, i.e. with public recognition of importance of 'personalistic' identity, focused on the harmony of religion, science and ethics in education of students and school children.

Religion in Russian regions is understood today not as a medieval institution of absolute power, but as an influential social subculture and tradition, connecting the present with the past and eternal moral values.

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